J/12272. m. 4

THE

WORKS

OF

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

VOL. VI.

K with ~~528. m. 10–14.~~

LETTERS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE,

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE,

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE,

DURING THE TIME HE WAS

SECRETARY OF STATE

TO

QUEEN ANNE;

WITH

STATE PAPERS, EXPLANATORY NOTES, AND A TRANSLATION OF THE FOREIGN LETTERS, &c.

BY GILBERT PARKE, WADH. COLL. OXON.

CHAPLAIN TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1798.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

MY LORD,

YOUR noble relative, the late Earl of Hardwicke, who, together with other intereſting and valuable State Papers, gave the public a ſpecimen of Lord Bolingbroke's Official Diſpatches, paſſed ſo favourable a judgment upon them, that I was induced to publiſh the whole of the Secretary's Letters, which, through the kindneſs of a friend, came into my poſſeſſion; and your Lordſhip has given me additional encouragement, in permitting me to prefix your name to the work, judging it may add to the ſtore of Hiſtory.

I am rather confident, my Lord, that, with regard to the tranſactions during the ever-memorable four laſt years of the reign of Queen Anne, it will ſerve as a faithful record; and it were to be wiſhed, that our hiſtory in general were founded more upon ſuch authorities.

I rejoice, my Lord, in the opportunity now afforded me, of teſtifying my eſteem of your character, my ve-

neration of your public conduct, and, particularly, of your zeal to promote the welfare and proſperity of the county, which his Majeſty has committed to your care; one remarkable inſtance of which, I was, for a long time, almoſt a daily witneſs to; and the ſucceſsful exertions of your Lordſhip on that occaſion, increaſed the attachment of your province, and muſt endear your name to poſterity.

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO BE,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

VERY OBEDIENT SERVANT,

LONDON, MARCH 15, 1798. GILBERT PARKE.

PREFACE.

PREFACE.

MOST readers of the following Papers, will be of opinion, that their internal evidence is proof ſufficient of their authenticity; but the Editor thinks it his duty to give to the Public all the information he has received reſpecting them.

When Bolingbroke was diſmiſſed from his office, and fled to France, his Under-ſecretary, Thomas Hare, Eſq. who is often mentioned in his Lordſhip's Letters, ſecured theſe Papers. At that time, Mr. Hare reſided in London, and being a younger brother, was poſſeſſed of a very ſmall fortune, beſide the place of Chief Clerk, Sole Examiner, and Regiſter in Chancery, and Clerk of the Crown and Peace in Barbadoes, which offices he held, but whether for life, or during pleaſure, is not quite certain; one copy of the appointment, in the hands of the Editor, ſpecifying for life, the other during pleaſure; the latter is dated June 18, 1714, the former has no date, and, perhaps, was never executed, as the

Queen died on the 1ſt of Auguſt following, and it was not probable that the friend of the proſcribed Secretary would experience any favour from the ſucceeding adminiſtration. Independent of this place, whatever fortune he poſſeſſed was loſt in the general calamity originating in the South-Sea Scheme.

His elder brother dying unmarried, he, in 1732, ſucceeded to the noble eſtate and ſeat of his family at Stow-Hall, in Norfolk, and to the Baronetage granted to Sir Ralph Hare, in 1641. Thither he then retired, and the Bolingbroke Manuſcripts were depoſited in the Evidence-houſe belonging to the eſtate, where they remained; and, from the time of his death, in 1760, were little known or noticed.

To the preſent worthy poſſeſſor of the eſtate, Thomas Hare, Eſq. and the deſcendant of the Under-ſecretary, the Editor, then reſiding in the neighbourhood of Stow, expreſſed his wiſhes to peruſe the Papers, and upon ſtating his inclination to publiſh them, Mr. Hare, in the moſt liberal and polite manner, ſent him the whole of the Bolingbroke Papers in his poſſeſſion.

To this Gentleman he is indebted for many inſtances of private friendſhip; and whatever information or inſtruction his countrymen may derive from the preſent work, they will attribute to his ready compliance with the wiſhes of the Edi-

tor; a compliance not more the effect of friendſhip than of his conſtant deſire to be uſeful to his country; and though, after having dedicated his younger years to actual ſervice, he had retired to enjoy the eaſe and affluence left him by his anceſtors, and to promote the welfare and happineſs of thoſe within his ſphere, yet, in theſe times of danger, he is employing his ample means in his country's cauſe, and at the head of two troops of his aſſociated friends and neighbours, is diſplaying an example of that pure patriotiſm, ſo highly neceſſary at the preſent period.

Upon an examination of the Manuſcripts, many appeared to be autographs, and the remainder in the hand-writing of Sir Thomas Hare, or of his colleagues in office. They conſiſted of four Volumes of Letters, and very many detached Papers. The firſt Volume contained the Public Diſpatches to the Earl of Strafford; the ſecond, the Public and Private Letters to the Marquis de Torcy, with thoſe to and from Mr. Prior; the other two, his Public and Private Letters to Correſpondents in general. The Detached Papers conſiſted of the Letters from the Marquis de Torcy, and the entire Correſpondence with the Duke of Shrewſbury, together with Memorials, &c.

The Editor has endeavoured to arrange all theſe in a regular ſeries, and to ſupply ſuch explanatory Notes as

ſeemed

ſeemed neceſſary to render characters and occurrences more familiar to the Reader. A Tranſlation of the Foreign Letters was not intended, when the book was ready for the preſs, from a fear of ſwelling the work to an inordinate ſize; but, at the ſuggeſtion of a friend, whoſe judgment the Editor has ever reſpected, he was induced to alter his plan; and, by printing the work in a ſmaller letter than that uſed in the other volumes of Bolingbroke, and by extending the page of letter-preſs, to give room at the end of each volume for the Tranſlation of the preceding Letters.

Extracts from the *public* Letters of the Secretary appeared in the Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons in the year 1715, which formed the ground-work of the impeachment of Oxford, Bolingbroke, Strafford, and Ormond. But theſe ſeem to be of no farther uſe than as they ſerved the purpoſe of one party in effecting the overthrow of another; in their mutilated ſtate they are of little ſervice to the hiſtory of our Country, and remain only to record the violence and the prejudice of faction.

The late Earl of Hardwicke inſerted in his State Papers four of the *official* Letters of Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Prior: theſe, ſo far as the Editor has been able to learn, are all the Papers, in the following Collection, that have hitherto appeared in print.

The

The preſent Publication conſiſts not only of official, but of private Letters of the Secretary; the general buſineſs of that Adminiſtration, and his particular ſentiments on that buſineſs; the orders and inſtructions of the Miniſter, and the confidential communication of the motives for them. In a word, it ſeems to record the political occurrences and hiſtory of Great Britain, from the time Bolingbroke came into office until his ſuperceſſion by the Regents; and the reader is not to learn the importance of that period.

Every reader will form his own opinion of theſe tranſactions, whether conſidered ſeparately, or compared with thoſe that went before, or have occurred ſince; it would therefore be of no uſe to detain him longer upon the Chapter of Contents. The Editor will then take his leave, with obſerving, that the unrivalled fame of Bolingbroke, as a political writer, is ſo eſtabliſhed, as almoſt to enſure a favourable reception; and as to the ſhare which the Editor has had in theſe Volumes, it is of too little conſequence to merit animadverſion.

LETTERS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

A Monſieur de Buys *.

MONSIEUR,

Du Château de Windſor, ce 13 d'Oct. 1710, V.S.

C'EST avec beaucoup de déplaiſir que j'ai reçu, par le canal de Monſieur Drummond, les nouvelles de votre indiſpoſition ; j'eſpère qu'elle ſera bientôt paſſée, et qu'une ſanté auſſi néceſſaire à la cauſe commune que la vôtre ſera dans peu rétablie.

Je vous proteſte, Monſieur, avec toute la ſincérité dont un bon cœur ſoit capable, qu'en entrant dans l'emploi où j'ai préſentement l'honneur de ſervir ſa Majeſté, rien ne m'a été plus agréable que la conſidération des moyens que cette charge me fourniroit de vous marquer l'eſtime que j'ai conçue pour votre perſonne dès le tems que

* William de Buys, penſionary of Amſterdam, and one of the lords of the States-general of the United Provinces ; he was occaſionally appointed envoy-extraordinary to the Britiſh court. At the conferences for making the peace at Utrecht, he was one of the plenipotentiaries on the part of the States, and was afterwards ambaſſador to the court of France.

je vous ai connu à Londres, et que je conſerve encore très-vivement imprimé dans mon ame.

J'ai toujours enviſagé les intérêts de nos patries d'une manière à me faire croire qu'on ne puiſſe les ſéparer ſans les bleſſer ; c'eſt une règle qui n'a jamais manqué depuis le fondement de votre république, que quand nos princes ont ſuivi les véritables intérêts de leurs royaumes, ils ont été les amis de la Hollande, et nous n'avons été vos ennemis que quand notre cour tramoit des deſſeins auſſi pernicieux à nous qu'à meſſieurs les états. Voilà les maximes ſur leſquelles roulera ma conduite, et je veux eſpérer, qu'avec vos bons avis, je ſerai en état de rendre ces diſpoſitions, en quelque ſorte, utiles et avantageuſes à l'une et à l'autre nation.

Vous trouverez bon que je vous écrive de tems en tems, au moins ſur le chapitre de nos affaires domeſtiques ; je vous manderai la vérité toute pure, laquelle à été depuis peu déguiſée avec autant de malice que d'artifice.

Je ſuis, Monſieur, du fond de mon ame,

Votre, &c.

To Mr. Drummond *.

SIR,

Windſor, 13th Oct. 1710.

I HAVE been, ſince the arrival of your kind and ſatisfactory letters of the 14th and 17th inſtant, N.S. in ſo great a hurry of buſineſs, that I have not had the leiſure neceſſary to anſwer them as they deſerve. You will give me leave, in haſte, to tell you, that the

* A native of Great Britain, and a merchant of Amſterdam. The party in England and Holland who oppoſed the peace, were ſo much diſpleaſed with Mr. Drummond's exertions to promote it, that they conſpired to ruin him; and in the attempt were too ſucceſsful.

intelligence

intelligence which you give, and the accounts which you ſend of the French deſigns, are what I expected; but there have been ſo many poſitive advices of an invaſion ſent over, that we, who did not believe them, were obliged to act as if we did*.

I have writ and incloſed a letter to Monſieur de Buys: his conduct in correcting the inſolence of the Gazetteers, was very obliging; and you will be very juſt to us in aſſuring him, that thoſe who have the honour to ſerve the Queen, will, upon all occaſions, where the reputation of Dutch affairs may be concerned, very readily do the ſame †. I will inform myſelf particularly, when I return to London, about the pamphlet you mention; and neither Monſieur Buys nor you ſhall want a true ſtate of our affairs, that ſo you may prevent thoſe evil and falſe impreſſions, which are given by the reſtleſs factious ſpirits of men, who would have the ſhip founder and go to the bottom, the moment they are removed from the helm.

I go to-morrow, by the Queen's leave, to my own houſe, and I ſhall not return to court till the end of next week, having a county election ſtill on my hands, though that of my borough is over ‡.

Onſlow and Scawen have loſt it by a great majority in Surry; the Duke of Somerſet is defeated at Marlborough, and in Suſſex; my Lord Wharton, in part, in Buckinghamſhire, and wholly at Appleby; in ſhort, the general run of elections is ſuitable to the general ſtyle of addreſſes; very different from thoſe ſentiments which the Cheſhire addreſs, printed in your Gazette, expreſſes||.

* "I have a return from ſome of the perſons I employed to get intelligence from Dunkirk; "and it is incumbent upon me to aſſure your Majeſty, that from the firſt there has not been any "the leaſt reaſon for the alarm which has been given of an invaſion. Either thoſe who ſhould in- "form your Majeſty of what is doing among your enemies, are very little apprized of the matter, "or they had ſome other reaſon for creating ſo much noiſe." St. John's Letter to the Queen, 10th October, 1710.

† The preſs in Holland was chiefly devoted to the party of the late miniſtry, and the Duke of Marlborough, and not very attentive to truth and decorum.

‡ Upon the change of miniſtry, parliament was diſſolved, and a new one called, to meet 25th November.

|| The Cheſhire addreſs, diſapproving of the change of miniſtry.

You may venture to aſſure every body that credit will be ſupported, the war proſecuted, the confederacy improved, and the principle in which we engaged purſued as far as poſſible. Our friends and enemies both will learn the ſame leſſon, that, however we differ about things purely domeſtic, yet we are unanimous in thoſe great points which concern the preſent and future happineſs of Europe.

I thought it might be more eaſy to diſcover in Holland than here, through what channel thoſe party-lies are conveyed to your newſ-writers; I fancy Buckley, the writer of the Daily Courant, may have ſome ſhare in this correſpondence.

Your brother will find me very glad to ſhow him all the reſpect, and to do him all the ſervice, in my power: when I return to London, I will endeavour to ſee him.

I am, Sir, with much truth, &c.

To Mr. Cadogan *.

SIR,

Whitehall, October the 24th, 1710.

YOU make me a great many acknowledgments for a very ſmall favour; whatever effect the revolutions of parties have on others, they have none on me, with reſpect to perſonal friendſhip; and I think what I did was the leaſt our acquaintance and intimacy exacted from me.

As to the other point which you write upon, I will endeavour to ſerve you in it, and I will do it frankly; for though meaſures are to

* Lieutenant-general Cadogan had been, during the whole war in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough, with whom he was in great favour; and though, upon the diſgrace of the Duke, he ſtill kept his ſituation abroad, for a ſhort time; yet, in the end he was, as his patron had been, diſmiſſed from all his employments.

be

be kept with party, yet friendſhip may be preſerved too; and there is no need of ſacrificing to political ſchemes all the duties of private life.

You are not very unfortunate in having been out of England for ſome time, you would have had the mortification to ſee every meaſure prevail which you and I have ſo often joined in our deteſtation of, and after that you would have ſeen every conſequence arrive, which we as often joined in our apprehenſions of.

I commend you extremely for your firm reſolution of adhering to that great man to whom you have ſo many obligations; and I dare ſay you will ſerve him with ſober and ſolid marks of your gratitude; not with that empty impotent noiſe by which ſome people have rendered themſelves, if poſſible, more deſpicable than they were before.

I am, Sir, ſincerely, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, October, 27, 1710.

I HAVE been ſo much out of town, on account of my own elections and thoſe of my friends, that I am got very deep in arrear to all my correſpondents, and to none with more regret than to yourſelf.

Several paragraphs of your letters I read to the Queen, and her Majeſty was extremely ſatisfied with the accounts which they contained: indeed, the only tolerable advices we had, concerning the preparations of the enemy, were thoſe which you ſent. It is ſo neceſſary an article in public buſineſs, to be informed of what is doing abroad, and it is ſo ſcandalous to be no better ſupplied with intelligence than we generally are, that I ſhould take it as an additional mark of your friendſhip for me, if you would turn in your thoughts how to ſettle ſome

correſpondence

correſpondence of moment in France; could this be done to very good purpoſe, I would be far from ſtarving the cauſe.

We hope that no time will be loſt in ſending ſhips to the Mediterranean, and the advance which the Eaſt-India Company has made to the Admiralties, looks as if you were in earneſt to preſs your armament as faſt as poſſible.

Mr. H——— * ſent you, laſt poſt, by my directions, ſome papers, which, if you have not ſeen them before, will entertain you; we eſteem moſt of the examiners to be finely written, and the Country Gentleman's Thoughts is one of the beſt pamphlets which this ſeaſon has produced; Mr. H. will ſend you one by this poſt, which is a ſequel of another written ſome years ago upon the ſame thought.

I thank you particularly for the ſtate which you give me of that intrigue, which produced ſo indecent a meſſage † to the Queen; but this matter having ſlept ſome time, and being almoſt forgot, and ſome uncertainties ‡ in the conduct of our own court, having, perhaps, contributed to bring it upon us, my preſent thoughts are, that we had better forbear to revive the diſcourſe.

The hint you give me concerning Sir J. Leake, I approve, and will confer with our friend the Chancellor upon it; my apprehenſion is, that Sir John may have dipped himſelf a little too much of late with Orf—d, to be employed in a ſervice of this kind; but, I am not certain that this fear is well grounded||.

* Thomas Hare, Eſq. Under-ſecretary of ſtate to Lord Bolingbroke.

† The party of the Duke of Marlborough and the late miniſtry, had prevailed upon the Dutch to direct Monſieur Vryberg (their Envoy at our court) to diſſuade the Queen from a change of adminiſtration, which her Majeſty conſidered as an interference at once improper and inſulting.

‡ When the Queen began the change of miniſters, ſhe firſt diſplaced the Marquis of Normanby, in April, and we are told, ſhe then declared that ſhe did not at that time intend to make farther changes.—Sunderland was removed in June, and Godolphin not till Auguſt.

|| Sir John Leake was a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, under the Earl of Orford, but in the new arrangement he ſucceeded his Lordſhip as Firſt Commiſſioner.

In all probability, the ſquadron of Toulon is intended for the Weſt-Indies, and ſome of the ſhips from Weſt-France may probably join with them: the French are wiſe enough to take care of that part: 'tis from thence they know that they may depend on a compenſation for all the poverty and diſtreſs which the war has brought or can bring upon their nation. I wiſh the ſame notions had prevailed more amongſt another people of my acquaintance.

The letters are, as you deſired, incloſed with this. You may be ſure of a religious punctuality in whatever you deſire of me. I ſhall be very glad to have the correſpondence you mention improved; the gentleman's way is a little wild, but ſome facts, may perhaps be, one time or other, of uſe, which we may gather out of his letters.

I did aſk colonel Deſney to buy me a few things at Bruſſels, and when he ſends you the ſum, I ſhall be obliged to you if you give him credit for the money.

As to the payment of the man who went to Dunkirk, do it as you ſhall judge reaſonable, and I ſhall very thankfully be anſwerable to you for the money.

My letters ſwell inſenſibly into an exorbitant length, which I hope you will forgive among the many other troubles which are given you by your ever faithful, &c.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur de Tallard.*

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 7me Nov. 1711.

J'AI eu l'honneur de lire à ſa Majeſté la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire. La Reine, Monſieur, ne peut pas vous accorder préſentement la permiſſion d'aller en France, mais elle me commande de vous aſſurer qu'elle eſt fort ſenſible à vos malheurs, & que vous la trouverez, une autre fois, diſpoſée à vous donner l'adouciſſement que vous demandez.

J'eſpère, Monſieur, que vous me ferez la juſtice de croire que j'ai repréſenté vos raiſons de la meilleure manière dont je ſuis capable, & que dans toutes les occaſions vous me trouverez prêt à vous rendre tous les ſervices qui dépendent de moi.

Je ſuis, Monſieur, avec beaucoup de reſpect,

Votre très-humble & très-obeiſſant ſerviteur.

A Monſieur de Roberthon†.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 10me Nov. 1710.

L'HONNEUR que vous avez bien voulu me faire par votre lettre du 23me du mois paſſé, méritoit bien qu'on y répondit par la première occaſion. C'eſt un devoir auquel je n'aurois pas manqué à

* The Mareſchal Count de Tallard was taken priſoner at the battle of Blenheim, 1704, and was eſcorted to Nottingham, where he remained for many years, though not a cloſe priſoner, yet confined to a certain diſtrict round that town. He was, upon his firſt arrival in the Thames, treated with ſome marked indignity; and no reaſon was aſſigned for refuſing him his parole. He had, in the laſt reign, been ambaſſador from France to this court; and during his captivity, was engaged in communicating intelligence to the French miniſtry.

† Roberthon, private ſecretary to the Elector of Hanover.

ſatisfaire,

ſatisfaire, ſi je n'avois été tellement accablé d'affaires depuis deux ſemaines, qu'il m'a été du tout impoſſible.

Je vous ſupplie, Monſieur, de croire que j'embraſſe avec tout le plaiſir imaginable, l'offre que vous me faites d'une correſpondence qui me doit être très-agréable, & peut être utile à deux cours que nous avons l'honneur de ſervir*.

Monſieur le Baron de Bothmar eſt attendu ici dans peu, puiſque j'ai envoyé, il y a déjà quelque tems, les ordres de la Reine à Meſſieurs les Commiſſaires de l'Amirauté de faire paſſer pour lui un yatch en Hollande. Il peut s'aſſurer que je ne manquerai pas de lui rendre en toutes choſes mes très-humbles ſervices. C'eſt bien la moindre marque que je pourrai donner du reſpect que j'ai toujours porté, & que je ne perdrai jamais pour la cour dont il eſt le miniſtre.

Sa Majeſté nommera dans peu le miniſtre qu'elle doit envoyer auprès de ſon Alteſſe Electorale; j'eſpère que vous en ſerez content, & je ne doute point que vous ne lui accordiez votre protection†.

Vous me ferez toujours une grâce particulière quand vous me donnerez de vos ordres; c'eſt une vérité dont je vous prie d'être perſuadé, & en même-tems qu'on ne peut pas être plus ſincèrement que je ſuis, avec beaucoup de reſpect, Monſieur,

Votre très-humble et très-obeiſſant ſerviteur.

* When the change in adminiſtration took place, Earl Rivers was immediately diſpatched to ſignify the ſame to the Court of Hanover.

† Earl Rivers was accordingly appointed in December.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,*

Whitehall, Nov. 10, 1710.

THOUGH it is now almoſt eight at night, and I have not removed the pen out of my hand ſince morning, yet I cannot leave off before I have thanked you moſt heartily for all your obliging letters, and for all the other ſervices which you have done me.

I ſuppoſe Mr. Harley * has anſwered yours, and tranſmitted the incloſed again to you, as he aſſured me that he would not fail to do. Upon the ſubject-matter of that letter, I muſt take the liberty to ſay, that the ſituation of the great man † here will chiefly depend on his own conduct; things are gone ſo far, that there can be no thoughts of returning now to Egyptian bondage; and if he ſhould engage, though never ſo artfully and covertly, in the meaſures of thoſe people to whom of late he has ſo cloſely linked himſelf, it is impoſſible to ſay how high the ferment would riſe, and into what dangers he would run himſelf: though this is certainly true, and though he is certainly wiſe, yet I am apt to fear that he would take the wrong pli. I dare ſay, his own judgment was ſubdued when he gave into all the violent meaſures of our faction, ſome time ago, and the ſame overbearing may ſubdue him again. For my own part, I proteſt and ſolemnly tell you, I wiſh him ſincerely well, much better than the flatterers who have forgot the reſpect they owe their Queen, in making their court to their General. As his well-wiſher, I ſhould be glad if he made leſs haſte home than I believe he has a mind to do; and yet I can very

* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Lord-commiſſioner of the Treaſury.

† The Duke of Marlborough was Ambaſſador to the Hague, Commander in-chief in Great Britain, and of the auxiliary forces on the Continent, and Maſter of the ordnance; and his relatives and dependants occupied the chief offices of government.

eaſily conceive what hurt he may do us in Holland, with reſpect to peace, and many other ways: this is *entre nous*.

The correſpondence which you have ſettled at St. Germain's, and that which you hope to fix, by the way of Genoa, at Toulon, I am extremely thankful to you for. Whatever you draw upon me ſhall be punctually complied with.

As to the parliament, you may venture to ſet the minds of men at reſt; nothing will be left undone by them which we are in a condition to do, for the ſake of the common cauſe.

You may obſerve yourſelf, and make others obſerve too, what a difference there is between the true ſtrength of this nation and the fictitious one of the whigs. How much time, how many lucky incidents, how many ſtrains of power, how much money muſt go to create a majority of the latter; on the other hand, take but off the opinion that the Crown is another way inclined, and the church intereſt riſes with redoubled force, and by its natural genuine ſtrength. I believe there is not any inſtance to be produced of ſo many, nor ſuch prodigious majorities, as all the elections were carried by. Surely people will open their eyes apace in Holland, and ſee where the real intereſt of this nation reſides; but, indeed, of late years, nothing has been known of us abroad, but by the accounts of the miniſters, and of the whig pamphlets.

Mr. H. ſends you the two laſt Examiners. Adieu. Next poſt I will write largely to Mr. Buys.

Ever your's entirely.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Nov. 14, 1710.

IT is with his friends that a man takes always the greateſt freedom. I had deferred writing to you on Friday laſt till I was overcome with ſleep and laſſitude, and whether my letter was legible or ſenſible is more than I know.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſhowed me yeſterday, at Hampton Court, what he had writ to you. His letter puts, I think, a certain affair in a clear light; and ſince I can ſay nothing better to you on the ſame head, I am ſure I ought to ſay nothing more.

That we may take our meaſures in the beſt manner poſſible for another year of war, in caſe we are not ſo happy as to have a peace intervene, the Queen has commanded the Duke of Marlborough to treat with the States, and to know their opinion on thoſe points which ſeem, in our preſent circumſtances, the moſt important. The parliament will vigorouſly ſecond the Queen's reſolutions; and after France has ſeen ſome inſtances of good harmony between Britain and Holland, and between the Queen and her two houſes, I am apt to imagine we ſhall hear of more peaceable diſpoſitions from that ſide.

I am glad to hear that ſome thoughts are entertained in Holland, of attempting an enterprize in the Weſt Indies. You will oblige me in letting me know whether this proceeds to a formed deſign, and what kind of plan is propoſed. I am under a thorough conviction, that nothing is more for the intereſt of the maritime powers, whether a war continues, or whether a peace ſucceeds; and, beſides, there may be projects laid of this kind very well worth while, and not in the leaſt chimerical.

I incloſe a letter to Monſieur Buys, my correſpondence with him ſhall be very frank and open. There is nothing of more real concern,

than

than to keep up a good underſtanding between the two countries, and that never can be maintained long, if one ſide is as much deceived as Holland has been, about the true intereſt and ſtate of the other.

Brigadier Hill and Colonel Deſney, are come over, after a dangerous paſſage. I have not had an opportunity of ſettling with the latter my account; I ſuppoſe, I may pay Mr. Decker, and take his receipt for your uſe.

I am ever, with truth and friendſhip,

Sir, your obedient, &c..

A Monſieur Buys.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 17me Nov. 1710, V.S.

LA manière obligeante dont vous avez reçu les offres que je vous ai fait d'une correſpondence, l'avantage de laquelle ſera entièrement de mon côté, m'engage à ne plus différer de vous rendre mes remercîmens.

Les maximes que vous approvez tant, ſont celles que j'ai toujours ſuivi; elles ſont gravées, d'une manière à ne pouvoir jamais être effacées, dans mon cœur, & dans les cœurs de beaucoup de perſonnes chez nous, qui peutêtre auront été repréſentés en Hollande ſous un caractère bien différent.

Le Duc de Shrewſbury*, et Monſieur Harley, ſont fort vos ſerviteurs, de même que ces autres Meſſieurs qui ont eu l'avantage de vous connoître pendant le ſéjour que vous fîtes ici. Ils ont continué dans les mêmes ſentimens à l'égard de la cauſe commune, & des intérêts de nos deux nations, dans leſquels ils ont été de ce tems-là, & s'ils n'ont pas à l'heure qu'il eſt, les mêmes liaiſons, ni les mêmes amitiés, qu'ils ont

* Lord Chamberlain and in the Cabinet.

eu

eu alors, je puis vous aſſurer que ce changement n'eſt pas arrivé par leur faute. On tranquilliſera les eſprits autant qu'il ſera poſſible, & vous ne devez pas craindre que les choſes ſeront pouſſées trop loin, puiſque ce parlement a été caſſé qui avoit montré plus de violence qu'aucun autre depuis le règne de Charles ſecond. Les alliés ont été alarmés quand la Reine à trouvé à propos de faire des changemens dans ſon miniſtère, & nous ſavons parfaitement bien les artifices dont on s'eſt ſervi pour troubler les eſprits. Je veux eſpérer que ces premiers mouvemens ſont paſſés, & j'oſe vous prédire que ce qui vient d'arriver ici montrera à toute la terre combien ces gens ont été trompés, qui ont cru que tout ce que nous avons fait pour la cauſe commune étoit dû à trois ou quâtre perſonnes.

Le Comte Rivers m'a parlé de vous avec toute l'eſtime que vous méritez, & je puis vous aſſurer qu'il à été très-content de la converſation que vous avez eu enſemble. S'il n'a pu vous répondre poſitivement ſur un certain point, je prenderai pourtant la liberté de vous dire la-deſſus mon ſentiment, qui eſt, que la ſituation de ceux qui ont l'honneur de ſervir la Reine dépendra de leur propre conduite.

J'avois deſſein de vous parler ſur deux autres articles de très-grande importance, ſur leſquels ſa Majeſté, qui deſire dans toutes choſes d'agir de concert, & ſans reſerve, avec leurs Hautes Puiſſances, a donné ſes ordres à Monſieur le Duc de Marlborough, & à my Lord Townſhend, de parler à Meſſieurs les Etats, mais comme ma lettre eſt déjà trop longue, je ne veux plus abuſer de votre patience.

Je vous demande la continuation de votre amitié & la juſtice de me croire, Monſieur, avec beaucoup de reſpect & d'eſtime,

Votre très-humble et très-obeiſſant ſerviteur.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Nov. the 17th, 1710.

I RECEIVED your's of 18th inſtant, N.S. yeſterday, for which I deſire you to accept of my humble thanks. I am glad you approve of the opinion I gave concerning the Zealander's inclinations to attack Vryberge. That examiner which you mention had ſeveral remarkable paſſages in it, and ſome very proper to affect a Dutchman.

Our news from Spain all manner of ways is bad, and promiſes being worſe. Portugal did almoſt declare againſt us, when they refuſed to do any thing in concert with the king; and the emperor has given up that cauſe, and left it to England and Holland, as a thing he is no way concerned in, this great while. Holland, however, gains a great barrier, daily extends her dominion, and keeps her trade uncramped by prohibitions. I doubt Britain, was this war to conclude to-morrow with the evacuation of Spain and the Indies, would have no particular advantage above the common one, except ſuch as would be very precarious, ſince it would depend upon Auſtrian gratitude.

The election of peers is over for the north part of the iſland; and you will find by the liſt which is publiſhed, that we have every one. Our parliament will therefore be as entirely in the Queen's intereſt as her moſt affectionate ſervants can deſire. I hope we ſhall be able to reſtore our credit, make proviſion for our debts, and give the neceſſary ſupplies which are wanting for the war. If we bring theſe things to bear, I hope you will mend your opinion of us in Holland. Adieu, dear Sir. I am ever, with true reſpect,

Your obedient humble ſervant.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Nov. 28, 1710.

I THANK you very heartily for your kind and inſtructive letter of 2d of December, N.S. from the Hague. I have conſidered ſeriouſly every article in it, and I think I ſee plainly what is at the bottom of the great man's heart.

If he did in earneſt deſign to come into the Queen's meaſure, his proceeding would be frank and unconſtrained. He would not in that caſe dwell upon generals, but his language would be clear and explicit, both as to men and things. There is, I dare ſay, no one diſaffected man in the Queen's dominions, but who will engage to be of no party, to vote as he finds things juſt, to be as hearty as any man where the Queen's honour, or the nation's good is concerned. Theſe are vague and uncertain propoſitions, which tie him down to nothing, becauſe he is to expound them himſelf.

He lays great weight on Mr. Granville's being put into Cardonnel's employment *; has he forgot Britain enough to imagine that ſo little a creature as the latter is capable of filling, at this time of the day, that poſt? The Queen's ſervice would become ridiculous in ſuch hands, and I will adventure to affirm, that the ſtate of the war could never be carried through the Houſe of Commons by his ſecretary. Faction, indeed, will fit any man for any rank, and where that prevails, Cardonnel might be ſecretary at war, and Meredith † archbiſhop of Canterbury.

* Cordonnel was Secretary to the Duke of Marborough, and at the ſame time Secretary at war, the latter office Mr. Robert Walpole managed for him; and at the change of miniſtry, it was given to Mr Granville.

† Lieutenant-general Meredith, much patronized by the Duke, who had lately procured for him a regiment, againſt the Queen's intentions, as it had been promiſed to Colonel Hill, the brother of Lady Maſham. This conteſt became a trial of ſtrength between the Ducheſs of Marlborough and that Lady. The Duke pretended to be diſguſted, and Meredith obtained the regiment.

If

If he comes home, and diſengages himſelf from the whigs; if he puts a ſtop to the rage and fury of his wife; in ſhort, if he abandons all his new, and takes up with his old friends; by the Queen's favour, and by the remains of regard for him which are preſerved in the breaſts of ſeveral people, he may not only ſtand his grcund; but, in my humble opinion, eſtabliſh himſelf in as lofty a ſituation as it becomes a ſubject to aſpire to: but if he imagines that people will any more be caught with general and inconcluſive diſcourſe; if he thinks that people will any more engage to him whilſt he lies under no engagement, nor gives any ſecurity to them; depend upon me, for once, he will find himſelf deceived. We are as ſenſible as he or any man can deſire us to be of the effort which the Dutch make; but we hope they will be ſo too of the weight which we have taken on ourſelves. Our trade ſinks, and ſeveral channels of it, for want of the uſual flux, become choked, and will in time be loſt; whilſt, in the mean while, the commerce of Holland extends itſelf, and flouriſhes to a great degree. I can ſee no immediate benefit likely to accrue to this nation by the war, let it end how and when it will, beſides the general advantage common to all Europe, of reducing the French power; whilſt it is moſt apparent, that the reſt of the confederates have in their own hands already, very great additions of power and dominion obtained by the war, and particularly the States. You know me enough to be aſſured that I ſpeak this not as being cool in the war, or in any affection to the States. No man living is warmer for both than myſelf; but I would not willingly have theſe good words abuſed any longer; and, under pretence of carrying on the war, and pleaſing Holland, unneceſſary expences be thrown upon us, rapine and extortion be eſtabliſhed for ever.

I had almoſt forgot to mention to you an inſtance of the admirable temper in which the great man is likely, at his return, to find his wife. Among other extravagancies, ſhe now declares that ſhe will print the

Queen's letters to her; letters writ whilſt her Majeſty had the good opinion of her, and the fondneſs for her which her inſolent behaviour ſince that time has abſolutely eradicated.

As to my Lord Albemarle, you are beſt able to judge how capable he is of ſeeing into the true ſtate of our affairs, in caſe he comes over. I will only give you this caution, that it will be matter of obſervation who he comes over with.

My Lord Rocheſter * has more temper than he ever ſhowed in his life, and I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that I never knew a man more eaſy to be lived with; and Lord M.† muſt abate a good deal of the warmth he expreſſed to you, before he will be half ſo moderate as the preſident.

The Queen yeſterday ſpoke from the throne, which ſpeech with the laſt examiner, I order Mr. H. to ſend you. It is not to be conceived how good an effect it has had upon the minds of men: the voice of clamour and detraction is ſtopped, and even the whigs, in an aukward manner, applaud it.

I ſpoke to the Queen upon ſeveral parts of your letter, as I conſtantly do, to her very great ſatisfaction; and ſhe directs me to tell you, as to your Weſt-India project, that ſhe is deſirous to have it thought of and digeſted on your ſide, but truſted to as few as poſſible. If you think it feaſable or probable, engage in it, give us immediate notice, and we will concur with what ſtrength you pleaſe. To tell you the truth, our admiralty is at preſent in ſo unſettled a condition, that no project can be concerted with them; but this evil will ſoon be remedied. If this deſign is purſued, care ſhould be taken to have a better account of the force Du Caſſe goes with, and the time of his departure. The correſpondence of merchants is moſt likely to afford this intelligence.

It is now late, and I have juſt received the Queen's order to ſtop the poſt till to-morrow, by that time, I ſhall be able to inform you what

* Lord-preſident of the Council, and maternal uncle to the Queen.

† Marlborough, theſe two noblemen were rivals for the Queen's favour, and never upon good terms.

the

the two houſes ſay upon the Queen's ſpeech. In the mean time I will acquaint you with what paſſed among the Lords to-day. Scarborough moved to have thanks ſent to Lord Marlborough, Richmond ſeconded, and Wharton thirded the motion. Our people were provoked, but however did not preſs into a warm debate, which gave the Duke of Devonſhire, upon a whiſper he had, time to wave the queſtion, ſo that it dropped ſoftly. One would imagine, that Scarborough had been hired by ſomebody that wiſhes Lord Marlborough ill, to take ſo unconcerted and ſo ridiculous a meaſure. The Lords have this day preſented their addreſs to the Queen, and the Commons have come to the incloſed reſolution, in order to form another. As far as I can judge of the temper of the houſe, every reaſonable thing may be expected from them; but, I believe, they will be ſorry to ſee themſelves, the people they repreſent, and the Queen they have the honour to ſerve, impoſed upon.

I have this morning received the favour of yours of the 5th of December, N.S. and ſhall be glad to hear how your penſionary and the great man agreed; but if you had in Holland any man of genius, he would ſee how neceſſary it is to proceed on a new plan with us, and how feeble the old engines with which they have worked will prove.

As to any deſign of keeping the Duke on the other ſide of the water, I do not conceive why it ſhould be ſuppoſed. What has any one to fear? the nation is awakened from their golden dreams, and I imagine that ſome people want more protection than they can give.

Adieu, let me hear from you as ſoon as you can conveniently.

I am ever, inviolably,

Your's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1710.

I WRIT a long letter to you by the laſt poſt, which came, I hope, ſafely to your hands, ſince it was ſuch a one as none but a friend ſhould ſee.

I have little to ſay to you now; the addreſs of the Commons was this day preſented, and I believe you will think it a very reaſonable, and a very prudent one.

I believe I omitted to mention a fact to you, which I am willing to apprize you of. The States wrote a letter to the Queen, which Monſieur Vryberge delivered to her at a private audience; claiming a promiſe, made the laſt year, to have the debt of the thirteen regiments recommended in her Majeſty's ſpeech to the parliament. I ſent him the anſwer incloſed, by the Queen's order: and when he came the next day to me, I began to explain her Majeſty's intentions, and the reaſons upon which ſhe proceeded, to him. He received this civility in a very warm and impertinent manner, and uſed ſome expreſſions by no means decent. I gave him ſome little check, and returned to the point. I ſhowed him the danger of recommending in ſo very particular a manner this debt, preferable to ſo many others which have been contracted in this war, which are owing to the Queen's ſubjects, and which immediately affect our credit. But I acquainted him that her Majeſty would make this an article in the general account, which was to be laid before the Houſe of Commons, of the national debts, in which manner we ſhall be able to obtain the payment of it; and by the other way, we ſhould have ſoured men's minds, have failed in this inſtance, and have made other matters the more difficult.

You

You ſee nakedly the principles on which we go; and I hope if any falſe repreſentation is given of it, you will ſet the thing in a true light. Vryberge dropped, on this occaſion, ſome words which expreſſed a diſſatisfaction in continuing here: I do aſſure you he cannot like us worſe than we do him; and if ſome ſteps, which he has lately made very privately, come to be more known, he will not be endured.

My Lord Peterborough will in a few days be going to Vienna; he has orders to ſtop at the Hague, and to communicate to the States his inſtructions*. We flatter ourſelves that they will look on the diſputes between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy as the Queen does, and reſolve to bring that affair to a deciſion this winter. The Queen's intentions, and the ſpirit of every body here, ſeem bent to make the greateſt effort poſſible in the war; but, at the ſame time, we ſhall preſs our allies to a better compliance on their parts; we ſhall prove, at leaſt, as good confederates as ever, and ſomething leſs dupes than we uſed to be†.

I am ever, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Dec. 3, 1710.

I HAVE received the favour of your letter of the 9th inſtant, N.S. with the incloſed for Mr. Harley, which I ſent immediately to him, and have ſince read.

* The Earl of Peterborough was appointed to go to Vienna, to adjuſt the difference between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, which had been the cauſe of ſo many inactive campaigns on the ſide of Italy.

† All the allies had been deficient in furniſhing their quota; particularly the Emperor, with reſpect to a land army, and the Dutch with regard to ſhips of war.

One

One paſſage of that letter of yours I will ſay two words upon. My Lord Marlborough thinks that thoſe who adviſe him to continue where he is, conſult their own eaſe as much as his; for my part, I own I ſee no reaſon any man here has to be afraid of his coming over. As his humble ſervant, I wiſh he may, when he is here, engage heartily with thoſe whom the Queen has thought fit to employ, and join in ſuch meaſures as will be effectual to retrieve the misfortune of precedent management. If he imagines that he ſhall be able to put himſelf upon an independent foot, which all his diſcourſe tends to, he will be fatally deceived.

I agree entirely with you, that we muſt never ſubmit to make the firſt ſtep towards peace; on the contrary, I think that, without any regard to that, the utmoſt efforts ſhould be made in every part, for puſhing on the war: but, on the other hand, if ever it ſhall pleaſe God to infuſe into the minds of our enemies a ſincere intention of ending this cruel war, I hope we in Britain, and our good friends in Holland, ſhall be wiſe enough not to ſuffer either the perſons deputed, or thoſe deputing, to be frightened a ſecond time out of their ſenſes*.

The barrier which the States have obtained we are perfectly ſatisfied with; we look upon Holland as the frontier of Britain, and upon theſe two nations together as the bulwark of the Proteſtant intereſts. Suffer no jealouſy of another kind to prevail.

What you tell me of my Lord Marlborough's diſſatisfaction about my Lord Orrery's promotion is very ſurprizing. This gentleman goes over no man's head; and it would be very hard if one man might not have juſtice done him (for Wade was made a brigadier in his wrong) when ſo many have had favour ſhown them, whoſe pretenſions are not

* This alludes to the negociations with the French the year before, and which were renewed the beginning of this year; but it was ſuppoſed that the Duke of Marlborough was againſt a peace, and that his influence determined the conferences.

better than his, unleſs finding fault with the Queen's meaſures be a military virtue, and approving them be akin to mutiny.

I am not at liberty to ſay any thing to you concerning one part of your letter juſt now, but in a poſt or two will write you more clearly; in the mean time, I will tell you, that Sir James Wiſhart will very ſoon be ſent into Holland. He will have ſeveral inſtructions given him, upon which to treat in naval affairs; and one ſecret commiſſion * on which he is to diſcourſe with you; but having no cypher, I dare not write about it. Be ſo good as to give a favourable impreſſion of him; the Queen will truſt him very materially, and it will be very agreeable to her if the States do ſo too. Inform me a little how he muſt entamer his ſecret commiſſion by the firſt poſt.

Our committee of ſupply is open; we have gone through the eſtimate of the navy, and have voted it; the debt on that head is already before the houſe, as all the others will ſhortly be; and, inſtead of concealing, we ſhall affect to lay all things open. What will you ſay, if a Secretary of State ſhould move to go into a committee on the ſtate

* "The ſecret inſtructions for Sir James Wiſhart. Given at our Court, at St. James's, the 14th day of January, 1710-11.

"Anne R.

"You ſhall acquaint the Penſioner, in private, that, beſides the matters contained in your general inſtructions, you are directed to propoſe to him an enterprize which may, in all probability, redound to the greateſt advantage of our kingdoms, of their ſtate, and of the common cauſe.

"You are, on this occaſion, to ſet forth how prodigious a profit accrues to the French by the trade which they have opened to the South-Sea, how much this trade increaſes annually, and how great probability there appears to be that it either is, or will very ſoon be ſettled and allowed of, not only by means of the influence of France over the councils of Spain, but alſo by reaſon of the conveniency which all the inhabitants of Chili, Peru, and the whole coaſt of the South-Sea, find in having European commodities brought to their very doors, which they had no other way formerly of procuring but from the North-Sea.

"In order to prevent theſe miſchiefs, you ſhall propoſe to the Penſioner to make an agreement that three, or four, or a greater number of ſhips if there be occaſion, ſhall be furniſhed by the States-General next ſummer, to join with a proportionable number of our ſhips, for the diſturbing and ruining the enemy's trade in the South-Sea.

"You ſhall make it your buſineſs, during your ſtay in Holland, to inform yourſelf by all poſſible means of the rules obſerved by the French in their South-Sea voyages, of their manner of victualling that ſervice, and of all other matters which may be of information to us in the carrying on this ſervice, or any other which you ſhall think may be properly undertaken in thoſe parts for the advantage of the common cauſe.

"A. R."

Sir James Wiſhart was a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.

of

of the nation? The Houſe ſeems determined to provide for the current ſervice of the year firſt, and after that is over, to find a method of providing for the national debts.

I deſire you to make my humble ſervice acceptable to the Penſionary; and to let him know, that by zeal for the common cauſe, by firmneſs, by aſſiduity, and indefatigable induſtry, we hope to merit eſteem of him and all other honeſt men.

I am ever, dear Sir, yours.

On the 14th of November laſt Mr. T. by my order, incloſed to you a letter for one Du Puys, it is of conſequence, and I hope it came ſafe to your hands.

To Mr Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Dec. 12, 1710.

SINCE my laſt, which acknowledged the favours for which I was then indebted to you, no letters have come from you to my hands.

The Queen has thought fit to diſmiſs Mr. Meredyth, Mr. Mackartney, and Mr. Honeywood from her ſervice; and the reaſon which ſhe commands her ſervants to give for this ſtep is, that ſhe found it abſolutely neceſſary to ſtop the licentious inſolence which was uſed the laſt campaign, both towards her, and towards her adminiſtration, by theſe examples; that ſhe hopes theſe will ſuffice, and that ſhe ſhall not be obliged to make any more *.

Letters

* Lieutenant-general Meredith, Major-general Mackartney, and Brigadier-general Honeywood; theſe officers, who had been lately promoted to the command of regiments, at a convivial meeting, had unguardedly expreſſed in their toaſts, their difapprobation of the change of miniſtry, and in terms

Letters of revocation go by this poſt to Mr. Cadogan, and your friend, Mr. Hill, is already appointed her Majeſty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States, and at Bruſſels. Sir James Wiſhart will very ſoon be with you; his public and general inſtructions will be of much the ſame nature as thoſe which were formerly given to Sir David Mitchell *; but he will be ordered to propoſe a ſervice †, which we here, upon reaſonable grounds, and upon very mature deliberation, think practicable, and very promiſing, and which muſt be truſted to as few as poſſible on their ſide; on ours, none are in the ſecret, except the Preſident the Chamberlain and the Chancellor of the exchequer.

As to parliamentary affairs, we ſhall haſten on the ſupply, and paſs the land-tax before the receſs at Chriſtmas. After that I believe you muſt expect ſome enquiries into former management, For my own part, I do not, I confeſs, ſee how thoſe who are now in the adminiſtration, and who have taken ſuch a broken ſhattered game into their hands, can be ſafe, and avoid bearing the load of other people's guilt, unleſs they make a plain and obvious diſcrimination between their own management, and the natural neceſſary conſequences of that which went before. This will in no ſort retard or ſtraiten the ſupplies for the public ſervice; for which reaſon, you in Holland, who look no farther than the intereſt of the common cauſe, will have no occaſion of being concerned; and for ſuch of our allies as enter into the intereſt of a party, it is not very important how they take it.

terms very indecorous. The Secretary at war ſignified to them that the Queen had no farther occaſion for their ſervices; ſhe, however, permitted them to ſell out The army, at this time, being commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, was ſaid to ſhow a diſpoſition of ſtanding by their general.

* It was uſual for a Lord-commiſſioner of the admiralty to repair to Holland, to concert with the States the marine operations.

† The expedition to the South-Sea, which ſeems to have been a favourite project of Lord Bolingbroke. The editor has two memoirs of a Monſieur Texier, upon the ſubject, which were delivered to his Lordſhip; they relate to the coaſts and harbours, the mode of victualling, and goods proper for South-Sea markets.

Your acquaintance, the Dean of Chriſt Church, is come up to London to die. A ſudden and univerſal decay has ſeized him, and he can languiſh, as Radcliffe * pronounces, but a little longer. It is happy for the college, and for the common intereſt, that he did not die laſt year †.

I have nothing more worth lengthening my letter for. When you ſee the penſionary Buys, do me the juſtice to let him know that I am his ſervant, and believe me, eternally, and with true friendſhip,

Your's.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Dec. 20, 1710.

I INTENDED to have writ to you laſt night, but the Houſe of Commons ſitting till almoſt twelve o'clock, I was really ſo much ſpent and tired that it was impoſſible.

On Saturday, your three letters of the 15th, 19th, and 23d, N.S. came together to my hands; and I begin anſwering them thus early, becauſe I foreſee that I ſhall have little leiſure either to-morrow or Friday.

It is not a little ſurpriſing, that the rumour of the Marechal de Tallard's having obtained leave to go into France ſhould prevail ſo much, ſince it was refuſed as ſoon as aſked. Sinzendorf ‡, as an Imperial miniſter, is frightened at the leaſt remote proſpect of peace; and no wonder, ſince they are ſure at his court of gaining, and have no chance of being loſers by the war.

* Dr. Radcliffe, the phyſician.
† Dr. Aldrich.
‡ Count Sinzendorf, Imperial ambaſſador at the Hague.

If

If there can be any need of ſuch offices, pray be ſo juſt to your friends on this ſide, as to aſſure every body, that though the Queen thinks it perhaps a great hardſhip to keep a man as a priſoner of ſtate, who neither is, nor can be reputed any thing more than a priſoner of war; yet, purely to avoid giving any handle to thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is to turn all things wrong, the Mareſchal continues ſtill at Nottingham.

A good peace would be the beſt thing which could happen for our common intereſt; but we are perſuaded here, that even this bleſſing is not to be deſired, unleſs our enemy aſks it, and unleſs our good allies, the States, go hand in hand with us from the firſt ſtep to the laſt.

The comments made on the Queen's ſpeech are extremely invidious. The true reaſons, I believe, why the word indulgence is uſed preferably to toleration are theſe:

Firſt, becauſe the former is the term in law; ſecondly, becauſe, in truth, diſſenters are not tolerated: the penalty of the law is only ſuſpended, and they, by conſequence, only indulged. And, thirdly, becauſe ſome have been of late years ſo hardy as to aſſert, that being tolerated by act of parliament, amounts to a legal eſtabliſhment; and that therefore they are on as good a foot as the church of England.

Since people, barely indulged, are ſo ready to contend for a parity, it is much to be feared, that if this point were once yielded to them, they would ſoon ſtruggle for a ſuperiority. On this head, you may aſſure yourſelf, and others, that the principle of the preſent miniſtry is neither to oppreſs the diſſenters, under pretence of ſecuring the eſtabliſhment, nor to ſuffer them, under the ſpecious colour of moderation, to gain ſpirit and ſtrength enough to provoke and inſult the church.

The other reflection has no better reaſon to ſupport itſelf than this; we are very far from imagining that the Flanders war ſhould be

neglected, where ſuch great impreſſions have been made on the French; we feel by experience, how inſupportable an expence it is to carry on a regular war with great armies in Spain; we ſee, beſides, how little hopes there are of any aſſiſtance from the good-will of the Spaniards to our cauſe; but ſtill we think, that the expence which we have been at, well applied, would have been effectual; we think, that two thouſand horſe and ſome battalions of foot more, might this year have enabled us to keep our poſt in Caſtile; in ſhort, not to enumerate too many particulars, we think, that either there ſhould have been no war in Spain, or another ſort of one. *Nous nous brulons à petit feu*; we exhauſt ourſelves inſenſibly; and a million and a half is given to no purpoſe by us, when a very ſmall addition to this on the part of our allies would perhaps have been deciſive.

As to the impeachment* which is ſaid to be threatened by the Houſe of Commons, and which you are told will not turn to any account whenever it is begun; I have only this to ſay, that I verily believe no ſuch thing is intended; but that, if it was, neither matter would be wanting, nor the means, with very little management, to carry it through both houſes †.

I will give you, upon this occaſion, one inſtance of the good temper of our friends in the Lower Houſe. On Tueſday, the election of Bewdley was tried at the bar; the whole merits whereof turned upon the validity of a charter granted by the Queen about two years and a half ago. It appeared ſo plainly, that this charter was illegal in its own nature, and impoſed by force, contrary to Magna Charta, on the borough, that no man but Lechmere durſt ſpeak in defence of it. Nor was the charter only a grievance, as great, if not greater than any of thoſe inſtances ſo much exclaimed againſt in King James's time; but

* Probably of the Duke of Marlborough.

† Upon an inſpection of the expenditure of public money, various frauds, to a very large amount, were diſcovered, which were afterwards laid before parliament.

the

the manner of procuring it was alſo highly aggravating, ſince it was made out, that the Queen's warrant directed one thing, and that by virtue of that very warrant another thing was effected. What was the reſult of this? why the election was ſettled, the charter cenſured; and the Queen addreſſed that the town of Bewdley might be reſtored to their ancient rights; but nothing perſonal was moved. If the tables had been turned, if the preſent keeper had been at the time Chancellor; and if the preſent majority of Tories had been a majority of Whigs; I leave you to judge, by what has happened in the laſt parliament, what would have happened in this.

December the 22d.

LAST night we received letters from Liſbon; the incloſed is an extract of the news which they bring from our army in Caſtile; and by it you will find that the French accounts have impoſed very much upon us, ſince, though the King is gone to Barcelona, yet the troops continue in the poſts on the Tagus, and near Madrid; and beſides, his guard is ſo ſmall, that the communication with Arragon and Catalonia muſt needs be open, and without difficulty.

I muſt explain one paſſage in my former letters, which ſeems to have been a little miſtaken. Vryberge did not a ſecond time preſs the debts due to the thirteen regiments; he was impertinent, in the manner I ſent you an account of, the firſt time I ſpoke to him by her Majeſty's order on the ſubject: ſince that time, *il a filé doux* *.

I am extremely pleaſed to hear that my Lord Albemarle makes ſo great a figure, both from his merit, and from his favour. If you have an opportunity of doing it, you will oblige me in making my humble ſervice acceptable to him, and in aſſuring him that I ſhall take any opportunity of ſhowing my reſpect to him as an extraordinary happineſs and honour.

* He has ſubmitted.

I proteſt

I proteſt to you, I cannot with patience hear my Lord Marlborough, ſpeaking of the Whigs, call them his old friends. Who ſupported him in the King's time, but we?—Who gave my Lord Godolphin and himſelf a party in the beginning of the Queen's reign, but we?—To whom, in ſhort, does he owe the obligation that his friend, Godolphin, and he, were not nipped in the bud of their adminiſtration, but to thoſe people whom afterwards, if not at the very time, they two betrayed, and have ſince perſecuted in the moſt cruel manner, for no reaſon on earth, but becauſe we would not renounce principle, friendſhip, and whatever elſe is ſacred among honeſt men? In good earneſt, Sir, I ſhould be glad to ſee my Lord Marlborough engage heartily in the true intereſt, and forbear to ſacrifice his country to rapine and to faction; but I begin to deſpair of it: for my own part, I will ſteadily purſue the meaſures I am now in, let the conſequence be what it will. I have communicated to the Queen the greateſt part of your laſt letters, and I read the whole to the Duke of Shrewſbury. Her Majeſty is very well pleaſed with the accounts which you give, and very ſenſible of the pains you take in her ſervice; the Duke deſires you to look upon him as your humble ſervant, and to be aſſured that he is ſo far from taking umbrage at your being let into the ſecret of his correſpondence with my Lord Albemarle, that there is no perſon to whom he would more freely open himſelf than to you.

Sir James Wiſhart is declared one of the Lords of the admiralty, and I carried him this evening to kiſs the Queen's hand. The true reaſon of delaying his journey I will truſt you with—his ſecret inſtruction: and the true reaſon of his journey is to endeavour to concert a Weſt-India deſign for the next year, if the war continues.

Now we are deſirous to have my Lord Peterborough gone from the Hague, on his way to Vienna, before Sir James arrives there; becauſe, though my Lord might be a very proper man to command in

ſuch an expedition, yet we had rather commit the forming of the plan to another. Sir James Wiſhart will have orders to apply himſelf to the Grand Penſionary *, and my Lord Townſhend will be directed to introduce him. My Lord will likewiſe be directed to aſſiſt in the negociation, as far as relates to the quotas of ſhips for the next year's ſervice, but I do not believe the other part will be truſted to him.

As to Monſieur Vryberge, I deſire you to aſſure the Penſionary, that I will ever reſpect him as the miniſter of the beſt and neareſt allies which my miſtreſs has. I have endeavoured to ſhow him that no part of his conduct ſticks with me, and I believe he has too good an opinion of me to imagine I am ignorant of the little factious intrigues he has been tampering in.

Mr. Hill will not be able to undertake the commiſſion which the Queen deſigned him for. Since his inſtructions were drawn, the ſurgeons and phyſicians have, at a conſultation, declared him incapable of the ſervice: he muſt be cut for a ſevere fiſtula, and it is much to be apprehended that he may die in the operation †. I tell you, in confidence, that Lord Raby will be the ambaſſador at the Hague: all this *ſit inter nos.*

I ſhall write to you by Mr. Gordon, who goes from hence in the beginning of next week; he is one to whom I muſt deſire your countenance.

Forgive the length of this tedious letter; and believe that I think I do my miſtreſs more ſervice by correſponding with you than with any of her miniſters.

I am, &c.

* Anthony Heinſius, Keeper of the Seals, had been, from his youth, engaged in public affairs. He was intimately connected with Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough; and this connection, united with his hatred to France (where, upon a former occaſion, and in a public capacity, he had been threatened with the Baſtille) urged him to be rigorous in the terms of peace.

† Richard Hill, appointed (vice General Cadogan) envoy-extraordinary to the States, and to the Council of State in the Spaniſh Netherlands.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Dec. 26, 1710.

ON Saturday laſt I received the favours of your letters of the 26th and 30th of this month, N.S. and this morning the poſt brought me that of the 2d of January; for all which I deſire you to accept of my humble thanks.

I believe thoſe gentlemen who have received lately the marks of her Majeſty's diſpleaſure cannot find many advocates. It was high time either to leave off the ſtyle of Queen, or to aſſert the character, and make her authority be felt. The Duke's expreſſion, mentioned in the firſt letter upon this occaſion, is very liable to theſe two reflections: that if theſe were limbs which belonged to him, they were gangrened, and amputation of them was the beſt office any friend could do him. If theſe are the only perſons he could work with, the work he has to do is very fit to be prevented.

The Penſionary's behaviour, certainly, was very becoming his prudence and great capacity; and when I read that paragraph of your letter to the Queen, ſhe ſeemed to think ſo too.

As to the reports of my going over to Holland, and of ſeveral other matters, there is as little ground for them as there is for many repreſentations which Vryberge, I believe, makes upon the credit of his Whig correſpondents; not but that I hope, and believe, the Queen will go on to remove thoſe from her who preſume to declare againſt her.

Yeſterday, before the Cabinet-council ſat, your envoy took me aſide in the Queen's bed-chamber. His buſineſs was to tell me what he had ſaid the day before to her Majeſty; which the Queen was

pleaſed herſelf to give me an account of, ſo that I ſtood in no need of his information. He talked to her extremely of keeping the two nations in the cloſeſt union; and often repeated that phraſe, *agir de concert*. The Queen told him ſhe always had, and always would do ſo.

I aſſured him that I looked upon a good harmony between Britain and Holland as the true intereſt of both countries; and that for this very reaſon I was full of indignation againſt thoſe people who caballed here, not only to diſturb us at home, but to give falſe impreſſions of us abroad, and by ſuch factious proceedings to create jealouſies between the two nations. I dare ſay he underſtood me. I endeavoured to behave myſelf *ſuaviter in modo, fortiter in re*.

Among other things, at this private audience, Mr. Vryberge aſked the Queen with whom he was to confer when he ſhould have matters of great importance to communicate? ſhe told him, with me. For God's ſake, what anſwer did he expect? You would hardly believe him weak enough to tell even this part of his converſation to me; but I ſuppoſe he thought that if he had not the Queen would, and in this he judged right.

I have nothing to ſay for or againſt my Lord Townſhend *; I hope he ſerves the Queen well; I am ſure it is his duty to do ſo, preferably to all conſiderations of party.

The rumour about our allowance of French wine is groundleſs; though, I muſt deal plainly with you, the Dutch would have the worſt grace in the world to complain in this caſe.

Our misfortune in Spain is very great †; and we feel the weight the more, becauſe our letters from Portugal had juſt before the arrival

* The Queen's ambaſſador-plenipotentiary, jointly with the Duke of Marlborough, at the Hague.

† Staremberg had been defeated at Villa Vicioſa, and Stanhope, with his whole force, ſurrendered priſoners of war at Bahuaga. Had the Portugal army marched in time, the campaign had probably been ſucceſsful.

of theſe, given us hopes that our army would be able to keep their poſts in Caſtile, and, by conſequence, that we had the winter before us to prepare for ſupporting of them. I ſpeak my mind always with the laſt freedom to you; and I own that, ſince Spain cannot be gained by revolution (of which error, impoſed by the Imperialiſts, and by that run of ſucceſs which we once had in Catalonia and Valencia, upon us, we are at laſt fatally undeceived) there is no reaſonable, ſober man who can entertain a thought of conquering and retaining that wide continent: however, a good mien is to be put on, and the war there muſt be kept alive, and France muſt be puſhed with the greateſt vigour in the moſt ſenſible part.

It is very unfortunate that the long continuance of the weſterly winds has hindered our nine battalions from ſailing, and your ſquadron of ſhips from coming to join ours.

But what ſhall we ſay to the news from Conſtantinople*?—What a turn to the whole affairs of Europe may this rupture of the Turk with Muſcovy occaſion? I need not trace out to you the conſequences which may too probably follow; you ſee them better than I do. In ſhort, my good friend, there is a certain point to which all human affairs may be carried, and no farther can they go; the wiſe man feels this, and ſtops in time; we have wantonly overloaded Fortune, ſhe ſinks under the burden, and can or will aſſiſt ſuch preſumptuous people no longer.

The Queen writes both to the Emperor and to the States upon this occaſion, and preſſes them both to exert themſelves with vigour, as ſhe engages to do on her part.

As to the affair of the Buenos Aires' ſhips, I muſt own myſelf not very perfectly informed of it, my Lord Townſhend never having one

* Charles XII, King of Sweden, having loſt his army and his kingdom by his defeat at Pultowa, fled to Turkey, where he contrived to prevail on the Grand Signior to eſpouſe his cauſe, and to declare war againſt the Czar.

word ordered him, ſince I came to be Secretary of State, of this kind; neither has he, in any of his letters to me, once mentioned the caſe. To ſpeak plainly, I am of opinion, that my Lord Sunderland * is more concerned in theſe inſtances than the Queen, and the honour of his counterſigning than of her ſigning. I have taken occaſion to ſpeak of this affair in my diſpatches to the ambaſſador; and upon his anſwer, which I will lay before her Majeſty, I will endeavour to procure ſuch orders as may bring this matter into a reaſonable temper, and no longer leave that to be raſhly purſued which perhaps was raſhly begun.

Since the writing thus far I have been, from my office, at St. James's. I mentioned this affair to the Queen, ſhe directed me to enquire of my Lord Townſhend on what foot it ſtands at preſent; ſo that, upon his anſwer, there will be a fair occaſion of giving any reaſonable orders in this affair.

You may uſe your diſcretion in ſhowing what you think proper of my letters to the Grand Penſionary; and particularly I deſire you to explain to him, in the laſt confidence, what is ſaid concerning the Spaniſh war above, as my private ſenſe. You may let him know that it is the Queen's too.

Could you find a right meaſure of ſounding the Penſionary, whether they would be eaſy if, having no other way of ſupporting our affairs in Spain or Portugal, we ſhould take ſome Britiſh battalions from Flanders; we have ſeveral there more than ſtrictly we are obliged to, and the Dutch have at leaſt ſix which were brought home after the battle of Almanza, and ought to have been ſent back. Adieu.

I am, &c.

* Secretary of State in the late adminiſtration. He married the daughter of the Duke of Marlborough.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Jan. 5, 1710-11.

MR. H. made my excuſes to you on Friday laſt, and you are ſo well acquainted with the prodigious hurry of buſineſs which at this time of the year a man muſt live in who has any employment to fill, that I dare ſay you accepted and allowed of them. Since that time, your letter of the 9th of this month, N.S. is alſo come to my hands, I ſhall ſay little in anſwer to the firſt paragraph in it. You ſpeak modeſtly of yourſelf and of your ſervices; but I muſt think that the part which you have been ſo generous to act, has been of more advantage to the Queen's affairs, than all that her miniſters have done for her, who are very numerous and very expenſive on your ſide of the world.

Lechmere whom we turned out of the houſe very juſtly, is brother to the lawyer, whom I ſuppoſe you mean *; the patron of the latter, deſerves no better fortune than you ſeem to wiſh him, and I believe he is under no ſmall uneaſineſs of mind. His adminiſtration in Ireland was in many reſpects ſcandalous, but his corruption was perhaps greater than any you ever heard of; the facts are known to ſeveral, and ſome have the proofs in their power; whether in this Seſſion, time will be found to worry him or not, I am as yet unable to ſay.

We were indeed, as you obſerve, ſoon wakened from that golden dream into which the Portugal letters had thrown us. That houſe of Auſtria has been the evil genius of Britain. I never think of the conduct of

* Anthony Lechmere, returned member of parliament for Bewdley, and expelled the Houſe, was brother to Nicholas Lechmere, who was member for Appleby, one of the managers on Dr. Sacheverall's trial, and patronized by Lord Wharton, then juſt recalled from the Lord-lieutenancy of Ireland.

that

that family, without recollecting the image of a man braiding a rope of hay whilſt his aſs bites it off at the other end.

The expence of the Spaniſh war has been exceſſive, and yet ſo managed as never to turn to account; I will, when I have an hour of leiſure, draw an extract of the ſums given, and the debts incurred. I dare ſay, before hand, you will hardly give me credit. In ſhort, that was the gulph where treaſure was thrown in, and no care taken of the application of it.

The Houſe of Commons are entering on the examination of frauds committed in the victualling, they will proceed afterwards to ſome others, and I make no queſtion, but that the late applauded adminiſtration of the Treaſury will appear, before this ſeſſion concludes, to have been the moſt looſe, the moſt negligent, the moſt partial that ever any country ſuffered by.

I eaſily believe that ſuch directions as you mention, have been ſent to Mr. Vryberge, and he ſeems by his conduct in ſome meaſure to act accordingly; but, my good friend, there is not need of any great ſagacity to find out that our friends in Holland are not yet clear in their judgment or reſolution how to live with us; there would, in ſuch caſe, very ſoon be a miniſter ſent hither, in whom we could have ſome confidence, inſtead of this man who has really been the tool of a faction, and has made himſelf as odious as any party man of our country *. I take it for granted, that your people are made to believe that there are diviſions amongſt the Queen's ſervants, and that this new miniſtry is come to no conſiſtency, and by conſequence cannot for any time ſupport itſelf: but theſe reaſoners are deceived, we are built on a better bottom than they imagine, and the laſt will be made too odious to return again into power. My Lord Marlborough has been here now ſome time; I

* Notwithſtanding his Lordſhip's opinion, Vryberge, the Dutch envoy, lived ten years in this country much reſpected, and died of a conſumption at Chelſea, greatly regretted, in the year 1711.

have

have been once with him, and he as often with me. It would be too tedious to recapitulate all that paſſed; in general I ſpoke my mind with all imaginable frankneſs to him, and could not forbear ſhowing him the difference between thoſe friends he once had, and thoſe whom he had abandoned them for *. He ſeems more and more dejected, and I believe finds two things which he did not expect: the firſt, that his intereſt is quite gone in a certain place; and, the ſecond, that he can make no breach in the church party, becauſe not one individual man amongſt them will truſt him.

My Lord Peterborough's journey is delayed for a day or two at the deſire of the houſe of Lords, who have this day begun to deliberate upon the affairs of Spain.

My Lord Orrery will be ſent to Bruſſels, and will have likewiſe credentials for the Hague; this is known, but not having been declared in form, muſt not be ſaid to come from me. As to the other miniſter†, I believe there is no alteration can be made, ſince I have already acquainted him privately with the Queen's intention.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur de Roberthon.

MONSIEUR,

Whitehall, ce 9me Jan. 1710-11, V.S.

JE me ſens penché de la plus vive reconnoiſſance de l'honneur que ſon Alteſſe Electorale a daigné me faire. Je vous ſupplie de lui renouveller mes aſſurances qu'on ne peut être plus dévoué à ſon ſervice, & à celui de ſon illuſtre maiſon, que je le ſuis. Dans toutes les ſituations d'une vie aſſez agitée, j'ai taché de faire paroître ces

* The Duke, at the commencement of his political career, had embarked with the Tories.
† Probably Lord Raby.

ſentimens,

ſentimens, et ſi j'étois capable de les changer, je me croirois indigne du caractère de bon Proteſtant, bon Anglois, ou fidel ſerviteur de la Reine ma maîtreſſe.

Monſieur de Bothmar * eſt à préſent ici. Je ne manquerai pas de vivre avec lui dans une confiance entière, et il peut compter ſur tous les ſervices que je lui pourrai rendre. J'eſpère même lui avoir montré que c'eſt mon deſſein.

Je tombe d'accord que pendant le ſéjour de Monſieur de Bothmar à Londres, il ſera fort inutile que vous vous donniez la peine de m'écrire; je vous ferai par ſon canal mes complemens, et je ſerai toujours, avec beaucoup d'eſtime, Monſieur,

Votre très-humble, etc.

A Monſieur Buys.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 12me Jan. 1710-11, V.S.

JE ſuis ravi de voir que vous étiez content de l'ouverture de notre parlement; j'oſe prédire que vous ne le ſerez pas moins de ſa concluſion.

Les perſonnes dont vous parlez méritent bien ce caractère de modérées (que quelques autres ſe ſont attribué avec très-peu de juſtice) puiſqu'ils ont plus d'une fois arrêté la violence de nos partis, et jamais plus à-propos que dans la révolution de notre miniſtère, en dernier lieu, ſans ce coup, nous devenions les eſclaves d'une faction chez nous, pendant que par dehors nous faiſions les derniers efforts pour la liberté de l'Europe. Il faut eſpérer qu'avec le tems tous nos amis verront combien ils ont été trompés par ces gens, qui leur ont voulu perſuader qu'il

* Baron de Bothmar, envoy from the court of Hanover.

s'agiſſoit de l'intérêt de la cauſe commune, quand, dans le fond, il ne s'agiſſoit que de celui de quelques particuliers.

Les pommes de diſcorde doivent être toujours écartées autant qu'il eſt poſſible. On n'aura rien à nous reprocher ſur cet article, mais auſſi il ne faut pas que nous oublions que nos parlemens ont été inſtitués, par la ſageſſe de nos ancêtres, pour examiner la diſtribution des deniers publics, auſſi-bien que les donner.

Permettez moi de vous renvoyer à ce que j'ai écrit à Monſieur Drummond touchant les fonds que nous trouverons pour les fraix de la guerre, et pour le payement de nos dettes.

Le Duc de Marlborough eſt préſentement ici; il a pris le parti de ſe ſoumettre en toutes choſes au bon plaiſir de la Reine, et ſur ce pied il pourra ſe ſoutenir. Tous ceux qui ont l'honneur d'être dans les affaires ſont prêts à le prendre par la main, et à rendre les meilleurs ſervices à ſa Majeſté et à la cauſe commune, dont ils ſoient capables, de concert avec lui; mais il faut marcher droit.

Je vous tiens la parole que je vous ai donné dans ma première lettre, et je vous écris ſans réſerve.

Meſſieurs les Commiſſaires de la Tréſorerie ont ce matin reçu les ordres de la Reine, de fournir l'argent néceſſaire pour faire une plus grande proviſion de fourrage; et par la poſte qui part ce ſoir, il ſe fait une remiſe de cent dix-mille livres ſterling pour le ſervice des troupes en général. Ainſi vous voyez, Monſieur, que, bien loin de négliger la guerre de Flandre, toutes les meſures ſont priſes d'un mois ou de cinque ſemaines plu-tôt qu'elles n'ont accoutumées de l'être, pour la ſoutenir de notre côté; en effet, les préparatifs extraordinaires des ennemis exigent cela de nous.

Il faut eſpérer, avec la bénédiction du ciel, de conſerver cette ſupériorité que nous avons gagné, nonobſtant tous les facheux contretems qui viennent d'arriver.

A l'égard

A l'égard de la paix, je crois comme vous, qu'il ne faut jamais conſentir à une qui ſoit méchante; il me ſemble que pour en obtenir une bonne, il faut obſerver inviolablement ces deux maximes: en premier lieu, de ne pas faire les avances; et en ſecond lieu, de ne pas trop ſe roidir, et rejetter des propoſitions raiſonnables *.

Je ſuis, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Jan. the 12th, 1710-11.

YOUR letters of the 13th and 16th inſtant, N.S. are come to my hands; they give, like all your others, very great ſatisfaction; and I am truly thankful to you for them.

I am glad to find the Count de Sinzendorf is pleaſed with the conduct of our court, I wiſh I could ſay that we are ſo with his; but indeed we are almoſt tired of an ally, who expects every thing and does nothing.

I will certainly live well with Vryberge; but remember what I wrote to you upon the ſubject lately.

The Penſionary's opinion, in relation to the war, agrees very well with that which is entertained here.

We think it of the laſt conſequence to take the field as early as poſ-

* Some ſhort time before the date of this letter, it had been reſolved in the cabinet to ſound the court of France on the ſubject of peace; to this end, the Earl of Jerſey propoſed Gaultier a prieſt, who had been chaplain to Tallard when on the embaſſy to our court, and afterwards to Count de Gallas, the Imperial envoy, a man ſufficiently obſcure for the purpoſe: his inſtructions were not given by any of the miniſters, were verbal, and delivered by the Earl of Jerſey; to this effect, that the Queen's miniſters were deſirous of peace; that they could not, from motives of ſafety, ſet on foot a private negotiation with France: that therefore the king of France muſt renew the conferences, and that the Britiſh ambaſſadors ſhould have ſuch orders as ſhould prevent any impediment on the part of the Dutch. To ſhow the inclination of the French court, he required a letter to Lord Jerſey, expreſſing nothing more than perſonal compliments to his lordſhip. Gaultier arrived in France 15*th January, N.S.* (Torcy's Memoires). This letter ſeems to be preparatory to the avowal of negociations which were then commencing.

ſible; and with a ſtrength at leaſt equal to what we have had in Flanders. We are convinced that an offenſive war cannot be puſhed in Spain, but we deſire to put on all the good countenance on that ſide which we can; and in effect to keep our ground in Catalonia. On the Rhine, no effort will ever be made; but a ſtrong diverſion ought, if poſſible, to be given from Savoy. On all theſe heads, the Queen is actually doing ſo much, that we ſhall have no reaſon to reproach ourſelves; and though we have loſt (with the Penſionary's good leave) one glorious opportunity of bringing a peace to bear, yet I make no doubt but we ſhall be able ſtill to force the enemy to offer us another.

I believe, though I have hardly had time to aſk him the queſtion, that the Chancellor of the exchequer writes to you; if ſo, you will have from him a better account of credit, and of the ſupplies, than I can pretend to ſend you, ſince the whole attention of my mind is turned another way; and I take up thoſe things but caſually; and as it were *en paſſant*: however, thus much I will acquaint you with; the remittance is ordered to-day for the douceurs as well as pay of the troops in Flanders: and the Queen, in cabinet, directed the Lords of the treaſury to prepare to anſwer an extraordinary expence, on account of an additional proviſion of forage. The great preparations of the enemy on the Somme, as well as the Maeſe and Sambre ſide, are known to us, and we have taken the alarm, without ſtaying till you gave it. I hope theſe meaſures in Holland will have their effect; and thoſe miniſters who do things with ſo good a grace, will not be taxed with intending to ſtarve the war, where my Lord Marlborough commands.

You will obſerve, that theſe proviſions are made much ſooner than in my Lord Godolphin's time.

In the committee of ſupply, a vote has this day paſſed to grant a

ſupply to her Majeſty, to enable her to make a contract for anſwering all non-ſpecie exchequer-bills; the contract is ſettled with the Bank, and we make no doubt of raiſing our credit immediately. We ſhall proceed to the conſideration of our debts, which amount to near ten millions. Great as they are, we ſhall attempt to make, even this ſeſſion, a proviſion for them; and Mr Harley tells me, that he is under no apprehenſion of not ſucceeding.

Pray make our friends in Holland obſerve how groſsly they have been impoſed upon; and how ſimple a figure they make when they pretend to judge of our affairs, and to act the cenſors ſo raſhly as they have lately done.

As to the great man you mention, I have wrote a few but plain words to your penſionary. He was not received with the acclamations you heard of; and they are much miſtaken who imagine that he can be upon any other bottom than what the Queen pleaſes to put him. I dare ſay he is convinced by this time that he cannot lead either his miſtreſs, or any one elſe, as he uſed to do. We ſhall ſend him over a ſubject, take care you do not put royalty into his head again.

Adieu, I am, &c.

*To Mr. Scott**.

SIR,

Whitehall, Jan. 16th, 1710-11.

IT was great pleaſure to me to find by your letter of the ſecond of the laſt month, that you ſtill preſerve a kind remembrance of an old acquaintance; and that you have all thoſe favourable thoughts of me,

* James Scott, Britiſh Reſident at Dreſden.
The following letter is from this gentleman to the Earl of Peterborough (then at Frankfort):

" My Lord, " Dreſden, Sept 22d, 1711.

" I was thinking to do myſelf the honour to write to your Excellency by the laſt poſt, but was uncertain whether my letters might find you at Frankfort; they will I believe now, and I hope your Lordſhip will eaſily believe, that I ſhall reckon it a very particular happineſs, if, during your ſtay there, I can tranſmit any thing from this place that may either be for her Majeſty's ſervice, or your Lordſhip's entertainment. What I think moſt worth your while at preſent is, that the Czar arrived here on Sunday laſt, about four in the afternoon, and ſoon after went to ſupper at Mr. Vitzdam's, who is grand fauconier here, and a ſort of favourite with his Czariſh majeſty. Yeſterday, he diverted himſelf by going to ſee what is thought to be worth ſeeing in the town, and about it; and at night Mr. Vitzdam gave him another entertainment at his houſe, where the beſt company in town of both ſexes was invited. I had alſo the honour to be of the party; and muſt own I was not ſorry to have that occaſion of obſerving, ſomewhat nearer than I had done before, ſo extraordinary a prince. I was ſurpriſed to hear him talk with ſo much *ſang froid* of his late diſaſters; for he made no difficulty to own, that his men were reduced to the greateſt extremity; and that ſeveral of them had died of hunger: he owned alſo, that his cavalry was entirely ruined; in a word, he ſeemed to laugh in his ſleeve, that the Turks had made no greater advantage of his ill circumſtances, or rather, perhaps, that they had let him go without being well aſſured of the execution of the treaty; for I find his Czariſh majeſty doth not ſtand to ſay plainly, that he will not give up Aſoph till the king of Sweden hath left the Turkiſh dominions; and that if the Port gives an eſcort to that prince of above 5000 men, he will not think himſelf obliged to grant him ſafe paſſage. In a little time we ſhall know what will happen as to thoſe points; but certainly the king of Sweden cannot wiſh for any thing better than that the Czar may not ſtand to his treaty; ſince, in that caſe, the Grand Viſier would, in all appearance, fall a ſacrifice to the Sultan's reſentment; and new meaſures, I believe, would be taken at the Port, more for his Swediſh Majeſty's intereſt than what have been taken hitherto. The Czar went this morning for Carlſbadt, and it is thought will come back here again, after having drank the waters. We hear from Pomerania, that the Swedes having formed a deſign of giving their enemy ſome diverſion, by a deſcent into Zealand, had made their preparations at Malmoe, which the Danes getting notice of, went with part of their fleet before that place; and, having thrown in a conſiderable quantity of bombs, it it believed they have done great damage to the houſes of the town, and deſtroyed ſeveral tranſport-ſhips. We flatter ourſelves alſo here in the hopes that the northern confederates will ſoon be maſters of the iſland of Rugen; and that afterwards Strahlſund will not be able to hold out long; conſidering that the garriſon of that place is very numerous, and that the Swedes have the greateſt part of their magazines and proviſions in Rugen. The Czar gives alſo, I hear, 7000 men more of his troops to block up Stettin; and hath ordered clokes to be made for them. They give out here, likewiſe, that the Polanders, upon an invitation they have had from the Turks to renew their ancient friendſhip and alliance with the Porte, have declared that

me, which I am the more obliged to you for, by how much leſs pretence I can claim to deſerve them.

All thoſe who are concerned in the late turn which has happened here, and truly that is much the largeſt part of the people of Britain, are likewiſe indebted to you for your hearty good wiſhes.

Our revolution of miniſters made a great noiſe by the clamour of party emiſſaries; and it were to be wiſhed that ſome of our friends abroad had not taken ſo idle an alarm, and ſuffered themſelves to be ſo groſsly impoſed upon.

Every thing goes on as well as in our circumſtances it is poſſible to expect, and better than it could have done, if affairs had continued in thoſe hands whom Queen and people were tired of, and under the utmoſt diſſatisfaction with.

I have told my Lord Rivers (who is much your ſervant) and Dr. Hutton likewiſe, that it will be a very particular ſatisfaction to me to find an opportunity of doing you ſervice. I repeat theſe profeſſions to yourſelf, and you may depend upon me, for I have brought all my country ſincerity with me to court, and by the grace of God I will preſerve it.

I have already ſpoke to the Queen in general about you; in a proper ſeaſon I will be more particular*.

The elector's miniſter, Monſieur de Bothmar, has now been here ſome time. I hope he is ſatisfied with my behaviour towards him, it ſhall not be my fault if he has not a right information of the

that they will not, unleſs King Auguſtus be comprehended, and acknowledged: in a word, appearances, at preſent, ſeem to be very much againſt his Swediſh Majeſty; and if that Prince's expectations be balked at the Porte, as moſt people now think they are, his affairs are in a very deſperate condition, and I ſhould think it high time for the allies, in that caſe, to interpoſe a little in his behalf. I am, my Lord,

"Your Excellency's moſt obedient,
"Moſt humble ſervant,
"JAS. SCOTT."

* Scott was ſoon after this appointed Envoy to the King of Poland.

true

true ſtate of things in this kingdom, which his predeceſſor never had, and, by conſequence, was never able to do his maſter any good ſervice.

I ſhall be glad to hear often from you, and am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Jan. 19th, O.S. 1710-11.

AS buſy a night as three poſts received at once make this to be, I cannot omit returning you my very hearty thanks for your obliging letters of the 20th and 26th, N.S. and the ſatisfactory accounts contained in them.

Since Mr. Gordon works under ſo good a director, I make no doubt of his ſucceſs. Cadogan is, I hear, coming hither, and his abſence will make the conjuncture more favourable. I ſhall to-morrow ſpeak to my Lord Orrery to haſten his departure, which will not, I hope, be long delayed, ſince his inſtructions are ſigned, his warrants paſſed, and all his neceſſary diſpatches made. You were very kind in giving a good character of him to the Penſioner.

He is a man of honour and integrity, and I hope that you will be ſatisfied with him.

As to the other *, I am ſorry you do not think that he is likely to prove agreable at the Hague; ſince that matter has gone too far to be now altered. My Lord Raby writes me word, that he had truſted Monſieur d'Ilgen, the Secretary of State at Berlin, with the ſecret; and from him, no doubt, the Pruſſian Reſident at the Hague had his intelligence. I am ſorry it has got wind abroad, ſince I aſſure you it has not yet been communicated to the cabinet-council here.

* Lord Raby. He had been Envoy extraordinary to the court of Berlin.

Nobody

Nobody can have a truer value for Mr. Watkins * than I have. I am ſo far from wiſhing him any degradation, that I ſhould do few things with greater pleaſure than I ſhould contribute to his advancement. I have ſome thoughts of this kind, which, when they are a little better digeſted, I will acquaint you with.

My Lord Marlborough brought, laſt night, his wife's key to the Queen †; and if he had begun by making this ſtep, it had been better, ſince nothing could ſour the Queen's mind more than the endeavours which he uſed to keep his Ducheſs in her places. He promiſes very fair; I believe all the Queen's ſervants will behave themſelves ſo as to make his ſerving abroad not only practicable but eaſy to him.

I return you my Lord Albemarle's letter, which gives me a very real value for him. There appears in every line of it great ſincerity and perfect good ſenſe. Be ſo juſt to me, as to aſſure his Lordſhip of my moſt humble ſervice, and of the great reſpect which I have for his character. I wiſh I could pretend to deſerve that which he is pleaſed to beſtow on me: but you may aſſure him, that I have a heart full of zeal for the ſervice of the common cauſe, and that at leaſt my earneſt endeavours to do good ſhall not be wanting.

There are many points in your letters to be anſwered, which I muſt defer till next poſt; by which time I will give you a better account in relation to the Spaniſh ſhips.

Go on, in God's name, to cultivate the harmony between our friends the Dutch and us. It is the beſt ſervice which any man can do to both nations.

Such a turn as we have lately made in our miniſtry, is not to be

* Henry Watkins was chief clerk to Bolingbroke, when Secretary at War, and afterwards was Judge-Advocate.

† The Ducheſs of Marlborough was Firſt Lady of the Bed-chamber, Lady of the Wardrobe, and Privy Purſe to her Majeſty, and Ranger of Windſor Parks; which laſt place ſhe retained, as it had been given to her for a certain number of years.

wrought

wrought without ſome diſorders; but ſurely fewer never happened upon ſuch an occaſion; our circumſtances would not admit delaying of it to the end of the war. The diſtemper was precipitated, and we ſhould have been too late to ſave ourſelves, if we had not applied an immediate cure.

Adieu, I am ever, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

January 23, 1710-11.

BESIDES your letters of the 20th and 26th, which I acknowledged on Tueſday, I have now received yours of the 30th, N.S.

The Queen has been a little troubled with the gout; and three poſts coming in together almoſt, have ſo overloaded us with buſineſs, that I have not been able to take her Majeſty's pleaſure concerning the Spaniſh ſhips, or indeed to lay the matter before my Lords of the Council. I will not fail by the very firſt opportunity to do both; and I hope to turn that affair to your ſatisfaction.

As to the great man, I own to you freely, he acts, in my opinion, a little and an ill-judged part; I ſhould be tedious if I deſcended to particulars, but take this general idea of his preſent conduct and ſituation. The Queen, and thoſe who are in her entire confidence, are deſirous to pleaſe our friends in Holland, and to continue him at the head of the army. In order to this, every thing which, as Duke of Marlborough, or as general, he can expect, has been and will be complied with. Every thing neceſſary to make him eaſy in the field is done likewiſe, by the declaration which the Queen has made of his loudeſt enemy, the Duke of Argyle, to be general of the Britiſh troops in

Spain *. He has been told by the Duke of Shrewſbury, by Mr. Harley, and by your humble ſervant, that ſince the Queen agrees to his commanding the army, it is our duty, and in the higheſt degree our intereſt, to ſupport him, if poſſible, better than he ever yet was, and that he may depend upon this. He has ſeen, in other inſtances, that we were able to ſee and to purſue that which was right; why ſhould he think us capable of judging on this occaſion ſo wrong? He was told at firſt that he had nothing to reproach us with; that his wife, my Lord Godolphin, and himſelf, had thrown the Queen's favour away; and that he ought not to be angry if other people had taken it up. He was told, that his true intereſt conſiſted in getting rid of his wife, who was grown to be irreconcileable with the Queen, as ſoon as he could, and with the beſt grace which he could. Inſtead of this, he teazed the Queen, and made the utmoſt effort to keep this woman in her places. He never brought the key till he had but three days given him to do it in, and till he found that a longer delay was not to be hoped for from the Queen's reſolution; however, he now pretends to make a merit of this reſignation. He has been told that he muſt draw a line between all that is paſt, and all that is to come, and that he muſt begin entirely upon a new foot; that if he looked back to make complaints, he would have more retorted upon him than it was poſſible to anſwer; that, if he would make his former conduct the rule of his future behaviour, he would render his intereſts incompatible with thoſe of the Queen. What is the effect of all this plain dealing?—he ſubmits, he yields, he promiſes to comply, but he ſtruggles to alleviate Meredyth's diſgrace, and to make the Queen make a leſs figure by going back, than ſhe could have done by taking no notice at all of the inſolence of him and his comrades. He is angry at the Duke of Argyle's being appointed to com-

* And Ambaſſador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to king Charles.

mand in Spain, and would, I ſuppoſe, have him puniſhed for acting on a plan which we have all, even the Queen herſelf, been concerned in. In ſhort, to finiſh this deſcription, I doubt he thinks it poſſible for him to have the ſame abſolute power which he was once veſted with, and believes, perhaps, that thoſe who ſerve the Queen are weak enough not to ſee the uſe that he would make of it. Once more, by all the judgment which I can form, the exterior is a little mended; but at heart the ſame ſentiments remain, and theſe heightened and inflamed by what he called provocations. We ſhall do what we can to ſupport him in the command of the army, without betraying our miſtreſs; and unleſs he is infatuated, he will help us in this deſign; for you muſt know, that the moment he leaves the ſervice, and loſes the protection of the court, ſuch ſcenes will open, as no victories can varniſh over*. This is an honeſt, and I hope a clear account. Lay your foundation here, and, whatever happens, judge from hence. I think that the beſt thing which the Duke can do is to go over as ſoon as poſſible; for which the letter of the States to the Queen gives us a very proper handle. This letter was delivered to-night to the Queen by Vryberge, and is very diſcreet.

A-propos to Vryberge, talking to him on Sunday, at the backſtairs, of buſineſs, in a very ſober and calm manner, he took occaſion to interrupt himſelf, and with ſome emotion to ſay, that as long as he felt that people had a confidence in him, he would have the ſame in them; but that when they had none, he knew how to live with them accordingly, or to that effect: the expreſſions were harſh, and the manner was harſher. I only anſwered by a ſmile, I conſider him as the miniſter of

* And this accordingly happened towards the end of the year, when the report of the commiſſioners of public accounts was made to the Houſe of Commons. Great peculations were diſcovered; and though the Duke attempted a juſtification, yet it was not conſidered as ſatisfactory. He was diſmiſſed from all his places, and his Secretary, Cardonnel, expelled the Houſe of Commons.

the States; and in that character, and in that alone, will always ſhow him reſpect.

I intreat you to aſſure the Penſionary of my moſt ſincere reſpects, and to let him know, that whenever he has any commands for me, I will, upon the leaſt hint, catch at an opportunity of obeying them. In doing this, I ſhall have the additional ſatisfaction of making my court to the Queen, who has the greateſt value imaginable for the Penſionary's conſummate wiſdom, and inflexible integrity *.

I do not know whether ſome turn may not yet be found to gratify you in a miniſter at the Hague, ſince the perſon talked of ſeems ſo little to be approved; keep this to yourſelf, and leave us to work it.

I allow conſiderably for miſtakes in intelligence, and for the affected boaſts of the French before the opening of the campaign; and yet I incline to think that they will make, all manner of ways, a great effort this year. I beg of you to be vigilant in getting what accounts you can of their naval preparations. The notice ſent me in your laſt, I have rceeived from other parts of France, with ſome other circumſtances.

Sir James Wiſhart will be ordered, if theſe reports come confirmed, to preſs, with the ſtronger inſtances, that the Dutch ſhould do more by ſea, than of late years they have been uſed to do. Whilſt we ſpare nothing to puſh the Flanders war, you muſt not ſuffer us to be ruined in our trade, and inſulted on our coaſts.

I will give you no farther trouble by this poſt, but conclude this long letter by my hearty aſſurances of being ever, &c.

* The Penſionary here meant is the Grand Penſionary of Holland, Heinſius, the firſt miniſter of the States.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Feb. 9th, 1710-11.

YOURS of the 10th, N.S. came yeſterday to my hands; and the ſatisfaction which it gave me, contributed not a little to recover me from a feveriſh indiſpoſition which I have been under ſeven or eight days, but which is, I hope, entirely over.

I hope, my Lord Orrery * will give content on your ſide of the water; I am very ſure that he will endeavour it: the rule which you lay down for his conduct is very juſt, and he ſhall not fail to go from hence as well inſtructed as we can poſſibly contrive to make him.

My Lord Preſident, my Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Harley, with your humble ſervant, are to wait upon the Queen, on Monday next, in order to hear my Lord Marlborough open the preſent ſtate of the Netherlands, and the meaſures hitherto taken for the government of them †. After this conference, my Lord Orrery's private inſtructions will be drawn; and he will be going over ſome time in the next week.

It will be happy for thoſe people that the Queen is at laſt let into this ſecret, and that her miniſter is for the future to act by her inſtructions.

My Lord Townſhend has aſked his diſmiſſion, which I ſuppoſe he expected would otherwiſe have been ſent him, and his letters of revocation will in a few days be ordered.

My Lord Raby muſt ſucceed him. The Queen had promiſed to call that miniſter to this employment; and ſhe does not think fit to give

* Appointed Envoy-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-general, and Council of State in the Netherlands.

† Marlborough and Cadogan had hitherto been the repreſentatives of the Queen in the government of the French and Spaniſh Netherlands.

him

him the mortification of a diſappointment. The warmth which you apprehend in him, we will take care to cool; and, upon the whole matter, you will find him to be the beſt we could at preſent ſend you.

The Duke of Marlborough will go over, I believe, about the ſame time as my Lord Orrery propoſes to go. I flatter myſelf that his Grace will own that I have acted a fair and friendly part with reſpect to him.

I will give you no farther trouble at this time, but conclude by aſſuring you, that I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, March 2d, 1710-11.

YOUR letter of the ſecond inſtant, N.S. is this moment come with three poſts to my hands; and though it be extremely late, and my hurry of buſineſs very extraordinary, yet I cannot neglect to return you my moſt humble thanks for the ſatisfactory accounts which you are ſo kind as to give me.

I hope Mr. Decker ſent you word how heartily we remembered you at my houſe on Monday laſt. The bill you drew upon me he may receive when he pleaſes, and I have another article of expence and trouble to employ you in. It is of mighty conſequence at all times for us to be informed of the preparations of the enemy, and particularly of the naval ones; but in this ſeaſon of the year, unleſs we have better accounts than ordinary of this kind, it is quite impoſſible to take our meaſures for the operations of the ſummer with any tolerable certainty. I am therefore to entreat you, that you would find, if poſſible, ſome

perſon

perſon to venture to the French ports, to Dunkirk, to Breſt, to St. Maloes, and to any other place on the ocean. I would be glad to be informed what ſhips they have, and what condition they are in; what ſtores they have, what preparations they are making; and, particularly, whether tranſports of any ſort are provided. I have other perſons employed in this ſervice, but the more ſpies are uſed, the better judgment, by comparing one advice with another, will be formed.

You once mentioned to me a correſpondence at St. Germains; be ſo kind as to renew and improve that, and to let me hear what ſituation that court ſeems at preſent to be in, and what view there appears to be of the Chevalier's beſtowing himſelf this ſummer. Lay out what money you think proper on theſe ſervices, and it ſhall be punctually anſwered with a thouſand acknowledgments by your humble ſervant.

Whatever ſucceſs Sir James Wiſhart has, we are all obliged to you for your kind part towards him, and the commiſſion he is employed upon. I deal freely with you, we do not well digeſt the entire neglect of the ſea ſervice, which Holland has, of late eſpecially, run into, whilſt we take ſo large a ſhare of that of the land, which certainly is not our natural effort. Agree to our retrenching on the latter head, and we will readily agree to eaſe you of your burden on the former.

It is true that my Lord Townſend did deſire to be recalled, and it is as true that he would have been ſo, in a poſt or two, if he had not deſired it. I am not ſurpriſed that he was a favourite in Holland, he yielded ſome points, that if there was not more regard paid to the common intereſt and to the preſent circumſtances than there is to him, he would be called to a ſevere account for *.

* This probably relates to Lord Townſhend's negociating the barrier treaty, voted injuriouſly to the trade of Great Britain—ſuffering the States to be deficient in their quota of ſhips and land forces, and to carry on a trade with France, for which he met the cenſure of the Houſe of Commons.

I hope

I hope my Lord Raby will ſucceed very well amongſt you; for though I enter into the objections made to his character, yet he will find, that to pleaſe here, he muſt pleaſe on your ſide, and he is no bad courtier. Some caſes may happen where it will be reaſonable and even neceſſary for him to take a little more upon him than has uſually been practiſed by our miniſters at the Hague, but the caſes will be few, and he will have ſtrict and clear orders in them.

I am very heartily glad to hear that the Penſionary places that confidence in you, and ſhows thoſe marks of friendſhip to you, which your behaviour and common good offices have deſerved. They will find every day more and more the accounts which you have given them of this country to be true; and will come, it is to be hoped, at laſt, to judge better of our affairs than they have hitherto done.

I think, for the preſent, you need ſay no more, unleſs the handle be fairly given you, about Vryberge: when the Queen has any thing of very great importance to communicate to the Penſionary, ſhe will do it through your channel; and, notwithſtanding your modeſt opinion of yourſelf and of your ſervices, I aſſure you that her Majeſty has no ſervant ſhe would confide ſo much in.

I muſt once more, upon this occaſion, entreat you to aſſure the Penſionary of my moſt ſincere eſteem, and moſt hearty reſpect. I am making no fortune, I have nothing at heart but the good of my country, and I look upon that to conſiſt, eſſentially, in a perfect harmony with Holland. I expect no ceremony from him, but deſire him to look upon me as an honeſt man, and a well-wiſher to the common cauſe, till he finds me otherwiſe.

My Lord Orrery went away, I hope, fully inſtructed in every thing which relates to the ſervice, and I queſtion not but he will act in ſuch a manner as to give all reaſonable perſons ſatisfaction.

The Queen has been ſo gracious as to take from her own troops,

that

that douceur, which in the laſt and in the preſent war, they have conſtantly enjoyed, but I muſt tell you, and we deſire it may be underſtood ſo, that we know very well, that *Slope-guelt* would never have been grudged to the troops of Great Britain, if the Spaniſh Provinces had been governed with common juſtice, or treated with common humanity.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur Petkum *.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 6me Mars, 1710-11, V.S.

J'AI reçu votre lettre du 6-17me du mois paſsé, & j'accepte avec beaucoup de plaiſir l'offre de votre correſpondence.

Comme Sa Majeſté la Reine, n'eſt entrée dans cette guerre que pour procurer & aſſurer la Paix de l'Europe, vous pouvez être perſuadé qu'elle ſera fort aiſe d'entendre que les François veulent faire des démarches de ce côté-là.

Nous ſavons très-bien, Monſieur, les peines que vous avez pris pour l'avancement d'une œuvre auſſi pieuſe que celle de la paix, & nous ſommes très-convaincus que vous agirez toujours ſur un plan convenable aux intérêts de tous les alliés.

Je me recommende, Monſieur, à l'honneur de vos bonnes grâces, & ſuis, &c.

* Petkum was Reſident from the Duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, at the Hague. This Miniſter in 1709, volunteered a journey to Verſailles, as a mediator in the effecting a Peace, which brought about the conferences, and he continued to correſpond with France, after they were broken off. At the date of this Letter, he was employed by the Grand Penſionary to reſume the negociations by a ſecret application to the Court of France. Bolingbroke ſomewhere calls him a Peace-Broker.

To Lord Raby.

My Lord,

March 6th, 1710-11.

I GIVE your Excellency the trouble of this private letter to aſſure you, that I have omitted nothing I thought might be proper towards preparing the people, with whom you are now to have to do, for all thoſe impreſſions of eſteem and affection, which I am ſure your Excellency's conduct will make upon them, when they are ſo happy as to enjoy you amongſt them.

Your Excellency will give me leave to recommend Mr. Drummond, a merchant of Amſterdam, in a particular manner to your confidence. He is in great friendſhip with many of the moſt conſiderable men, in Holland; the Penſionary puts a juſt value upon him, and we have, on this ſide, very great obligations to him.

Your Excellency knows how much miſchief was done, and how much more attempted, by factious correſpondences in Holland, during the changes which the Queen thought fit to make in her miniſtry; no one man contributed ſo much to give the Dutch a true notion of our affairs, to quiet their minds, and to reſettle a confidence, as this gentleman. He has merited the Queen's good opinion by theſe ſervices to a great degree; and you may depend, my Lord, upon him as one who will prove a faithful and a uſeful ſervant to your Excellency.

I ſee how ſtrenuouſly Mynderhuſen denies his having read a letter which mentioned your Excellency's coming to the Hague. Trouble yourſelf, my Lord, I beſeech you, no more about it, but depend upon the information I gave you as true.

Will your Excellency pleaſe to command with the greateſt freedom any lights which you think I may be able to furniſh you with, from this

ſide, upon your entering into this new ſcene of buſineſs? I ſhall take a very particular pleaſure in obeying you, and in approving myſelf, my Lord, &c.

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

March 13, 1710-11.

I HAVE had the honour of your Grace's three private letters of 10th, 15th, and 17th of this month, N.S. which have been laid before her Majeſty, and by her order communicated to my Lord Preſident and my Lord Chamberlain.

Mr. Harley is out of danger, his fever having this day entirely left him; but we dare not trouble him with any kind of buſineſs*.

Her Majeſty commands me to ſay, that the regiments of Hill, Clayton, and Kane being, without diſpute, proper to be detached on the ſervice† which ſhe intends, her deſire was, that two other battalions might be ordered, whoſe colonels had not ſo high a rank as Mr. Hill, of which there are ſeveral in your Grace's army. That, in this caſe, there cannot poſſibly be any the leaſt ground of complaint; whereas, according to the method your Grace propoſes, either Mr. Hill muſt not command, or a great hardſhip muſt be done to officers who have deſerved very well; and the reaſon of that hardſhip muſt be her Majeſty's partiality to Mr. Hill. Wynne has diſputes in Flanders with officers who have ſerved there all the war; this the Queen thinks may be a good reaſon againſt his going over to your Grace's army: but if his regiment was ordered on a ſervice where no

* Mr. Harley had been ſtabbed by the Marquis de Guiſcard.
† The expedition, under Hill and Walker, to Quebec.

one

one could come in competition with him, ſhe thinks it would be no reaſon againſt his going upon that occaſion.

The Dutch Gazettes did, indeed, mention Mr. Hamilton's going over with the Duke of Argyle, but there is no manner of ground for the report; ſo that his regiment muſt not go upon this ſervice, or he muſt command, or he muſt be laid aſide; and the latter the Queen thinks too great a ſeverity to be inflicted on a man who has ſerved without reproach. As to Mr. Sutton, he did not, indeed, ſerve the laſt campaign, but he was extremely ill; and your Grace has been often pleaſed to diſpenſe with the abſence of thoſe who had ſo unhappy a reaſon to plead in their behalf. He is now well, his equipage gone or going, and he ready to follow; by conſequence, the ſame remark holds good in his caſe which is made in that of Mr. Hamilton. The Queen farther obſerves, my Lord, that brigadiers are wanting in your Grace's army, and that if Hamilton and Sutton were taken away, you would not have ſufficient to do the duty.

She directs me, likewiſe, to take notice, that the regiments named by your Grace, though they may perhaps be the youngeſt of thoſe which went laſt over, are, however, not the youngeſt in the Flanders army; and beſides, that when the detachment was made to Portugal, and upon other occaſions, ſending of the youngeſt corps has been no eſtabliſhed rule. Upon the whole matter, her Majeſty conſiders that if ſhe ſhould ſtay for an anſwer to this letter, the clothing and recruits of all the regiments would be ſent away, whereas we are now in time to ſtop ſuch as are neceſſary, the conſequence whereof might be diſappointing utterly the deſign ſhe has formed; and therefore ſhe is pleaſed to command me to let your Grace know, that ſhe will have the regiments of Hill, Windreſs, Clayton, Kane, and Grant, immediately march, ſo as to be *apporté* to embark at Oſtend as ſoon as they ſhall be called for; and that muſt be very quickly, the tranſports

for them being now ready in the Hope, and the men-of-war rendezvouſing in the Downs. Theſe regiments have ſome men upon detachment at this time, I ſuppoſe, which muſt neceſſarily be ordered back.

Windreſs is himſelf here, ready to take care of what relates to his battalion on this ſide of the water, and Grant as well as his lieutenant-colonel are both priſoners.

Her Majeſty's illneſs, which we hope is now entirely over, has been ſome hindrance to the diſpatch of buſineſs, and makes me unable to ſpeak ſo certainly to your Grace as otherwiſe I ſhould do upon ſeveral articles. In general, your Grace may be aſſured, and you may aſſure the Penſionary, and the reſt of the foreign miniſters, that the Queen will not be wanting on her part in any quarter of the ſervice; but the Queen thinks that they ought to be told, that her quota of troops is conſtantly in the field, whilſt a great, and even an unneceſſary proportion of that of Holland is thrown into garriſons *. That if ſhe ſhould think of replacing troops which they have no right to aſk for, ſhe muſt and will expect that they ſhould bring into the field what ſhe has a right to demand of them for the common cauſe.

I had not, in truth, read the Examiner which your Grace mentions, but I will take the beſt care I can to have honour done you, and no reflection caſt upon you.

It is a hard matter to keep the minds of men, when they are thoroughly heated, from puſhing every ſubject too far; and no man is more heartily ſorry than I am for thoſe occaſions which have been given of raiſing the ferment. Your Grace may be aſſured of my ſervices in every inſtance; and I ſhall be glad to ſee you (which it is in your power to be) the ſubject of univerſal panegyric.

* It may be uſeful to obſerve here, that, in general, the towns taken in Flanders had Dutch governors and garriſons as ſoon as taken.

I doubt

I doubt Mr. Harley's wound hurts the public in many reſpects, and particularly in the Treaſury. I have ſpoke to my Lord Powlet * about the delay of the remittances, mentioned in your Grace's letter of the 13th; he ſays all poſſible care has been taken; and he promiſed me this morning, at St. James's, to write by this poſt to your Grace.

Certainly, my Lord, nothing can eaſe the war in Flanders, and every where elſe, but an effort by the Duke of Savoy. This is evidently true; and the Queen is, therefore, very glad of the care which your Grace has taken in writing and ſending to that Prince. But, my Lord, do not think me too jealous, if I preſume to caution you againſt French emiſſaries in general.

I know, in particular, of Saiſſan † nothing but good. However, I have already ſome reaſon to ſay, and ſhall have more in a little time, that we have ſuffered extremely by the ear which has been given to theſe *aventuriers* both in Holland and England.

I have nothing at preſent in command to ſay to your Grace on the ſubject of the two treaties propoſed with the Elector of Bavaria, more than that the ſcheme ſeems to be very extraordinary; and her Majeſty, who has never heard of it till now, would be glad to know what judgment the States, who have had it ſome time, it ſeems, under conſideration, make thereupon? Your Grace need make no doubt of the Queen's coming into any reaſonable proportion of charge, where a real benefit is to accrue to the common cauſe; but ſhe is deſirous to

* Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury.

† He was a native of France, and a bold, enterprizing officer. When Tournay was beſieged by the allies, the garriſon was in want of officers, he endeavoured to get into the town, but failed, and was taken priſoner. He wrote to the French Miniſter to be exchanged, and was informed that his ſervices were not neceſſary. He then applied to the Duke of Marlborough, who recommended him to King Auguſtus, and that prince made him a Major-general. A diverſion being, in 1709, planned to aſſiſt the inſurrection of the Cevennois, in the ſouth of France, Saiſſan had the direction of it; landed at the port of Cette, near which was his paternal eſtate: and though the expedition was not ſucceſsful, yet he contrived to keep the Duc de Noailles' army employed, and prevented his joining the forces of King Philip; for this the Queen afterwards rewarded him, and he continued in great favour and eſteem with the Duke of Marlborough.

know

know whereabouts the expence may probably come, and what proportion of it will be expected from her.

I cannot conclude this letter without letting your Grace know, that when the books were this morning opened for the lottery, it appeared that there had been to the value of 275,000 l. lodged for it more than the million and a half; that 700,000 l. were ſtill offered to come in; and that the remitters had 200,000 l. for their ſhare ready to pay in. I am apt to believe this mighty concurrence of people may occaſion a new lottery on the ſame model; this is certain, that we have money and credit; and though the former cannot increaſe, the latter will, in ſpite of faction, revive.

I hope by Friday to write more particularly to your Grace on ſome matters which I have not yet very fully the Queen's orders upon: in the mean time, I doubt you will think me tedious; but I could not, for your Grace's ſake and my own, contrive to be ſhorter.

I cannot have Guiſcard's letter copied this poſt, ſince I do not truſt it out of my own hands, except to one clerk; by the next poſt your Grace ſhall have it ſent you. In the mean while, I believe it will not be amiſs to let the Penſionary know, that I find, both by intelligence of my own and by that which Count Maffei has communicated to me, that in France they think themſelves very well informed of what paſſes in Holland.

I have given the ſame caution to Monſieur Vryberge.

I am, &c.

To

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

March 13, 1710-11.

MY laſt, Sir, began with the ill news of Mr. Harley's being ſtabbed; this ſhall begin with the good tidings of his being out of danger, ſince the fever which he had upon him is entirely gone.

The Lords of the Council have been twice with Guiſcard in Newgate. What he confeſſes is trifling; and, to ſay truth, I do not imagine he knows any thing very material. However, I muſt not omit to deſire you, as I have deſired my Lord Marlborough, to let the Penſionary know that I am very well aſſured the French miniſters think their intelligence, both in Holland and here, very good. I hope we ſhall lop off thoſe channels of miſchief, and I make no doubt but that the neceſſary care will be taken on your ſide.

It is impoſſible to expreſs to you the firmneſs and magnanimity which Mr. Harley ſhowed upon this ſurpriſing occaſion: I, who have always admired him, never did it ſo much; the ſuddenneſs of the blow, the ſharpneſs of the wound, the confuſion which followed, could neither change his countenance, nor alter his voice.

You will wonder when I tell you that the Whigs in the Houſe of Commons, on this occaſion, which demanded the indignation of every man who pretends to common humanity, behaved themſelves ſimply; but when the matter came before the Houſe of Lords, they left their ſeats; and ſince they could not hang Mr. Harley, they were reſolved to ſhew no reſentment to Guiſcard for ſtabbing him.

This morning the ſubſcriptions to the lottery were to begin; but 270,000l. more than the million and half were already lodged, the remitters were diſappointed of putting in 200,000l. and other perſons of 700,000l.

700,000 l. more. You ſee, Sir, we have ſome money left; for I am told that the foreign part was leſs this time than it was the laſt: and I make no doubt but that our credit will revive. It has ſickened by villainy for a time, but the peſtilential blaſts are over; and I make no doubt but we ſhall ſee this fair plant flouriſh as much as ever.

I am to take my ſhare in the obligation which my Lord Orrery has to you; and I am very glad his firſt appearance amongſt you pleaſed ſo well; I do not at all doubt but he will grow in your eſteem.

I hope my Lord Raby will take ſuch a pli as to make himſelf acceptable; you may be aſſured that he ſhall not want frequent admonitions upon this head. We will neglect nothing in our power, or which is fit for us to do, towards keeping you in good humour; but you muſt remember that compliances and good offices are to be mutual.

I begin to think that Sir James Wiſhart will have no ſucceſs, for the ſquadrons ſet down in yours are no more to be reckoned, than our cruizers in the ſoundings, or our Turkey convoy; but give me leave to ſay, that as we could not have juſtified ourſelves if we had neglected to preſs the States upon this head, ſo they will find it hard to juſtify themſelves for being ſo extravagantly deficient in their marine quota.

I ſhould be extremely glad to hear what certainty there is in the report, which comes almoſt in every letter, of the Chevalier's going a progreſs after Eaſter, the enemy have many irons at this time in the fire; do they in earneſt mean that he ſhall take ſome part, this ſummer, upon him?

Your incloſed letters I have forwarded, finding nothing miſchievous or ſuſpicious in them; perhaps this ſtep may draw the correſpondence into our channel, and ſome diſcovery may be made; if none is, the trouble is however not great.

I do not at all wonder that you find the miniſters ſo much at a loſs. If I would look back, and give my pen leave to move, I think I could

ſhow

ſhow the moſt egregious marks of folly or knavery that ever appeared in our manner of declining peace, and dragging on the war. What I ſaid about the barrier in a former letter, was in confidence between you and me, whatever the treaty be in its own nature, how little ſoever honourable or ſafe to Britain, ſure I am nothing is now to be ſaid of it.

I am ſorry that my Lord Marlborough gives you ſo much trouble; it is the only thing he will ever give you. I muſt, upon this occaſion, take notice to you how very ſenſible the Queen is, as well as her miniſters, of the pains which you have taken ſo uſefully and ſo effectually in her ſervice. Her Majeſty will take an opportunity very ſoon, of acknowledging it to you.

I return you the original letter which you ſent me; I beg of you to make my moſt humble ſervice acceptable to the writer of it, and aſſure you, that I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

March 16th, 1710-11.

THIS morning, your letter of the 24th inſtant, N.S. came to my hands, as all your preceding ones have done, very ſafely. I am to return you abundance of thanks for the intelligence you were ſo kind to tranſmit to me; and I muſt entreat your continuance of them: I am ſenſible it is very difficult to be rightly informed of what is doing at places ſo far within France as Breſt is, but I would ſtick at no price to have authentic accounts of the enemy's naval preparations. Part of the intelligence contained in Guiſcard's intercepted packet, related to a deſign for which preparations are making here and abroad. It would

be therefore of great uſe, in order to blind the enemy more effectually, if any way could be found of inſinuating that the troops, which are to embark at Oſtend, were really deſigned to make a deſcent upon the coaſt of Spain; and as a farther ſtrength to this report, it might be at the ſame time hinted that ſome of the Spaniſh merchants here have conferred with Lord Dartmouth upon it. As to yourſelf, you muſt give me leave to ſay that when the Penſionary has any thing of more than ordinary moment to communicate to the Queen, or thoſe who may have the honour to be in her miniſtry, I know of no man ſo proper to do her Majeſty the good ſervice of tranſmitting it hither as yourſelf.

By very good intelligence from France, I am induced to believe that their efforts for carrying on the war this year, are even greater than they promiſed themſelves; and then, the hopes they have raiſed of the King of Sweden's entering into Saxony, and giving a great diſturbance to the empire, will incline them to ſee what turn theſe affairs are likely to take before they hearken to any propoſals of peace.

It is my opinion, that their expectations from the King of Sweden are too well grounded; and that he has a better underſtanding with France than we ſeem to apprehend, even ſince his proteſtation againſt the neutrality*.

We muſt acknowledge that the allies are, in theſe reſpects, in an unhappy ſituation, but I am entirely of your opinion, that no advances towards peace are to be made firſt on our part.

The clauſe which you mention as deſired by ſome people, to be inſerted in our lottery, is very ſurpriſing; I ſhould be ſorry to have it

* This treaty was intended to ſecure the peace of the empire, and to prevent any impediment from the northern powers to the operations of the grand alliance againſt France. The allies agreed, on their part, to furniſh a guarantee army of 20,000 men, while Ruſſia, Poland, Denmark, Pruſſia, and Sweden, were to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. This was ſigned by the allies, Denmark, and the Lords Regents of Sweden. But Charles XII proteſted againſt it, backed by the Grand Signior.

known here that any ſuch thought could enter into the mind of any body in Holland.

You may aſſure yourſelf, that we ſhall proceed with ſo much caution, as not to give the Dutch any grounds of jealouſy, whatever reaſonable complaints we may have to make of them.

It is very poſſible, that the reaſon which you aſſign for my Lord Marlborough's not being concerned in the treaty for the barrier, may be the true one, but it is no good one on his Lordſhip's ſide.

I believe my Lord Orrery will meet with many difficulties before he can ſettle the Netherlands in a good method of government; he went from hence very well inſtructed; and I hope the extortions which thoſe provinces have laboured under, are now at an end; and by degrees his Lordſhip will be able, with his prudent management, to ſettle them in a ſtate of tranquillity*.

As to Mr. Watkins, I aſſure you I ſhall be always ready to ſhow him any civility, or do him any ſervice in my power: I deſire you will ſound him, and try what inclinations he would have to be ſecretary to the embaſſy at the Hague, if it was offered him, in order to his being employed in that ſtation at a negociation of peace, and find out how ſoon he would be willing to be declared, which the ſooner it was done the better, to prevent any body elſe putting in. I look upon Mr. Watkins as a man every way equal to the poſt, and I hope he will like it. A relation of mine is going to be ſecretary to Lord Raby at the Hague, ſo

* In the time of the Dukes of Brabant, there was a Council of State who had the management of the treaſury, and the taxes paſſed through their hands. The Spaniards aboliſhed the Council, which was reſtored in this war by the allies, at the interceſſion of the States of Brabant; but though the Council was reſtored, the extortions did not ceaſe, and Lord Orrery was ſent to relieve that oppreſſed country. The editor has two papers on this ſubject; the firſt is indorſed, "Tranſlation of a Letter to her Majeſty," without name or date, and charges the Duke of Marlborough and General Cadogan with injuſtice, rapacity, and oppreſſion, and in terms very ſevere. The other is ſigned by the Duc d'Arenberg, le Comte d'Urſel, le Comte d'Erps, and le Comte de Lannoy, members of the Council of State; and is dated Bruſſels, 24th February, 1711. It contains articles of complaint and proofs againſt Cadogan; they accuſe him of extortion and tyranny, and ſtate particular inſtances. This laſt memoir was ſent in conſequence of her Majeſty's orders for a ſecret enquiry into the conduct of her miniſter.

that there will be no immediate neceſſity of Mr. Watkins's leaving the army, though he ſhould be declared ſecretary.

The news of troubles in South France would be very agreeable to us, ſince the more we conſider our preſent circumſtances, the more we are convinced, that nothing but a powerful diverſion, given by the Duke of Savoy, can poſſibly prevent the French being ſuperior to us in all other parts, which of late years they have never been able to accompliſh.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

March 20th, 1710-11.

THE favour of your letter of the 27th inſtant, N.S. came yeſterday to my hands.

The miſerable fellow who ſtabbed Mr. Harley, is dead of his wounds and bruiſes, in Newgate. Our friend recovers apace, and will, we hope, in few days be able to return to the head of buſineſs; his ſhort abſence from which ſituation is, I do aſſure you, very ſenſibly felt.

I thank you for all the intelligences which you ſend me, particularly for that of the three ſhips ſailed from Dunkirk, ſince our tranſports are at this time in more than ordinary motion between this iſland and Holland, between the Downs and Spithead, as well as in other parts.

I have obſerved, in ſome of the laſt prints from Holland, an article, as if the embarkation, now making, was intended for North America. I take this report to be grounded on Nicolſon's being order-

ed back to take care of Port-Royal *, which ſurrendered laſt year to the Queen's forces. It is, however, of great conſequence to the ſervice that the enemy ſhould be as much as poſſible perplexed about the deſtination of this ſquadron; and therefore I deſire you once more to inſinuate, as artfully as you can, that Nicolſon goes back ſingle (which is likewiſe true) and carries only a few ſpare arms along with him, but that the other preparations are intended for the coaſt of France or Spain. It is certain that there are three months' proviſions put on board, which may be owned, and will be a convincing proof that the Weſt-Indies are not in our view.

We are not pleaſed with the uſage of Sir James Wiſhart; and it is a propoſition never to be juſtified, that you have but thirteen ſhips, excluſive of convoys and cruiſers, this year at ſea †. Beſides, we hear that the ſcheme is formed for throwing twenty-four battalions into garriſon this year more than were the laſt, which is ſuch a diminution of that quota which Holland ought to keep, in proportion to ours, in the field, as is really intolerable.

I will not ſay any thing of the difficulties which, on account of their commerce, are thrown in the way, with reſpect to the funds which the States of Brabant are to furniſh for the Imperialiſts and Palatines, becauſe I confeſs you have ſome colour of excuſe for oppoſing the new impoſition upon white ſalt and corn-brandy.

The Queen takes indeed from you five regiments; but theſe are part of ſeven which have ſerved in Flanders theſe two years, over and above her quota. You complain, and ſhe has already given orders to the Duke of Marlborough to replace them with foreigners, or even to do more, if reaſonably he can; beſides which, two ſquadrons of the nine

* In Nova Scotia, and called Annapolis Royal, in compliment to the Queen.

† The proportion of naval armament to be furniſhed by the States ſhould have been forty-two ſhips of war.

intended

intended to be ſent will go over to you, the reſt being ſtopped for reaſons which may eaſily be gueſſed. I mention theſe particulars to you, becauſe I am ſure that you do us, upon all occaſions, juſtice, and becauſe it is fit that our friends in Holland ſhould ſee on what principles we act.

I have a large poſt to diſpatch, and therefore muſt conclude. I will only add, that we yeſterday went through the eſtimate of extraordinaries in the committee of ſupply, which is the laſt of the public ones for the ſervice of the current year. The ſums now voted amount to 6,902,547l. 14s. 5¾d. Adieu. I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

March 20, 1710-11.

IN my public letter, I ſpeak to your Grace on the ſubject of the Pruſſian troops, and of the Imperialiſts and Palatines; in this I am to acquaint your Grace, that the Queen was extremely concerned to find in how great backwardneſs the forage and bread are.

Mr. Harley's misfortune, you eaſily imagine, retards every thing which relates to the treaſury. However, my Lord Poulet aſſures me, that the whole arrears due for former years to the contractors, has been paid, and that care is now taken for the anticipation of this year's contract.

I was not able to ſpeak to the Chancellor of the Exchequer yeſterday, he being at reſt when I went to wait upon him; and the Committee, which ſat immediately afterwards, having continued till late at night. I hope to ſee him before I cloſe this, in which caſe I may perhaps have ſomething to add.

I have

I have taken care to have the proper hint given to the examiner; and your Grace may be aſſured that I cannot have a greater pleaſure than to find it in my power to ſerve you. As to the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, I find my Lord Preſident, my Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Harley, who have only been ſpoke to in it, agree in opinion that the whole turns upon his ſincerity. If we ſuppoſe the two treaties executed, France will have for the field ſo many troops the more, as the garriſons of thoſe places amount to, which are to be comprehended in the neutrality. We ſhall be freed from our apprehenſions on the ſide of the Maeſe, we ſhall have in our hands ſo much more of the barrier; and we ſhall have the Bavarian and the Elector of Cologn's troops to countervail what the French will be able to make uſe of the more of their own. The Elector will have his Electorate, and the Imperial troops in that country may be applied to the war, on the ſide of Italy, or elſewhere. On this ſuppoſition, the projects may be agreeable enough to the intereſts of the common cauſe. But if one may ſuppoſe that this intrigue is really an artifice of France, then the conſequences will be bad, and the bargain fatal; ſince, in ſuch caſe, we give an opportunity of rekindling that fire in the empire, which your Grace once extinguiſhed ſo gloriouſly to yourſelf, and ſo happily to all Europe: and this accident would be the more terrible, becauſe of the juſt apprehenſions which may be entertained of the King of Sweden. It ſtartles a man to conſider this prince in Saxony, the Elector of Bavaria, at the head of an army in his own country, and the French acting offenſively on the Rhine.

I ſtate both ſides of the queſtion, as well as I am able, to your Grace, and have only to add upon this head, that the Queen is come to no definitive judgment in the matter, but waits for farther lights from your Grace, and from the States, before ſhe determines her opinion.

Guiſcard

Guiſcard is dead, and though he gave the Lords of the Council the trouble of going three or four times to Newgate, yet he related little more than coffee-houſe converſation. He pretended that *Saiſſan étoit un Babillard*, and that the beſt accounts, or at leaſt the firſt which he had of his projects were thoſe which he pumped out of him himſelf. What other intelligence he had from Holland he had from Chabanetti, as I have had the honour to tell your Grace, and as you will ſee by the copies of his letters.

I have a thought in my mind, which may be for the advantage of Mr. Watkins, but I would not propoſe it, neither, I am ſure, would he embrace it, without your Grace's approbation firſt obtained. There muſt be a ſecretary to the embaſſy at the Hague; and that perſon will naturally be ſo to the peace, whenever we ſhall be ſo happy as to ſee that advance. This poſt Mr. Watkins may have, and yet not be obliged to quit his attendance on your Grace during the campaign.

Since I have writ thus far, I have been with Mr. Harley, who wiſhes himſelf able to contribute to the advancement of the ſervice, but ſays that Medina * has ſome time ago received the anticipation for bread in tallies, which were the beſt the treaſury had to give him, and were really good.

Cragg was with me this evening, and I ſuppoſe will acquaint your Grace with what paſſed: as far as he thought proper to open himſelf, I talked very freely to him†.

Your Grace may be aſſured of a moſt faithful and obedient ſervant in

H. St. J.

* Sir Solomon de Medina, contractor for bread to the Britiſh forces in Flanders.

† Harley, in his "Brief Account of Public Affairs," relates, that about the beginning of February there began to be a diviſion among thoſe called Tories in the Houſe; and Mr. Secretary St. John thought it convenient to be liſting a ſeparate party for himſelf. Theſe conferences with Craggs, the Duke's ſecretary as Maſter of the Ordnance, were probably with a view of gaining over the Duke to his party, or, what is more likely, to the fixing him with the new miniſters.

To Mr. Cadogan.

SIR,

March 20, 1710-11.

I HAVE received both your letters of the 17th of March, N.S. and it was a very great ſatisfaction to me to find, by your private one of that date, that you remember an old friend, who never did any thing to be forgot.

I hope my Lord Duke is ſatisfied that I have been uniform in my character, and that as I could not engage in meaſures contrary to my opinion, ſo I could not engage in reſentments contrary to my profeſſions.

There is nobody who has more eſteem for you than myſelf, and from the firſt hour of our acquaintance I have without any interruption endeavoured to ſhow it. As to complaints which may have been made, I cannot be ſo inſincere as to ſay that Flanders has not been very fruitful of clamour for ſome time. I believe it is ſtill very practicable to put an end to the applications on this head, which have hitherto been hindered from being public, by putting an end to the grievances. No one has it ſo much in his power as you to contribute to the eaſe of that oppreſſed country*, and no one therefore can ſo eaſily purchaſe this reputation; which will at the ſame time add a new ornament to a thouſand others which adorn your character, and be of very ſubſtantial ſervice to my Lord Duke.

If I have been ſo happy as to be uſeful to you in the late diſorders which have happened here, the only return I deſire for it is the continuance of your good opinion and friendſhip to Sir, &c.

* The members of the Council of Brabant mention in their memorial an aſſertion of Cadogan, that though he was no longer Envoy, yet he retained his poſt of Quarter-maſter-general; meaning that he ſtill retained a power ſufficient to be revenged of his enemies.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

March 20th, 1710-11.

DUPUY is very well known to me for a man who has been active in the little under-hand workings towards peace; and according to the beſt accounts I have been able to get of him, he has behaved himſelf very honeſtly in all his dealings upon this ſcore. I think your Lordſhip did extremely well in giving him the anſwers you mention. He is not gone to Geneva, but directly to Paris, on ſome encouragement which the French miniſters have given him. However, I muſt own my opinion, that the enemy will, neither through this channel, nor any other, think of conveying terms of peace to the allies, till they ſee how we ſhall be prepared to oppoſe the great effort which they pretend to make, what turn the negociation at Vienna * is likely to take, and what diverſion they may expect from their new ally the King of Sweden, and their old one the Turk.

You reaſon very juſtly, my Lord, as to our home-affairs; I have been long fixed in the ſame opinion, you are my witneſs for it. I think we ſhall come to a ſettlement on the riſing of the Parliament, and before winter, I hope we ſhall have a peace, as well as a parliament prepared to give a ſanction to it.

I beg of your Lordſhip to make my compliments to the Count d'Urſel, and to the Count de Milan, whoſe letters I will do myſelf the honour to anſwer by the firſt poſt.

I hope we ſhall be able to inſtruct Lord Raby ſo well, that he will give no juſt occaſion of offence; and if he proves a little more ſtiff in ſome points than his predeceſſor uſed to be, I ſhall not like him the worſe for it.

* To ſettle the differences between that Court and Savoy.

The

The Duke of Marlborough, I knew, would make thoſe advances to you which he does. His friends endeavour to inſinuate here how entirely he deſires to engage in the preſent meaſures, and with the preſent miniſters. I think both for your eaſe, and for the Queen's ſervice, you muſt live perfectly well together.

My Lord, forgive the fondneſs of a friend, if I repeat my earneſt deſires, I dare ſay very unneceſſarily, to you, that you will leave nothing undone towards ſettling the country, where you are, on a better foot; and that for the honour of the Queen's ſervice, and of the nation, you will ſtand in the gap againſt any violences which may be offered. Your Lordſhip may depend on all the ſupport which the Queen can give you, and of her thanks for this ſervice.

I am, &c.

Forgive this haſty ſcrawl, writ when I am quite tired with two days' hard labour.

A Monſieur Buys.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 23me Mars, 1710-11.

JE vous ſuis extrêmement obligé de l'honneur que vous m'avez fait par votre lettre du 27me de ce mois, N.S.

Monſieur Harley, grâces à Dieu, ſe porte de jour en jour beaucoup mieux, & nous eſpérons qu'en fort peu de tems il ſera en état de recommencer ſon travail, pour le plus grand avantage des deux nations, & de la cauſe commune. Je ne puis pas m'empêcher de vous dire, que par ce que les affaires tant domeſtiques qu'étrangères ſouffrent du-

rant la maladie de ce miniſtre, nous ſentons evidemment combien grand auroit été notre perte, en cas que le coup qu'il reçût eût été mortel.

J'eſpère que les difficultés que nous avons eu à combattre ſont aplanies. Nous fournirons près de ſept millions de livres ſterlings aux dépenſes de l'année courante, & nous trouverons les moyens néceſſaries pour le payment de nos dettes.

Je ſuis fort aiſe de voir que le Duc de Marlborough eſt content de nous: ce qu'il y a de certain c'eſt qu'on a uſé à ſon égard de toute la bonne foi, & de toute la ſincérité poſſible.

Il faut faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu; vous le faites, nous le faiſons, & la France, pour le moins autant qu'aucune autre Puiſſance. Il me ſemble qu'elle veut voir les ſuccès de ces intrigues qu'elle trâme depuis quelque tems, avant que de ſonger tout de bon à la Paix.

Je ſuis Monſieur, avec toute l'eſtime que vous méritez,

Votre, &c.

Nous ſommes ici fort ſenſibles des difficultés qui ſe ſont trouvés dans l'affaire des deux vaiſſeaux, & des obligations que nous vous avons en particulier; Monſieur Drummond eſt fort bien inſtruit de mes ſentimens ſur ce chapitre.

Ce me ſera un très-grand plaiſir de travailler conjointement avec Monſieur Vryberge, à faire des réglemens qui puiſſent prévenir de telles diſputes à l'avenir.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

March 23d, 1710-11.

IF my former did not, this letter I hope will find your Excellency ſafely arrived at the Hague.

Unleſs you forbid me to do it, I intend to ſend Mr. Harriſon * over to you. His being my kinſman, I do not deſire ſhould be any part of his merit; but I am confident your Excellency will find him very capable of ſerving you, from his own capacity, and from the lights which he will receive in my office, by looking back in the books, and taking the clue of all buſineſs at this time tranſacting in Holland. Mr. Watkins is of great ſufficiency in all parts of foreign negociation, and I will be anſwerable, your Excellency may place an entire confidence in him, but he will not, I doubt, be able to attend at the Hague till towards the end of the year, unleſs we ſhould be ſo happy as to have a treaty ſooner ſet on foot, and of this I own I ſee very little proſpect.

Your Excellency will allow me, I know, to write with the utmoſt freedom to you, and I ſhould be backward in doing it perhaps to another.

When it was firſt whiſpered that you was to ſucceed my Lord Townſhend at the Hague, I found by ſeveral hints which I received, and by ſeveral private accounts which were ſent me, that the Dutch were extremely alarmed. They know full well how very deficient

* Thomas Harriſon. Swift ſays of him, "A little pretty fellow, with a great deal of wit, good "ſenſe, and good nature; he has nothing to live on but being governor to one of the Duke of "Queenſbury's ſons, for 40l. a year." Swift recommended him to St. John, who gave him the appointment of Secretary to Lord Strafford, which he did not long enjoy; he died in February, 1713. No loſs ever grieved Swift ſo much.

they have been and ſtill are, in almoſt every part of the ſervice; they are ſenſible that there is on our ſide ſome latent reſentments at the air of ſuperiority which in many inſtances they have aſſumed, and at the groſs impoſitions which they have paſſed upon us; they are ſenſible that the eaſineſs of our miniſters gave occaſion to all this, and that their eaſineſs was owing either to the account which Holland made them find on that ſide of the water, or to the dictates and orders of a faction at home, which has ſupported itſelf here, among other artifices, by that of being popular there. Your Excellency ſees clearly, from this view, the ſource of thoſe apprehenſions, which the naming of you occaſioned in Holland, and I muſt be of opinion that they were to your honour.

The uſe I propoſe to make of this account, which I wiſh your Excellency may not think tedious, is that you will be pleaſed to uſe the miniſters you ſhall treat with in the gentleſt and ſofteſt manner poſſible, and rather to over-act this part than otherwiſe; after which, whenever the honour or intereſt of Britain comes to claſh with the meaſures of the Dutch, your Excellency will ſhow a firmneſs which your predeceſſors never did ſhow, and be by ſo much the more juſtified, by how much the more tenderly you have indulged them before.

Your Excellency was pleaſed to mention in one of your former letters, as I remember, your conduct towards the Duke of Marlborough; upon which I will preſume to acquaint you that my opinion is, that you ſhould live with him in the moſt friendly manner, and in the beſt concert: He has taken the pli of ſubmitting with the utmoſt reſignation to the Queen, and of re-eſtabliſhing a confidence with thoſe who are now in her ſervice. Your Excellency and he will neceſſarily act in ſeveral matters jointly, and her Majeſty's ſervice will require a conſtant correſpondence between you; after all this, whatever caution is proper to be obſerved, I am ſure your Excellency will not be wanting in.

The

The Queen has not yet determined about your ſucceſſor at Berlin, but I hope before the next poſt her Majeſty's reſolution herein will be taken. I join in opinion with your Excellency as to Mr. Whitworth, but fear the other deſtination is too public, and is gone too far to be altered*.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

March 27, 1711.

YOUR Grace's letter of the 21ſt of this month N.S. together with the poſtſcript written after you had ſeen Mr. Lumley, I read to the Queen, and it is a great pleaſure to me to be able to tell your Grace that I never ſaw her Majeſty better pleaſed on any occaſion; ſhe commanded me to let your Grace know that nothing but her illneſs had hindered her from writing to you, that now ſhe is better you ſhall very ſoon hear from her, that ſhe is obliged to you for your concern for her health, and that ſhe deſires to be kindly remembered to you.

Your Grace, my Lord, has fully anſwered all the Queen's intentions relating to the five regiments, by the orders which you have been pleaſed to give; and I hope that they are by this time embarking at Oſtend, the convoy being gone with a fair wind and mild weather.

Your Grace may be aſſured of my ſincere endeavours to ſerve you, and I hope never to ſee again the time when I ſhall be obliged to embark in a ſeparate intereſt from you. Craggs dined with me to day, we were ſome time alone, and he will inform you how eaſy we think it is to reſtore and confirm that confidence which is to be deſired among people who can, and who, for the public good, ſhould give the law.

* Charles Whitworth, had been Envoy-extraordinary to the Czar's court, and was now appointed Ambaſſador-extraordinary. From this gentleman, the Secretary of State received an account of Muſcovy, written with judgment and accuracy, which is in the poſſeſſion of the Editor.

Mr.

Mr. Harley does not mend ſo faſt as his friends wiſh, and as the public ſervice requires: the phyſicians and ſurgeons do however give hopes that in ten days' time he will be in a condition to come abroad.

I have talked with my Lord Poulet, on that part of your Grace's letter which relates to the money advanced to the forage, and have by the Queen's order recommended this ſervice very earneſtly to him: He aſſures me that the bills ſhall be punctually anſwered, and I hope that the credit will now revive ſo faſt, and the ſupplies proceed with ſo much vigour, that we ſhall be able to make, at leaſt for this year, as good a figure as our friends could wiſh, and a much better than our enemies expected.

I writ to your Grace in former letters all that Guiſcard ſaid concerning Saiſſan; the two material ones which Chabanetti ſent to the villain *, I have likewiſe tranſmitted to your Grace; and I herewith incloſe the papers which we intercepted firſt; ſo that you have now before you all the information which I can poſſibly give you.

I have nothing more at preſent to ſay to your Grace on the ſubject of the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria; the ſentiments of the Queen in this affair, my other letters explain, and we muſt wait for farther accounts, when the perſon employed returns, to ſettle our opinions better.

I dare ſay, and will anſwer, that your Grace will do your part for the good of the miniſtry and of the credit. We yeſterday had an accident in the Committee of Supply, which might have given ſome damp to the latter, had it not been retrieved with a high hand to-day.

* Guiſcard was a man of moſt profligate principles: he had fled from France, his native country, and by ſome means had got into employment under the laſt adminiſtration, was made Major-general, and went with Earl Rivers upon an expedition to the coaſt of France, in which not ſucceeding, the Earl and the troops went on to Liſbon, and Guiſcard returned home to England, where he got a penſion of 500l. per annum. This penſion was reduced to 400l. but Guiſcard by extravagance becoming involved in debt, and meeting with no encouragement from Oxford or Bolingbroke, he endeavoured to make his peace with France, by giving information of what was going forward here, to the French miniſtry.—His letters were intercepted, and he was taken into cuſtody on a charge of high-treaſon.—Some of the publications of that time aſſert that he meditated the aſſaſſination of the Queen.

They

They put a negative on the tax upon leather, which is a certain fund for more than 130,000l. a year; the matter was taken up with great warmth. This day was appointed to go again into the Committee of Ways and Means; we renewed the ſame motion under other terms, the the rules of the houſe not permitting us to do it under the ſame words, and we carried the queſtion by a majority of 106. We now think that the remaining three millions will be effectually provided, on grateful and ſecure funds, but the act for ſinking the public debts cannot go forward till Mr. Harley comes abroad.

The Queen is very well pleaſed to find that the French think of peace again, and her Majeſty approves of the anſwer concerted to be returned to the Duke of Lorrain *. Your Grace will receive her farther orders herein when you ſhall have heard again from the Duke; in the mean time, ſhe deſires that my Lord Raby may be acquainted with what has paſſed or may occur upon this ſubject, ſince, when your Grace ſhall have left the Hague, this affair may ſtill continue on foot.

I thank your Grace for the Papers which you ſend me, relating to Marſault; but muſt confeſs, I look upon him to be a ſcoundrel fellow who deſerves no credit. I have taken up Halle mentioned in one of his letters; the man's true name is Charlton. He killed a man in a duel ſome time ago, fled from Britain, is now come over to take his trial, and by all circumſtances had no acquaintance with Marſault more than drinking in his company, by accident, the night before he left Rotterdam.

Mr. Lumley † will have been able to tell your Grace, how ſincerely I wiſh you eſtabliſhed on that bottom which alone ſuits the merit and the character of a man like you. I do not believe there is any inclina-

* This unfortunate Prince offered his mediation to bring about a peace, in hopes of gaining an intereſt with the Allies for the recovery of his territories, which had been ſeized by France.

† The honourable General Henry Lumley.

tion wanting in the perſons mentioned by your Grace, and confidence will ſoon be reſtored.

To this happy end my utmoſt diligence ſhall be employed, and your Grace will find that no one is with more honeſty, nor with greater reſpect, my Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

March 30, 1711.

I HAVE received both your letters; that of the 30th of this month, N.S. was left in my wife's hands by Mr. Decker, that of the 4th of April came to me by the poſt. I will begin by anſwering the former.

The want of a peace on all ſides is evident; the ill ſituation of the enemy's affairs, however diſguiſed by their artifice, and by that effort which the conſtitution of their government enables them to make, we can enough diſcover. The bad condition which we are in is likewiſe too viſible to be kept as a ſecret. Britain, exhauſted by extending the war too wide, and taking upon themſelves the load of other people. Holland ſhrinking back from their quotas; and the government there grown poor, whatever private men may be. The confederates grown to look upon this as the war of the two maritime powers, playing at faſt and looſe with us; and in ſhort, the opportunities of making a good peace, whilſt the enemies lay ſtunned with the ſeveral ſtrokes they had received, abſolutely loſt. Whoever puts theſe ſeveral propoſitions together, will eaſily conclude that peace will be by ſo much the greater bleſſing, by how much the ſooner it comes.

I hope to be able before Tueſday to talk at large with the Peſident, the Chamberlain, and Mr. Harley (though the latter is yet hardly able to riſe from his bed) upon the contents of your firſt letter. By that poſt

therefore

therefore you may expect ſuch an account of our opinions and diſpoſitions here, as may be made uſe of. What is ſaid here, is only from myſelf to yourſelf. If you ſee Penſionary Buys, you may let him know that I have promiſed to write fully to you on this ſubject on Tueſday, and that the devotions of this week having hindered me from confering with our miniſters, are the reaſon of my not doing it now.

The queſtion which you aſk about the reſtrictions laid by Parliament upon the adminiſtration with regard to peace, is eaſily anſwered; and I thought the addreſs made by both Houſes at their firſt meeting, had put the matter out of all diſpute. Care was taken to leave that matter wholly to the Queen, and to promiſe to acquieſce in any terms which her Majeſty ſhould think reaſonable. You may remember that you wrote me word at that time how much notice was taken, and how much uſe was made in Holland of thoſe expreſſions.

Sir James Wiſhart is ordered to come immediately home, ſince he muſt make a very ill figure if he continue longer in a place where his errand is ſo coldly received. I have writ, upon the firſt reſolution of the States, a letter to Monſieur Vryberge, by the Queen's order, which is intended rather to ſhow that we have done our parts in preſſing the Dutch, and that we are not impoſed on by the gloſs with which they affect to cover their deficiency, than becauſe we expect it ſhould produce any farther compliance.

I thank you for your care and earneſt endeavours after intelligence. I found the office very defective upon this account, and would be glad to ſettle, if poſſible, ſome better correſpondence. It would be very well worth while to ſettle a man at Breſt, at any allowance, if a ſafe and expeditious method of receiving his letters might be contrived.

We wait for nothing but Mr. Harley's recovery, to put you on ſome eſtabliſhment for the Queen's ſervice, and I do aſſure you, that my Lord Preſident and my Lord Chamberlain join with me in thinking the

Queen has no ſervant abroad who deſerves better from her hands. If any thoughts of peace go on, I could wiſh you would take the trouble of a journey hither. We can better talk than write, and you will more fully enter into our ſentiments; beſides, we ſhall convey to the Dutch miniſters, our thoughts through you with much more freedom than we ſhall do by any other channel. Pretences for your journey cannot be wanting.

You eaſily imagine how much all affairs, and particularly thoſe of the Treaſury, ſuffer by Mr. Harley's indiſpoſition, but my Lord Poulet aſſured me laſt night, that the Treaſury has ſettled one remittance of 100,000l. to go to-night, and two of 50,000l. each, to go by the following poſts.

I am, &c.

P.S. I forgot to deſire you to explain what Lord Townſhend and Penſionary Buys parted ill about; I cannot think it a misfortune, let it be owing to what it will.

Since I writ my letter, I have ſeen Mr. Harley, who is able to walk about the room, and will, we hope, now be very ſoon abroad, he aſſures you of his very humble ſervice, and returns you many thanks for your kind concern for his health, and for the reputation of the Treaſury.

The contractors grumble that the whole advance was not remitted to them, but they forget that they have received two years of Lord Godolphin's arrears.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

April 4th, 1711.

I STOPPED the poſt till this morning, in hopes of being able to go through my diſpatches, but I continue ſtill ſo violently afflicted with the head-ach, that the moſt I can do will be to get to the end of this letter to your Grace.

Your Grace knows, by this time particularly, what care has been taken by the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury about the remittances; ſo that I ſhall ſay nothing upon that head to you.

The Queen thinks, as your Grace does, concerning the two treaties on foot with the Elector of Bavaria, and wiſhes that the Imperial court was as ſenſible as we are of the neceſſity of puſhing the war with vigour.

The affair which Monſieur Mellacede * negociates at Vienna ſeems to hang, after all the ſanguine aſſurances ſo frequently repeated. Your Grace, by this means, is likely to have the whole weight of the war on your arms. God grant you your uſual ſucceſs. Sure I am your uſual zeal for the public good will not be wanting.

As to M. de Brioue, and M. de Saiſſan, I find nothing to object to either of them. It is unfortunate that the former truſted Chabanetti ſo much, ſince by his means Guiſcard gained a good deal of light into thoſe matters; and in his ſecond letter to Monſieur de Torcy, which he miſſed of, he communicated thoſe accounts to that miniſter.

I have looked over all the papers which your Grace ſent me from Marſault, and the whole ſeems to me a fiction. The Queen makes the ſame judgment of them.

Before I conclude, your Grace will give me leave to ſay a word to

* Envoy of the Duke of Savoy, and his negociation was to obtain a corps of Imperialiſts for the war in Italy.

you in behalf of Sutton*, who will deliver this letter. He was laſt year extremely ill; but hopes that he is now able to make the campaign. He deſires me to anſwer for him as one full of duty and reſpect to your Grace, and I can very ſafely do it. Was he not ſo, I am ſure I would not recommend him to your Grace's protection and favour, with that earneſtneſs which I beg your leave to do.

Mr. Watkins has behaved himſelf with that true gratitude to your Grace, that I own it adds extremely to the juſt value which a great many other good qualities had made me conceive for him. I am very much pleaſed to find your Grace approves of my thought with regard to him.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

April 6th, 1711.

I WAS perfectly ſtupid with a ſevere head-ach, when the laſt poſt went away, and I am now very much afflicted with the gravel. However, there is no room for excuſe, if I neglect any longer to anſwer your ſeveral obliging letters.

The firſt article in time, and the firſt in importance, is the converſation which you had with the Penſionary Buys. I have talked fully on this ſubject with the Preſident, the Chamberlain, and our friend Mr. Harley, from whom you know the true meaſure of our Court is at preſent to be taken. Their opinion is, that you ſhould let Monſieur Buys know that you have wrote to thoſe to whom it was proper in Britain, as he deſired you to do; and that the anſwer given to your enquiry is, That the miniſters of the Queen are deſirous in making peace,

* Brigadier-general Richard Sutton. Such was the effect of party in thoſe times, that Sutton was not promoted in his turn to the rank of major-general, and did get it till 1729, when his Majeſty ordered him rank as if he had been promoted in his proper turn by King George I.

as

as in making war, to have a perfect good understanding with the States. That the method proposed for carrying on a treaty, in case we are obliged to sink below the terms formerly insisted upon, may be very agreeable, provided the Queen be, from the first, let into the whole secret.

That we are freed by the addresses of this parliament from the restraints laid by the votes of a former parliament.

This is a full, and I hope will be a satisfactory answer to Pensionary Buys, or to whoever may be in the same secret.

You judge undoubtedly right when you take it for granted, that there must have been on one side or other more steps taken towards peace, than the general overture made through the Duke of Lorrain, or else that there was little occasion for the Pensionary's curiosity.

I must once more repeat my apprehensions, that we cannot treat advantageously, perhaps not safely with France, until Britain and Holland know the minds of each other more exactly than it can be yet pretended that they do.

Inclosed I return you the original letter which I received from you, and am not in the least surprised at the contents of it. What I did in the case of that gentleman last winter I did for my own sake, and his shame will be the greater. But, Sir, his master is not a little more sincere; and the very day on which he made his parting protestations of reconciliation, and inviolable friendship, you may depend on his having swore to his resolution of revenge. These things you will keep in your own breast. They shall make no alteration in our conduct. We will secure ourselves against the malice, and despise the menace*.

* This relates to Cadogan and Marlborough; the former had been offended when Lord Orrery superseded him in the Netherlands; and the latter, by whose influence he had received the appointment, began now to side against the Queen and her ministers.

We

We are very ſenſible of the preſſures of the Dutch; and I am glad to find that they are ſo of the Queen's diſintereſted zeal in the ſupport of the war. You will allow me to make, however, one obſervation to you; and that is, as unable as the States pretend to be to furniſh the ſhips, which in juſtice they ought to do, yet they are ready to lend money on the King of Spain's demeſnes, the poſt-revenue of the ten provinces *, to have that mortgaged to them for thirty which is ſo already for twenty years.

The letter directed to M. de la Tour, at Paris, you might have let paſs, the perſon who wrote it being a very honeſt man; and if any other ſhould come to your hands with the ſame ſuperſcription, you will oblige me in forwarding them.

My ſentiment is, that you ſhould not have, at leaſt at preſent, any public character; for whether you come hither on a ſecret commiſſion, or whether the Queen uſes you in Holland, you will be better able to ſerve her as you are, than if declared to be immediately in her ſervice. With reſpect to advantage, the caſe will be the ſame; and I am ſure her Majeſty will make your appointments begin from the beginning of the year, if not backwarder.

Mr. Gordon came to London laſt night, he was here this morning, but I had not time to talk with him.

I am, ever, &c.

* The Spaniſh Netherlands.

To Lord Raby.

My Lord,

April 6th, 1711.

THE treaties at preſent on foot with the Elector of Bavaria, and the overture made towards a general one through the Duke of Lorrain, being matters which have not yet been laid before the cabinet, I write to your Excellency of them in my private letter. As to the former, it is a very odd negociation. We are to truſt a good deal to the Elector's faith, notwithſtanding his agreement to put his troops into our ſervice; and at the ſame time, to keep this faith with us, he is to betray the French. We will, however, reaſon no farther on this matter at preſent. When the Duke of Marlborough and your Excellency have met Monſieur de Welderen*, and heard the propoſals which the Elector's agent brings at his return, we ſhall hear from you upon this ſubject more fully; and then the Queen's orders will be given for your conduct in this affair.

As to the overture of peace, we are likewiſe able to ſay little, till we hear from your ſide what new meſſage the anſwer given to the Baron de Beque † produces. Certain it is, that we miſſed the true opportunity of making peace; and that we have ſtayed till we are not able to carry on the war. However, the beſt countenance is to be put on, and peace ought not to be meanly courted any more than it ought to be induſtriouſly avoided.

I have endeavoured already to ſerve Mr. Scott, whom I was formerly acquainted with, and whom I know to be maſter of ſeveral valuable qualities. Your Excellency will pleaſe to aſſure the Electoreſs ‡, that

* Deputy for the province of Guelderland to the States-General.
† Miniſter of the Duke of Lorrain.
‡ Of Saxony.

I will redouble my efforts to ſerve him; and to ſhow how juſt a reverence I pay to her commands.

As to Mr. Watkins, I muſt once more take the liberty to aſſure your Excellency, that the Queen has no one man, without any exception, to employ, who is half ſo well qualified to fill the poſt of her Secretary at the Hague. You may depend entirely on his integrity, which is equal to his capacity; and his experience, which is equal to both; for he has been in the whole ſecret of foreign buſineſs, ever ſince the Queen's acceſſion to the throne.

Mr. Lewis * could not be ſpared without maiming Lord Dartmouth's office. Take my opinion, my Lord, in this affair, and judge of me as I judge of this.

The young man † whom I propoſe to ſend over to your Excellency, has a good deal of wit and learning. He has, in Latin and Engliſh, a very fine pen, and French enough to be uſeful. I ſhall, however, ſtay till I hear again from your Excellency before I order him away.

I hope your Excellency forgives me, if I have, both in this and former letters entered too far into what relates immediately to yourſelf. I have no view but your ſervice, nor no motive but my juſt eſteem for your perſon.

I am, &c.

* Eraſmus Lewis, Under-ſecretary to Lord Dartmouth, and formerly to Mr. Harley, to whom he was ſoon after the date of this letter, private Secretary.

† Mr. Harriſon.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

April the 10th, 1711.

I HAVE before me to acknowledge your's of the 14th, N.S. for which, and for the advice contained in it, I return you many thanks.

Our friend at Amſterdam being of the character which you repreſent, it is not ſtrange that he ſhould have thoſe for his enemies who are ſo to peace, and to all the good conſequences of that valuable bleſſing. I ſhould, however, be extremely ſorry if any miſunderſtanding was created between the Penſionary and him. The conferences mentioned in your's were, I dare ſay, held for no good purpoſe; but ſurely Monſieur Heinſius will never be ſo weak as to lean on a faction, who could not ſupport itſelf, with all thoſe advantages which the late miniſtry had; and this too at the price of diſobliging the Queen, and the beſt part of the nation.

I fear that your politicians in Holland are apt to reaſon upon our affairs from the impreſſions given in the time of King Charles II, and ever ſince kept up very artfully by the Whigs. Whereas, you who know from hiſtory and converſation, the ſtate of that Court; and from your own obſervation, the preſent temper and diſpoſition of people in this iſland, cannot but be apprized of the mighty difference between the politics before and ſince the revolution; and how often he muſt be in the wrong who takes his meaſures of Whig and Tory now, from what was the conſtitution of them at that time.

Our letters which arrived to-day, by the way of Oſtend, give an

account of the Dauphin's death*. Will this event make any alterations in the meaſures and councils of France?

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

April the 10th.

ON the ſubject which I writ to your Grace upon, by M. de Seiſſan, I have little more to ſay. We are in mortal fears that my Lord Peterborough is gone about concerting operations for the Duke of Savoy, before enough has been done to make that Prince reſolve to act. Orders are therefore ſent by this poſt to Mr. Palmes † according to what I writ to your Grace yeſterday; and my Lord Dartmouth writes to my Lord Peterborough in much the ſame ſtyle.

Maffei ‡ was with me this morning. He ſeemed under a good deal of concern, and owned to me, when I preſſed him on the ſubject, that the Queen had done ſo much for his maſter, that ſhe deſerved to have ſome ſacrifice made to her, and eſpecially when his maſter might have the ſtrongeſt aſſurance, that we would not only ſupport, but mend his bargain, whenever we got out of the preſent difficulties. He ſaid he had writ in this ſenſe; and that he believed if my Lord Peterborough had carried with him an aſſurance, under the Emperor's hand, as to the points remaining in diſpute, his maſter might be prevailed upon to take the field.

I am very glad your Grace approves of what I ſaid to Mr. Craggs. I

* Louis, only remaining iſſue of Louis XIV, and Maria Tereſa, of Auſtria, at the age of forty-nine years.

† Lieutenant-general Francis Palmes. Envoy-extraordinary of Great Britain and the States-General, to the Court of Vienna.

‡ Count Maffei, Envoy of Savoy to our court.

ſpoke to him with great ſincerity my opinion; and I dare ſay your Grace will find it to be well grounded.

This letter will find your Grace, I ſuppoſe, drawing near to your army, where I wiſh you all imaginable ſucceſs, and am, &c.

To Lord Raby.

My Lord,

April 17th, 1711.

I AM to return my humble thanks to your Excellency for the favours of your private letters of the 17th, 21ſt, and 24th inſtant, N.S.

I ſhall avoid ſaying any thing of buſineſs in this, not having had time to adviſe with my Lord Preſident, my Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Harley, who only are in the ſecret of the overture made by the Duke of Lorrain; and of the treaty on foot with the Elector of Bavaria.

As to d'Ayrolle*, the Queen does not think fit to ſend him to Geneva, I own I ſee no uſe he is of to her at the Hague. I have yet had no opportunity of ſpeaking to her Majeſty on his ſubject. When I have, your Excellency ſhall be acquainted with the reſult. If your Excellency has any inclination to afford him your protection, that will engage me to ſerve him; otherwiſe I ſhould not be very active for him, ſince I know very certainly that he has been very impertinent about Britiſh affairs.

As I deſire your Excellency's friendſhip, ſo I muſt endeavour to have your good opinion, without which the other is neither to be deſerved nor obtained. You will therefore give me leave to aſſure you, that if I was too haſty in naming Mr. Watkins, or Mr. Harriſon, it was

* James d'Ayrolle had heen ſome years Secretary of Great Britain in Holland; and had been appointed for Geneva or Genoa, in 1710.

purely

purely the effect of zeal, perhaps an intemperate and unadviſed one, for your ſervice. I did in my conſcience believe Watkins the fitteſt man in Britain, who could be ſpared, for that employment, and I thought the other, inſtructed as I intend to ſend him over, would make a better ſecretary than the generality of thoſe employed. But to impoſe any perſon you might not truſt, or would not like, is the laſt thing I ſhould think of attempting. Since your Excellency bids me do ſo, I will ſend Mr. Harriſon immediately to you. But I beg, and muſt make it a condition that you will not keep him on my account an hour. I ſhall find other ways of providing for him, if he is not uſeful and agreeable to your Excellency. I am, &c.

To Lord Raby.

My Lord,

Whitehall, April 19th, 1711.

I HAVE juſt time to add two words about the Barrier-treaty. Your Excellency muſt be of opinion, as we are all here, that this was the meaſure of a faction, who made their court to Holland, at the expence of Britain. I will undertake to ſhow, in almoſt every article of it, ſomething more or leſs ſcandalous.

Your Excellency will therefore pleaſe, with that addreſs which you are maſter of, to incline the Dutch to a compoſition upon it. The Queen is engaged by her ratification; and therefore cannot directly refuſe to make it good; but there are others who are under no tie of ſubmitting to it *. The inſtances of theſe you will ſupport, and perſuade the States, for their own ſakes, to ſome reaſonable compoſition.

It may not improperly be let fall, that we have great grounds to

* Probably the Parliament of Great Britain and the Commercial Intereſt.

complain

complain of the conduct of the ſubjects of Holland, both on the coaſt of Africa, and in the Eaſt Indies, and that there is no ſmall difficulty in keeping our merchants from making very loud remonſtrances upon theſe heads; but if the Barrier-Treaty comes to be publicly known and conſidered in parliament, it will be abſolutely impoſſible to keep the ferment down. All ranks, all parties of men will unite in their proteſtations againſt it.

Mr. Harriſon goes away by the firſt packet, by him your Excellency will have without reſerve my thoughts concerning Lord Marlborough, and other affairs; and I beg of you to do me one piece of juſtice, till you find reaſon to do otherwiſe, which is, to believe, that after putting myſelf on the foot which I have done with your Excellency, I am not capable of keeping any reſerve towards you, much leſs of affecting one part, and really acting another.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To Lord Raby.

My Lord,

April 20, 1711.

THIS letter will be delivered to you by a little relation of mine, who wants neither learning nor good underſtanding, and who will, I hope, be an uſeful ſervant to you. Whenever your Excellency has any other perſon in your eye, who may be more agreeable to you, I deſire that you would without the leaſt ceremony let me know it; and I will throw the young fellow into ſome other buſineſs. I never was more truly concerned at any fault I have been guilty of, than at my indiſcretion in making ſo many ſteps in the affair of Mr. Watkins. I take my own load of blame; but really my Lord, I muſt ſet his character in a fair

light

light before you, for he has as much merit as a man can have; and in all the turns which have lately happened, the ſtation he was in, which might have betrayed a man into ſome miſtake very eaſily, has only ſerved to make his honour and his prudence the more conſpicuous. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as your humble ſervant, can witneſs this truth.

My Lord Marlborough is now gone to the army, well pleaſed, I make no doubt, with the anſwer received from France, through the channel of the Duke of Lorrain; for though peace be a neceſſary good to Britain, I do not imagine that he looks upon it as ſuch to him.

I am not in the leaſt ſurpriſed that my Lord Townſhend's papers were ſent away, and that his Grace's time was too much taken up to be able to communicate thoſe lights to your Excellency, which might be neceſſary for her Majeſty's ſervice. It is natural for ſome people to affect ſpoiling any game that they ceaſe to have the ſole direction of. But, my Lord, you will ſoon ſtand on ground of your own making; and I am ſanguine enough to affirm, that the Dutch will be better governed by that conduct which I dare ſay you will keep, than ever they were by that of your predeceſſors.

Is it wonderful, that the union and good underſtanding between the two nations (upon which they value themſelves) have been preſerved, whilſt they have acted like deputies of the States, and Britain has ſubmitted like a province? The Dutch muſt have been hard indeed to pleaſe, if, upon thoſe terms, they had not continued in good humour.

The laſt and great ſale of the Britiſh intereſt was made in the Barrier Treaty; under pretence of rendering Holland ſafe, we have done our parts to render it formidable. This is certain, we have given to the Dutch, by that infamous compact, extent of country, the only thing they wanted to enable them to be ſuperior to us in trade.

This, my Lord, has been the price at which the good harmony has been

been created and maintained. I believe, and I have reaſon for this belief, that they begin to think in Holland we ſhall no longer prove ſo blind as to ſuffer the national intereſt to be bartered by a faction; and your Excellency will ſee, that when we act like good allies, without deſcending below the character, the Dutch will eſteem us more, and love us juſt as well.

Upon the head of peace I ſhall write more fully to your Excellency, after I have ſpoke with my Lord Preſident, my Lord Chamberlain, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In general, I can tell you now that we muſt endeavour to have it, without appearing too fond of it.

As to your Excellency's money affairs, I will lay that matter ſo fully before the Lords of the Treaſury, that you ſhall be ſure of being anſwered to your ſatisfaction; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is juſt come abroad, will, I know, be particularly proud of doing any thing agreeable to your Excellency.

I ſhall write this evening again to you, ſo that, in conſcience, I cannot trouble your Excellency any longer by this letter than to aſſure you that I am, and ever will be, my Lord, &c.

To Lord Raby.

My Lord,

April 20th, 1711.

I INCLOSE this to let your Excellency know, that the Queen thinks no anſwer from her neceſſary on the Duke of Lorrain's letter, more than that ſhe approves of your conduct in that matter.

As to the project with the Elector of Bavaria, it is hard to form a judgment: we take it for granted that he has grown either more in earneſt to be reconciled with the allies, or more averſe to it, ſince the Emperor's death; and either of theſe caſes will ſoon be diſcerned.

We think that in order to determine whether this Elector's propoſition be fit to be accepted, it is neceſſary to know how far the military operations may be affected by the neutrality of Nieuport, Namur, Charleroy, and Luxemburg.

Peace ſeems at preſent to be ſo far off, and ſo many events may happen, one way or other, to incline her Majeſty to one ſcheme or another, that I cannot pretend to tell your Excellency what the Queen's preſent thoughts are upon that head. In general, we want a peace, and we wiſh it: and I think the right rule to act and ſpeak by is, to give our enemies an opinion that the firſt propoſition is not true, but that the laſt is ſo.

I ſhall add nothing more, but my ſincere aſſurances of being, with the utmoſt truth, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

April 20, 1711.

I HAVE the letters of the 21ſt, 24th, and 26th, N.S. to acknowledge, but I have been all this day ſo much engaged in buſineſs, that I ſhall not be able to write to you, or any other of my correſpondents, ſo fully by this poſt as I intended; but by that of Tueſday, I hope to anſwer particularly the ſeveral articles of your letters, which I have read to the Queen, and communicated to ſuch of her miniſters as I uſually do. I cannot, in the mean time, omit ſaying, that the preſent diſpoſition of the Penſionary Heinſius, is very agreeable to every body here; and we wiſh, as heartily as he can do, that the Dutch had always judged as well of Britiſh affairs as they ſeem to do now.

I incloſe

I incloſe to you a copy of the Queen's meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament, and their addreſs upon it, which was preſented this night.

This ſtep, not common in our proceedings, ſhows with what zeal and warmth the Parliament concurs in thoſe meaſures which the Queen and States thought proper to take upon the *contretems* of the Emperor's death *. We perſuade ourſelves here, that there is no doubt to be made of King Charles's being elected Emperor; but the ſatisfying the Duke of Savoy on his pretenſions to Spain, ſeems to be the knot of the whole affair.

I cannot forbear adding, that Mr. Buys was too critical in his remark about *may* and *will* in the anſwer which I ſent you to his enquiries †. The terms I uſed were ſurely as ſtrong as it became us to write, or him to expect.

Depend yourſelf, and continue to make others do the ſame, on every reaſonable meaſure from this ſide.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Whitworth.

SIR,

April 24, 1711.

I RECEIVED with great pleaſure your letter of the 28th of this month, N.S. and you will, before this can come to your hands, have found that her Majeſty has thought fit, in this extraordinary conjuncture of affairs, to make uſe of you in Germany, in your way to the Czar's court. You ſee, Sir, how much trouble a man draws upon

* On the 17th, at night, the expreſs arrived with an account of the Emperor Joſeph's death. On the 20th a meſſage was ſent from the Queen to both Houſes, That ſhe had reſolved to ſupport the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, and to endeavour to get the King of Spain to be elected Emperor; that the States-General concurred with her; and, with the aſſiſtance of Parliament, ſhe ſhould be enabled to make a happy concluſion of this war in a ſafe and honourable peace. An addreſs was voted and preſented the ſame day.

† Vide Letter to Mr. Drummond, 6th April, 1711.

himſelf who has your talents, and who has had the opportunities of exerting and ſhowing them; but, on the other hand, this trouble becomes a pleaſure to thoſe who, to your capacity, join your generoſity and love of your country.

It is very likely that you may ſoon hear of ſome new employment being aſſigned to you, beſides what you are to do at the Court of Berlin. Now I have got you into my province, I will keep you in it as long as I can; and I hope you will forgive me if I deprive you for ſome time of his Grace of Queenſberry's correſpondence *.

That I may not alarm you with long letters at firſt, I will take the liberty to refer you to what I write to his Excellency my Lord Ambaſſador Raby, on the general ſtate of affairs, and will conclude this by the moſt ſincere aſſurances of my being, Sir, your Excellency's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

April 24, 1711.

I HAD begun to write to you, upon the contents of your three letters of the 21ſt, 24th, and 26th, N.S. two days ago, in hopes of having time to ſpeak more fully to you on ſeveral points which relate to the common intereſt of Britain and Holland; but I have been interrupted by buſineſs of one kind or other, which is ſtill ſpringing up, and which your countryman, Queenſberry, eaſes me of no part of.

I find a great uneaſineſs in my Lord Raby about Harry Watkins being named Secretary to the Embaſſy; and I have been told that when my name-ſake went to wait upon the Ambaſſador, he had not

* The office of a third Secretary of State was a new appointment of her Majeſty in the February preceding, and was given to the Duke of Queenſberry and Dover.

ſo good a reception as he might have expected, and as the other ought to have given him. Pray write your own thoughts, as well as the judge's, very freely to me upon this ſubject, becauſe I did not intend to place Mr. Watkins in an uneaſy ſtation, and becauſe if he cannot be agreeable at the Hague, I make no doubt but the Queen will ſome other way do better for him.

Your Penſionary muſt, I dare ſay, upon recollection, whatever his firſt thoughts might be, have been very well ſatisfied with the anſwer which I ſent to his enquiries. We could not ſay more, unleſs we had reſigned ourſelves abſolutely and implicitly to their guidance, and that is not to be expected, at leaſt till we know more of one another's minds, with relation to our ſeveral intereſts in a peace. I have given you this hint before, and on this ſide of the water we ſhould be very plain in opening ourſelves on that ſubject.

I hope the Grand Penſionary, upon the account which he gave you of the effect which the reports ſpread concerning the ill ſtate of our domeſtic affairs have had in France, did not fail to make this plain remark, that thoſe perſons who had ſo much credit very lately in Holland, by their induſtriouſly propagating falſe repreſentations of our condition, did a double miſchief, as they diſheartened our friends, and as they encouraged our enemies.

Whenever we come in earneſt to treat of peace, ways will be eaſily found of opening the matter to my Lord Raby, that he ſhall have no umbrage of your having been in the ſecret previouſly to him.

I wiſh the Penſionary's correſpondent may judge right, who thinks that another miniſter, now the Dauphin is dead, will be ſent into Holland by the French: for my part, I much doubt it. Mr. Harley will to-morrow, for the firſt time, appear in the Houſe of Commons, ſince his misfortune: the Penſionary's compliments will, I am ſure, be very agreeable to him, and I ſhall not fail to make them. The

notice

notice he takes of me I am very thankful to him for, and ſhall ſtrive to deſerve his good opinion, by contributing all I can to the continuance of the good correſpondence between our two countries, upon which our common happineſs undoubtedly depends.

My Lord Raby's complaint about money will be over this week, ſince half of what is due to him will be ordered.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

April 27, 1711.

IN my letters to your Grace, and in the copies of thoſe which I have writ to my Lord Raby, are her Majeſty's ſentiments upon the preſent poſture of affairs, as fully communicated as I am able to explain them.

As our councils here proceed, and new reſolutions are taken, I will not fail to give your Grace a faithful account of them.

The circumſtances of our affairs are ſurely very critical, and all thoſe clouds which have been gathering for ſome time ſeem ready to break, and to ſhed their evil influence at once upon us, beſides the unfortunate incident of the Emperor's death, which could not be foreſeen.

My care can be of no great ſervice to your Grace, though you are pleaſed to aſk it; but the beſt offices in my power you ſhall at all times be ſure of.

With reſpect to the common cauſe, you have, my Lord, a hard game to play; but with reſpect to yourſelf, and your own reputation, I think you have not. Every man is ſo apprized that the whole ſtrength of France is now oppoſed to you, that if you ſhould be able

to

to do any thing, you would outgo almoſt our hopes; and if you are able to do nothing (which God forbid) I dare ſay no blame will be aſcribed to you.

I have not been, to own the truth to your Grace, this month at the Committee of Lords, which ſits at the War-office; you will eaſily gueſs my reaſon. But I will move the Queen in the affair of the Brigadiers, the ſtate of which, I am ſenſible, is as your Grace repreſents it.

As to the ſubject which Mr. Craggs and I have often talked together upon, there can be no difficulty in it which yourſelf may not remove, and wherein I ſhall not endeavour to be inſtrumental. I muſt, however, deal freely with your Grace, and let you know, that ſome things which did paſs between Mr. Craggs and me, and ſome which did not, having been talked of again, makes me a little cautious how I talk privately upon a ſubject which might even be publickly owned.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

April 27, 1711.

YOUR letters of the 1ſt of May, N.S. together with the incloſed, I received with the ſatisfaction which I read every thing that comes from you. I cannot agree that Lord Orrery is ſo much in the wrong, or that there is ſo much danger of loſing the ſubſiſtence of the Imperial and Palatine troops as Mr. Watkins ſeems to believe. My Lord has the Queen's poſitive and repeated orders to inſiſt, in the firſt place, that the Spaniſh Provinces ſhould furniſh all the expences charged upon them for the ſervice of the war; but he is directed, at the

the ſame time, to act the part of an advocate and a protector, when any unreaſonable propoſition is by other people preſſed upon them. Nay, in ſuch caſes the common neceſſity will oblige him to yield, and where he knows beforehand that he is to do ſo, the Queen will, however, approve his conduct, if he ſhows a reluctancy to enter into oppreſſive meaſures, and if, at the time he conſents to load them on one account, he endeavours to eaſe them in ſome other reſpect. Theſe unhappy countries have found the government of thoſe who pretend to be the aſſertors of public liberty ſo tyrannical and barbarous, that you know better than I how near they are driven to deſpair. The Queen's ſervants have, to the reproach of our government and nation, been, in great meaſure, the inſtruments of all theſe vile proceedings. Something, therefore, muſt be done to relieve the miſerable people, and ſomething to redeem the honour of the Britiſh name.

We have, in anſwer to a reſolution of the States, and to a memorial of Monſieur Vryberge's grounded thereon, ſpoke very frankly to this effect; but to you I will add this farther, that it is by no means our intereſt that Holland ſhould compaſs all they aim at with reſpect to theſe Provinces.

I ſhall be ſorry, if my Lord Orrery does not live in a good correſpondence (ſince it is abſolutely neceſſary for the public ſervice) with the Duke of Marlborough, who did really make great advances, and ſuch as could not, with any grace, be declined, before they left this kingdom.

I hardly believe that the French are ſhipping any forces at Breſt; but if they ſhould in the opinion and with the deſign you mention, I wiſh them heartily a good voyage.

Your converſation with the Penſionary, I hope, by the firſt letters, to have an account of. In the mean time you may aſſure him, that my Lord Peterborough has had no orders to offer the Spaniſh Monarchy to the Duke of Savoy; nay, his journey to Turin is undertaken againſt the

Queen's

Queen's intentions, and even his inſtructions; ſince the latter oblige him to continue at Vienna, till all the points in diſpute are ſettled to the ſatisfaction of M. de Mellarede, and you know that he took the reſolution of going to the Duke of Savoy, as ſoon as that was adjuſted which relates to the Fiefs of the Montferrat, and which is but half of one article out of four.

Declaring for the Duke of Savoy's immediate ſucceſſion to Spain, can have but one effect, which is to haſten the Auſtrian miniſters to ſome compoſition with France. If King Charles is once ſecure of the empire, he will think it much more his intereſt to unite the Italian territories to it, and to enjoy the whole with peace, than to continue a war for aggrandizing the Houſe of Savoy at the expence of having leſs himſelf. We are as cautious upon this ſubject, and we think it as nice and dangerous a matter to handle, as the Penſionary can do: but give me leave to tell you, that our friends in Holland, muſt not leave this affair to take care of itſelf, as they have done that of the North. The Queen has hitherto not at all interpoſed, but left the whole management of this laſt to the States, and what a dilemma are we now reduced to! The king of Sweden has been made neither unwilling nor unable to hurt us. He has had, in a great meaſure, the advantage of the act of neutrality, and yet is under no obligation to abide by it; and now that he has gained time enough, he bids you, in plain terms, declare whether you will make good the guaranty of the treaty of Travendhal* or not, that he may take his meaſures accordingly. The ſituation of theſe Northern affairs gives the Queen no ſmall ſhare of uneaſineſs.

Mr. Harley was yeſterday at the Houſe of Commons for the firſt

* Between the kings of Denmark and Sweden, then Duke of Sleſwick-Holſten-Gottorp, 1700, —by which all former treaties were renewed and confirmed, no fortifications to be within a league of their reſpective territories—neither power to have more than 6000 men in the duchies of Holſtein. Denmark not to attempt any thing againſt Sweden, &c. Great Britain, and the States-General guarantees. The king of Denmark took advantage of king Charles's defeat at Pultowa, and invading the Swediſh territories, broke the treaty of Travendhal.

time; the compliment which the Speaker made him in the name of the Houſe, and his reply to it, were extremely fine. We ſay at Court, that he will be called by another appellation in a few days.

I am, &c.

To Lord Raby *.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 27, 1711.

I SEND your Excellency incloſed, by her Majeſty's order, the copy of an overture from France, which came a few days ſince to our hands †.

* Public Letter.

† "Comme on ne peut douter que le Roi ne ſoit en état de ſoutenir glorieuſement la guerre, on ne peut regarder auſſi, comme une marque de foibleſſe, que ſa Majeſté rompe le ſilence qu'elle a gardé depuis la ſéparation des conférences de Gertruydenberg, & qu'avant l'ouverture de la campagne, elle donne encore de nouvelles preuves du deſir qu'elle a toujours conſervé de procurer le rétabliſſement du repos de l'Europe. Mais après l'expérience qu'elle a faite des ſentimens de ceux qui gouvernent préſentement la République d'Hollande, & de leur induſtrie à rendre les négociations infructueuſes, elle veut, pour le bien public, adreſſer à la nation Angloiſe les propoſitions qu'elle juge à propos de faire pour terminer la guerre, & pour aſſurer ſolidement la tranquillité générale de la Chrétienté. C'eſt dans cette vue que le Roi offre de traiter la paix, ſur le fondement des conditions ſuivantes:

"*Premièrement*, Que les Anglois auront des ſuretés réelles pour exercer deſormais leur commerce en Eſpagne, aux Indes, & dans les ports de la Méditerranée.

"*Secondement*, Le Roi conviendra de former dans les Pays Bas une barrière ſuffiſante pour la ſureté de la république d'Hollande; & cette barrière ſera convenable à l'Angleterre, & au gré de la nation Angloiſe; ſa Majeſté promettant, en même-tems, une entière liberté & aſſurance pour le commerce des Hollandois.

"*Troiſièmement*, On cherchera ſincèrement & de bonne-foi les moyens raiſonnables de ſatisfaire les alliés de l'Angleterre & de la Hollande.

"*Quatrièmement*, Comme le bon état des affaires du Roi d'Eſpagne fournit de nouveaux expédiens pour terminer le différend ſur cette monarchie, & pour le règler au contentement des parties intéreſſées, on travaillera ſincèrement à ſurmonter les difficultés nées à cette occaſion, & l'on aſſurera l'état, le commerce, & généralement les intérêts de toutes les parties engagées dans la préſente guerre.

"*Cinquièmement*, Les conférences pour traiter la paix ſur le fondement de ces conditions ſeront inceſſamment ouvertes; & les plenipotentiaires que le Roi nommera pour y aſſiſter traiteront avec ceux de l'Angleterre & de la Hollande, ſeuls, ou conjointement avec ceux de leurs alliés, au choix de l'Angleterre.

"*Sixièmement*, Sa Majeſté propoſe les villes d'Aix-la-Chapelle & de Liege pour le lieu où les plénipotentiaires ſeront aſſemblés; remettant auſſi à l'Angleterre de choiſir l'une de ces deux villes pour y traiter la paix générale. Fait à Marly, le 22me Avril, 1711.

"DE TORCY."

The

The Queen's pleaſure is that your Excellency do take the firſt opportunity of communicating it to the Penſionary, and of letting that miniſter know, that her Majeſty, who is reſolved in making peace as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the States, would not loſe a moment in tranſmitting to him a paper of this importance.

Your Excellency will pleaſe to add, that the Queen earneſtly deſires this ſecret may be kept among as few as poſſible, and that ſhe hopes the Penſionary will adviſe upon this occaſion with no perſon whatever, except ſuch as are, by the conſtitution of that government, unavoidably neceſſary.

As ſoon as the matter has been conſidered in Holland, your Excellency will pleaſe to diſpatch Barlow, who brings you this packet, back, with the opinion of the Dutch miniſters.

The terms of the ſeveral propoſitions are, as your Excellency will obſerve, very general; but however they contain an offer to treat, and though there is an air of complaiſance through the whole paper ſhown to us, and the contrary to thoſe among whom you reſide, yet this can have no ill conſequence, as long as the Queen and the States take care to underſtand each other, and to act with as little reſerve as becomes two powers ſo nearly allied in intereſt. Your Excellency may aſſure the Penſionary, that this rule ſhall on our parts be inviolably obſerved.

The Duke of Marlborough has no communication from hence of this affair, I ſuppoſe he will have none from the Hague.

Your Excellency will pleaſe to accept of the moſt ſincere aſſurances, that I am, with great reſpect,

My Lord, your Excellency's
Moſt obedient, and moſt
Humble Servant,
H. St. John.

Not knowing but your Excellency might on ſome occaſion or other have a mind to ſhow my letter to the miniſters in Holland, I choſe to throw into another paper what is not proper for them to ſee.

Ever ſince the conferences broke off at Gertruydenberg, the French have affected to diſtruſt the inclination of the Dutch to peace, and to take every occaſion of ſhowing a reſentment of the ill-treatment which they pretend at that time to have received.

Your Excellency, I believe, will think that as ſoon as the Penſionary reads the Paper ſent by Monſieur de Torcy he will be alarmed at the whole frame of it, and particularly at thoſe expreſſions: "Que les Anglois auront des ſuretés réelles, & une barrière ſuffiſante pour la ſureté de la république d'Hollande; & cette barrière ſera convenable à l'Angleterre, & au gré de la nation Angloiſe."

The fear the Dutch will conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for Britain, will naturally put them on trying underhand for themſelves, and endeavouring to make us the dupes of the peace, as we have been of the war. Your Excellency will therefore pleaſe to be watchful to diſcover any workings of this kind.

The French name Aix and Liege for treating the peace, but I may tell your Excellency that they do it for no other reaſon but becauſe they will not name any town which belongs to the States. This, however, will break no meaſures; and if we ſtuck at nothing but the place, that difficulty would be made eaſy by the French.

The manner of treating, whether with all the allies, or only the maritime powers firſt, is a point of much conſideration.

I believe your Excellency will deſire to have in writing the ſentiments of the miniſters of Holland, to prevent real miſtakes, or pretended ones, in an affair of this moment.

I am neither ſurprized at your Excellency's wading through the difficulties which you met with, on your firſt entrance upon buſineſs at the

the Hague, nor at the endeavours of the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townſhend to expoſe you to as many as they could. You have in this, my Lord, met with no other fate than the Queen, our miſtreſs, has; and her adminiſtration would never have ſupported itſelf againſt all the induſtry and all the malice which has been put in practice, without that reſolution and firmneſs of mind which ſhe has ſhown, and her ſervants too by her example.

The influence of theſe factious efforts is, I hope, over; we gain ſtrength every day; and I hope to ſee the Queen's government ſettled on that broad and generous principle which only can and only ought to laſt.

I am ever your Excellency's

Moſt faithful ſervant,

H. St. J.

The incloſed, for Monſieur de la Garde *, the Queen would have your Excellency take care to have forwarded by the poſt to France; but it muſt be ſo delivered that there may be no ſuſpicion of its being ſo by your order.

To

* L'Abbé Gaultier à Monſieur le Marquis de Torcy:

" Monſieur,

" J'ai eu l'honneur de vous mander, Mardi dernier, que j'avois rendu le mémoire dont vous m'aviez chargé, le 23me du mois paſſé; on l'a lu, examiné, & on vient de l'envoyer aux Etats-Généraux; aprés avoir fait ce pas, on croit qu'il eſt raiſonnable, que vous vous expliquiez particuliérement ſur le contenu du premier article, & que vous faſſiez connoître ce que vous entendez par ces paroles, *que les Anglois auront des ſuretés réelles pour exercer deſormais leur commerce en Eſpagne, aux Indes, & dans les ports de la Mer Méditerranée.*

" On m'ordonne de vous écrire celle-ci aujourd'hui, & je vous ſupplie d'avoir la bonté de m'en envoyer au plutôt la réponſe.

" Je ſuis, &c.

" A Londres, 8me Mai, 1711, N.S. " F. GAULTIER."

Mem. This was ſealed and incloſed in the following.

" A Londres, 8me Mai, 1711, N.S.

" Je vous prie, Monſieur, de rendre l'encluſe à ſon adreſſe, auſſitôt que vous l'aurez reçue, & vous m'en enverrez la réponſe le plutôt qu'il vous ſera poſſible, &c.

" F. G."

Directed " A Monſieur de la Garde, dans la rue Foüane, proche la place Maubert, à Paris."

To

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

May 1ſt, 1711.

I HAVE had the honour to lay your Lordſhip's letter of the 4th of May, N.S. before her Majeſty, and am glad to let your Lordſhip know that the Queen is extremely ſatisfied with the care which your Lordſhip takes by all poſſible means to gain intelligence of the enemy's deſigns.

The method of ſtopping the letters wrote to Lord Drummond *, cannot to be ſure long be uſed, for the reaſon which you are pleaſed to

To this the following was received n anſwer:

" A Marli, le 31 Mai, 1711.

" JE vous mandai, Monſieur, l'ordinaire dernier, que j'avois reçu votre lettre du 8me de ce mois, & que je répondrois inceſſammant à ce qu'elle contenoit de plus particulier. Je m'en acquitte aujourd'hui, en vous donnant l'explication que vous demandez ſur le premier article du projet que je vous ai remis. A la vérité ce ſerois matière à différer juſques aux conférences, & vous ne pouvez guères demander les explications quand il n'y a rien d'aſſuré de votre part; mais on veut bien paſſer ſur cette difficulté, pour vous faire voir non-ſeulement la bonne-foi que vous deſirez, mais encore la confiance que l'on prend en vous. Vous pouvez donc aſſurer ceux qui vous emploient, que l'on a parole du Roi d'Eſpagne de laiſſer aux Anglois Gibraltar, pour la ſureté réelle de leur commerce en Eſpagne, & dans la Méditerranée. Vous ajouterez qu'il n'a encore été fait aucune propoſition à S. M. Cath. pour la ſureté du commerce des Indes, parce qu'il faut ſavoir auparavant ce qui peut convenir ſur ce ſujet à l'Angleterre. Demandez-le donc, & auſſitôt que vous m'en aurez inſtruit, on agira fortement auprès du Roi Cath. afin d'obtenir de lui que ſes miniſtres, aux conférences de la paix, aient des ordres ſur un article auſſi important, & qui ne ſauroient être traité comme préliminaire. On ſait en général qu'il ſera diſpoſé à favoriſer la nation Angloiſe, ſi elle contribue au rétabliſſement de la tranquillité publique.

" Je vous ai parlé de la prétendue négociation du Duc de Lorraine, & je vous ai dit que ce prince avoit offert ici ſes offres, après en avoir fait parler à la Haye, de ſon pur mouvement, il ne s'eſt rien paſſé dans cette affaire depuis que le Roi a répondu de manière que cette négociation eſt tombée dès ſon commencement. Vous pouvez vous en tenir au préambule du mémoire que je vous ai donné, il ne tiendra qu'à l'Angleterre que S. M. ne s'adreſſe plus aux Hollandois pour traiter.

" Il y a moins de fondement encore aux offres qu'on prétend que M. le Duc de Noailles a fait à l'Archduc, qu'à la négociation entamée par le Duc de Lorraine. Enfin la ſeule qui ſoit préſentement ouverte pour la paix eſt avec vous. Mais profitez de la confiance qu'on prend en vous, car il ne ſeroit pas juſte qu'elle fit perdre le tems & les diſpoſitions favorables que l'on commence avoir d'un autre côté. Ne regardez pas comme menaces ce que j'écris, mais conſidérez qu'il y auroit de l'imprudence à négliger les moyens de faire la paix, lorſqu'on ne ſeroit pas aſſuré de ce que vous voudriez faire de votre part. Je ſuis, &c.

" DE TORCY."

Mem. This was directed " A Monſieur d'Elorme."

* In 1708, the French aſſiſted the Pretender in the attempt upon Scotland; and the Lord Drummond favouring the ſcheme, was brought to London, and committed to the tower.

mention;

mention: but her Majeſty is very deſirous that your Lordſhip ſhould endeavour to find the channel through which this Jacobite Factor conveys his letters into France, and intercept one of them. If this could be done, we ſhould know what to do with his Lordſhip; but at preſent I cannot find that my Lords of the Council are very clear in their opinions what to adviſe the Queen upon his account.

As to the real uſe which the French intend to put the Pretender to this ſummer, I have been always an unbeliever; however, I muſt confeſs, that they begin to ſhow ſome intention of conſequence by ſea, and we have ſeveral accounts, which agree pretty well, of a ſtrong ſquadron almoſt ready for the ſea in the Ports of Weſt France. On the firſt certain account which your Lordſhip has of the Chevalier's removal from St. Germain's, you will pleaſe to diſpatch an expreſs to me, and order the perſon who comes to make the utmoſt diligence. I have one or two now in France upon this errand, and your Lordſhip will pleaſe to ſend others, for it is convenient to have as many ſpies, in a caſe of this moment, as poſſible, provided they know nothing of each other, and are not able, by conſequence, to concert their accounts.

No body here makes any doubt of your Lordſhip's purſuing what is juſt, what is reaſonable, what is for the advantage of Britain, and of the common cauſe. If the neceſſity of our affairs ſhould preſs ſo hard, and if the bad influence of the late corrupt adminiſtration ſhould be ſtill ſo prevalent that you muſt at laſt ſubmit to the meaſures of the Dutch, even where you are convinced that they are in the wrong, yet the conduct which you have held muſt produce a good effect all manner of ways.

I encloſe to your Lordſhip two letters, which I have wrote to the Counts d'Urſel and Milan: you know upon what occaſion my correſpondence with thoſe gentlemen began, and you will pleaſe to judge how

how far they can be of uſe to the Queen's affairs, and what encouragement they deſerve.

I encloſe copies of thoſe letters, in anſwer to which mine to them are writ, that your Lordſhip may ſee what they complain of, in relation to themſelves and to their country. There is in the Count de Milan's letter one very remarkable fact. Adieu, my Lord.

I am, &c.

To ſave the trouble of ſo much copying, I ſend my letters open. You will pleaſe to ſeal them before they are delivered.

To Mr. Cadogan.

SIR,

May 1ſt, 1711.

I RETURN you many thanks for the favour of your's of the 21ſt of this month, N.S. which is come to my hands; but that which you mention to have writ in anſwer to mine of the 20th of March I never received.

The accounts which you ſend me are ſo ample and clear, that they cannot fail of giving very great ſatisfaction. The difficulties which my Lord Marlborough has this year to encounter are extremely great; in ſome meaſure from an unfortunate concurrence of fatal accidents, and in a greater proportion from the defects and bad conduct of ſeveral of the allies: Britain and Holland ſeem to make the war alone in Flanders, and Britain ſeems to make it alone every where elſe. This burden has been long increaſing upon us, and is at length grown inſupportable. I have all the expectation poſſible from the Duke of

Marlborough's vigour and zeal, which have often raiſed the common cauſe from a drooping condition, and I hope will do ſo again.

The unhappy diſtinctions which you lament with ſo much reaſon, I ſhall be heartily glad to ſee entirely buried, as I wiſh they had never been fomented. Certain it is, that the diſcountenance which my Lord Marlborough ſhows to thoſe that rail, and to thoſe that whiſper, will effectually cure the evil in the army; and I am confident the doing ſo there, will contribute to aſſiſt thoſe who make it their endeavour to reſtore the ſame decency and good order at home.

I ſhould ſay nothing of myſelf, if your letter did not give me occaſion to mention thus much, that I have done my utmoſt to purſue the principle which you know I have always profeſſed, and from which I have too much firmneſs upon any conſideration to depart; at the ſame time, I hope, I have given ſome proofs that I am true to private friendſhip. That you may have all imaginable ſucceſs, and add to the ſtock of reputation which you have ſo deſervedly acquired, is the ſincereſt wiſh of, Sir,

Your's, &c.

To Lord Raby.

My Lord,

May 6th, 1711.

THE buſineſs of the laſt poſt not allowing me to write a private letter to your Excellency, I have now ſeveral to anſwer; and I therefore begin thus early, that I may be able to ſpeak as fully on the ſubjects contained in them as their importance deſerves.

The fatigue, which your Excellency has been obliged to go through ſince your arrival at the Hague, has, indeed, been great; and, as the affairs of the weſtern world are now conſtituted, the Queen's Am-

baſſador in Holland is almoſt her univerſal miniſter. A Secretary to the embaſſy, who is acquainted with buſineſs, and has a genius to render his experience uſeful, will no doubt be very aſſiſtant to your Excellency: I ſhall not fail to obſerve what you deſire of me upon this head. As for d'Ayrolle, he is an old woman, whoſe talents no time, no opportunities of improvement, can ever raiſe above the level of a valet-de-chambre, and yet he coſts the Queen twelve hundred pounds a year.

The hard circumſtances which her Majeſty's miniſters abroad are expoſed to, no man is more ſenſible of than myſelf; and it is a great truth, that ever ſince the Queen's goodneſs placed me where I have the honour at preſent to ſerve, I have, in converſation and by letter, continually urged the redreſs of this crying grievance, as eſſential to the honour of the nation and the good of the ſervice *.

* The Editor found the following paper relating to allowances for Foreign miniſters:

"Ambaſſadours-ordinary in France, Spain, and the Emperour's Court, 100l. per week, and 1500l. equipage.

"In Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Vienna, Holland, &c. 10l. per diem, and 1000l. equipage.

"Ambaſſadours-extraordinary to have every where the ſame ordinary allowances the Ambaſſadours-ordinary have, and to differ only in the equipage money, which is to be determined by his Majeſty himſelf according to the occaſion.

"Envoys-extraordinary in France, Spain, and the Emperour's Court, 5l. per diem, and 500l. equipage. In all other Courts, 4l. per diem, and 300l. equipage.

"Reſidents in France, Spain, the Emperour's Court, 3l. per diem; in all the other Courts, 2l. 10s. per diem.

"A Secretary of the embaſſy, wherever it ſhall be found for the importance of the affair neceſſary, ſhall be allowed by his Majeſty, and have 300l. or 400l. per ann.

"The advance upon the ordinary entertainment, to be only of the firſt three months, and the next three months, and ſo forward, the ſucceeding terms not to be made payable till the end of each three months.

"The ordinary entertainment to begin from the day of the miniſter's taking his leave of his Majeſty, and to ceaſe at his return into the King's preſence. Extraordinarys upon bills, &c. ſuch be allowed as formerly were uſed to be, to be given in upon the oath of the miniſter, to be taken either before his going abroad, or with the particular bills after his return.

"No ſuch bills of extraordinarys to be allowed by the Secretarys of State, till the miniſter ſhall have firſt delivered in an exact narrative or relation of his negociation, of the preſent ſtate of the Court wherein he was employed, the condition of the affairs, characters of the miniſters and principal perſons of note and intereſt in the Court, not to be paſſed by the Lord Treaſurer or Commiſſioners of the Treaſury for the time being, till a certificate be produced under the hand of one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, that ſuch narrative hath been made and delivered in.—This ſcheme of allowances for Ambaſſadours, and Miniſters of other characters, employed in his Majeſty's ſervice abroad, having been framed by the Lords of the Committee for foreign affairs, and by them offered to his Majeſty—his Majeſty was pleaſed this day to allow of it: commanding us, his principal Secretaries of State to deelare his pleaſure thereupon, and to tranſmit it to the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, to remain as a rule for the future of all allowances of this kind.—At the Court of Whitehall, the 4th day of April, 1669.

(Signed) "ARLINGTON, and J. TREVOR."

Upon

Upon your Excellency's removal from Berlin to the Hague, I repeated my importunity to have your arrears paid; and they aſſure me at the Treaſury, that half of what is due to you will be inſtantly ordered; ſo that there can be no danger of what you ſeem to apprehend, the proteſting your bills. The Chancellor of the Exchequer appears ſo much convinced of the neceſſity of taking better care of thoſe who ſerve abroad, that I verily believe we ſhall in a ſhort time ſee this branch of the civil liſt eſtabliſhed on a better regulation of payment.

Your Excellency is pleaſed to ſay, that you have taken your party already; and that you have therefore no concern on the ſuppoſition of the Duke of Marlborough's return to his former power. I aſſure you, my Lord, I can join with you in this declaration. I have brought myſelf to that indifferent temper of mind, which only can ſecure the tranquillity of any perſon who acts upon the public ſtage in this country of revolutions. But, my Lord, I deal openly with you upon all occaſions; and will upon this ſay, that I ſee no proſpect of the Queen's reverting to her former bondage. As to the friendſhip renewed between his Grace of Marlborough, and thoſe who are now at court, your Excellency muſt, if you pleaſe, ſtate the matter thus: It was thought neceſſary, for many reaſons, too long to enumerate here, that he ſhould command in Flanders this campaign; and after this point was ſettled, I am ſure it became neceſſary that we ſhould all live in ſuch a degree of confidence with him, as might enable us to carry on the Queen's affairs together. He affects to be entirely reſigned to her Majeſty's pleaſure, and perfectly ſatisfied with her preſent meaſures. If he continues to act in conformity to thoſe profeſſions, length of time may, for ought I know, reſtore that credit and truſt which he violated on many occaſions towards many people. But ſhould he think fit to play the old part over again, I can anſwer for one, that is, myſelf, that

I will oppoſe him with as much vigour as ever I did either oppoſe or ſerve him, and I have done both to effect in my time.

The friendſhip which your Excellency promiſes me, I have all the juſt eſteem and value for which it deſerves. In every ſituation of life I will endeavour to make you think that you have not beſtowed it ill, and I flatter myſelf that I ſhall ſuceeed in this attempt.

The letters which you have intercepted, and the intelligence which you have received, do ſufficiently ſhow that a Jacobite correſpondence is carried on, and the hopes of that party are not quite extinct. However, I muſt confeſs, I do not apprehend any immediate attempt of this kind; I rather incline to the opinion, mentioned in one of your Excellency's letters, that the enemy hope chiefly to amuſe us by theſe expectations, and to check our preparations for foreign ſervice.

In this view, they have not ſucceeded, ſince Mr. Hill is ſailed with eight very good battalions, and a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, which will be the laſt detachment we ſhall make this campaign.

The information which your Excellency has had may be right, in every circumſtance, concerning Buys and his ſcheme for bringing a treaty of peace on foot. What I know of it I will very naturally tell you. Mr. Drummond did, ſome time ſince, ſend me word, that the Penſionary of Amſterdam had ordered him to ſound his friends in Britain, and to inform himſelf, whether we would be contented that the Dutch ſhould begin a negociation on lower terms than thoſe formerly inſiſted upon; offering, that we might diſculpate ourſelves by laying the blame on them. I acquainted the Queen with this overture; and having, by order, conſulted my late Lord Preſident*, the Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Harley; I anſwered Mr. Drummond, that we might be ſatisfied with ſuch a proceeding, provided the Queen was let into the

* Earl of Rocheſter died the 2d May, and was ſucceeded in his place of Preſident of the Council by the Duke of Buckingham.

whole

whole ſecret from firſt to laſt. From that hour to this, I have thought no more of the matter, knowing Buys to be very light under a very ſolemn appearance; and beſides, we wanted no help of theirs to begin this negociation, or to juſtify our conduct in it.

Your Excellency may aſſure the Penſionary Heinſius, or his friend who ſpoke on this ſubject to you, that thoſe who are truſted with the ſecret of the Queen's buſineſs, deſire nothing more than a good underſtanding with him, and with thoſe whom he has a confidence in; and that we are heartily ſorry that they ever ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by falſe repreſentations of men and of things, or that they were ever brought to miſtake the ſenſe and the intereſt of a faction, for the ſenſe and intereſt of the nation.

I cannot let this opportunity ſlip, without informing your Excellency of the condition in which we apprehend ourſelves to be, and of the neceſſity which we think there is of a peace. I may perhaps be tedious, but I had rather you ſhould think me ſo, than have reaſon to think that I neglected to give you any information which may be of uſe, at a time when you are likely to have the fate of your country in your hand. We are now in the tenth campaign of a war, the great load of which has fallen on Britain, as the great advantage of it is propoſed to redound to the Houſe of Auſtria, and to the States-General. They are in intereſt more immediately, we more remotely concerned. However, what by our forwardneſs to engage in every article of expence, what by our private aſſurances, and what by our public parliamentary declarations, that no peace ſhould be made without the entire reſtitution of the Spaniſh monarchy, we are become principals in the conteſt; the war is looked upon to be our war; and it is treated accordingly by the confederates, even by the Imperialiſts, and by the Dutch. I will not enter into the particulars which make out this propoſition, your Excellency is enough apprized of them. I will only make

one obſervation which I have ſeen verified in numberleſs inſtances, and which I never ſaw fail in any. If a method of carrying on the war was offered never ſo prejudicial to the intereſts of Britain in its conſequences, yet the general topic of neceſſity prevailed. On the other hand, our allies have always looked firſt at home, and the common cauſe has been ſerved by the beſt of them in the ſecond place. From hence it is that our commerce has been neglected, while the French have engroſſed the South-Sea trade to themſelves, and the Dutch encroach daily upon us, both in the Eaſt-Indies, and on the coaſt of Africa. From hence it is, that we have every year added to our burden, which was long ago greater than we could bear, whilſt the Dutch have yearly leſſened their proportions in every part of the war, even in that of Flanders, on the pretence of poverty. Whilſt the Emperor has never employed twenty of his ninety thouſand men againſt France, on account of the troubles of Hungary, which he would not accommodate, nor has ſuffered our vaſt expences in Italy to be effectual, on account of articles in which it did not ſuit with his conveniency to keep his word *, and whilſt each of the other confederates in his turn has, from ſome falſe pretence, or from ſome trifling conſideration of private advantage, neglected to perform his part in the war, or given a reaſon to others for not performing theirs; from hence it is that our fleet is diminiſhed and rotten, that our funds are mortgaged for thirty-two and ninety-nine years; that our ſpecie is exhauſted, and that we have nothing in poſſeſſion, and hardly any thing in expectation, as a compenſation to Britain for having borne the burden and heat of the day; whilſt Holland has obtained a ſecure, and even formidable barrier; and, by my Lord Townſhend's great generoſity, has a claim againſt our gaining any privilege or benefit in point of commerce, wherein they ſhall not be entitled to an equal

* This relates to territories in the Milaneſe, ceded to Savoy by the Emperor; but the Emperor afterwards ſtarted ſome difficulties, and the Duke of Savoy refuſed to take the field.

ſhare.

ſhare. Whilſt the Houſe of Auſtria has every thing in hand, *à la Sicile près*, which they propoſed by the war; whilſt all the allies have had our annual tributes rather than ſubſidies, beſides particular advantages ſtipulated to be made good to them at a peace, and ſome of them are already maſters of greater rewards than their ſervices deſerve. From hence, in one word, it is that our government is in a conſumption, and that (how florid a countenance ſoever we put on) our vitals are conſuming, and we muſt inevitably ſink at once: add to this, that if we were able to bear the ſame proportion of charge ſome years longer, yet from the fatal conſequences, ſhould certainly miſs of the great general end of the war, the entire recovery of the Spaniſh monarchy from the Houſe of Bourbon. This ſtate is either a true or a falſe one; we take it to be a true one, and then I am ſure there can be no diſpute about the inference to be deduced from it.

May 8, 1711.

THERE is no manner of need of the excuſe which your Excellency makes for the accounts you give of the detail of the ſeveral conferences. Thoſe minute circumſtances give very great light to the general ſcope and deſign of the perſons negociated with. And I own that nothing pleaſes me more in that valuable collection of the Cardinal d'Oſſat's letters, than the *naïve* deſcriptions which he gives of the looks, geſtures, and even tones of voice of the perſons he conferred with. The true and eſſential rule I take to be the digeſting the matter diſtinctly and perſpicuouſly. All your letters are kept with great privacy: But thoſe ſubjects which relate to yourſelf, or any other particular perſons, and thoſe which are of a nature not to be communicated, even to the cabinet, till her Majeſty ſhall think fit, ſhould properly compoſe a ſeparate letter; and there is this good reaſon for it, that a ſecretary of ſtate is under no obligation of leaving theſe in his office; whereas

thoſe

thoſe letters which contain the general thread of buſineſs, which are read in Cabinet, and have orders given publicly upon them, ceaſe to be in his power, muſt be left to his ſucceſſor, and ought to be laid up in the paper-office.

As to the Quaker Bromfield, I think your Excellency is upon a good foot with him. Let him earn the Queen's licence to come home, and then, on your recommendation, he may perhaps obtain it.

As to Caillaud, I believe he is very hearty in diſcovering all he can of Jacobite correſpondences, and I hope the Queen will take ſome occaſion of recompenſing his zeal; but I cannot help thinking that Marſault invents a good deal of what he pretends to diſcloſe.

Your Excellency will have ſeen, by my former letters to yourſelf, and by the copy of what I write to the Earl of Peterborough, how little his conduct is approved of here; and I can aſſure you, that all I found by the letters ſent by the courier, was, that his head was extremely hot, and confuſed with various indigeſted ſchemes.

Your Excellency may depend on my not communicating to Mr. Drummond any thing of what you write to me. I muſt ſay, in his excuſe for what happened lately, that the Penſionaries having enjoined him ſecrecy, he could not, as an honeſt man, ſpeak of it without their conſent; and for my own part, I had really communicated the matter to you if I had laid more weight upon it.

Your nicety about the Preſident was very juſt, and he muſt have had entire communication of every tranſaction, ſince he was in the Queen's confidence more than he had ever been; and indeed at the head of our buſineſs*; but he is gone, and the difficulty is removed.

I am of opinion, that your Excellency would do well to come over,

* He was uncle to her Majeſty.

and

and eſpecially the negociations for peace going on*. When I ſpoke to the Queen formerly on that ſubject, ſhe agreed that you ſhould, as ſoon as your buſineſs was entered upon at the Hague; and I will not fail, by this poſt, or by that of Friday, to acquaint you with her pleaſure, concerning the journey you propoſe.

I had almoſt forgot to ſay that the Queen's meſſengers are not to be either at your Excellency's expence or mine. We do indeed now and then advance them a little money, which is afterwards deducted when their bills come to be allowed and paid. If your Excellency pleaſes to let me know what you have furniſhed to any of them, I will take care to have it accounted for.

Excuſe this volume, and believe me to be with all poſſible reſpect and truth, my Lord, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

May 8th, 1711.

I HAVE not writ to you of late very exactly, having had a great deal to do, and very little to communicate.

What happened relating to Monſieur Buys's project, gives me much ſpeculation. I look upon the Grand Penſionary to have been the

* The French memorial for a peace, brought by Gaultier to the Britiſh miniſters, was at this time communicated privately to Heinſius and Buys, to which was returned an anſwer as follows:

La Grande Bretagne a communiqué à la Hollande les propoſitions qu'elle a reçu de la France, pour ſervir de fondement à un traité de paix. La Hollande ſouhaite également avec la Grande Bretagne, d'avoir une paix générale, définitive, et durable; et aſſure être prête à ſe joindre dans tous les moyens les plus convenables pour la procurer. Elle remarque que les propoſitions ſont encore trop générales; elle deſire, de même que la Grande Bretagne, que la France veuille s'expliquer plus particulièrement ſur les points qui y ſont contenus, et faire part du plan qu'elle trouve le plus propre pour aſſurer leurs intérêts aux puiſſances alliés, et pour établir le repos de l'Europe; après quoi on pourra entrer dans une négociation plus étroite.

prompter of the gentleman who ſpoke to the ambaſſador, and his view, without diſpute, was to break any private correſpondence which might be carried on between us and Holland, of which he was not the leader. Be that as it will, the conſequence ſignifies very little. If the Penſionary Heinſius will deal openly with us; and if he is cured of his old prejudices, there is nothing which the Queen's ſervants deſire more than to live in a perfect good underſtanding with him.

I am ſorry that you find my Lord Ambaſſador ſtill averſe to Mr. Watkins; ſure I am, that was the Judge not to be the Queen's ſecretary in Holland, I ſhould be at a loſs to name another, who can be ſpared, of ſufficiency equal to the poſt. I hope a little time will remove theſe firſt and wrong impreſſions.

We are now, my good friend, come to the point of time which wiſe and thinking men have long foreſeen, and have therefore earneſtly deſired to ſee a peace concluded before it happened.

Several concurrent accidents fall out together to break in upon the confederacy, and to turn the views of the allies different ways, which were all fixed before upon one common object. The war of the north, and the danger apprehended from the King of Sweden, diverts ſome of them from the proſecution of the common cauſe, and from the fears of the French grandeur. The death of the Emperor gives a new turn to the politics of Vienna, and raiſes new hopes in the ambitious mind of the Duke of Savoy. There is at this time a ferment, and a claſhing of various intereſts, which are delicate to manage, enough to perplex the wiſeſt heads, in the moſt quiet times, to ſettle and to reconcile. How we ſhall calm theſe paſſions, and prevent the adverſary from ſtriking in with ſome one, is hard to ſay, and almoſt impoſſible to expect.

I hope and believe as you do, that we are in no danger at preſent of having an attempt made by the Chevalier upon any of the Queen's dominions.

minions; however, the alarm of this, and the armament in Weſt France, has made it neceſſary to collect a ſquadron in the Downs, and we ſhall be ſtrangely ſhocked (I deal plainly with you) if the States ſhould not, in ſuch a conjuncture, ſend a ſquadron of ſhips to join our fleet which is aſſembling in the Channel. They are the cauſe that we are ſo weak at home, and that we are forced to ſtop our convoys, and call in our cruizers, in order to be able to gather together four or five and twenty men of war. Adieu, I am ever, your's.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

May 8, 1711.

THE concern which your Grace expreſſes yourſelf to be under in your's of the 7th inſtant, N.S. muſt affect all thoſe who think of public affairs, and who wiſh well to the common cauſe.

We are now in one of thoſe conjunctures, when we muſt watch for ſome lucky event to draw ourſelves out of the difficulties which ſurround us, and take care not to miſs laying hold of the firſt favourable accident which time produces.

One rule may certainly be laid down, and that is, that we cannot be too open nor too zealous in promoting the election of King Charles to the empire, nor, on the other hand, too ſilent on the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, nor too induſtrious to evade entering on that argument. I wiſh all the Queen's miniſters had been of this mind, but I believe your Grace knows that there is one who has not.

I have put Major Leathe's memorial into the Secretary at War's hands, and I will not fail to promote the diſpatch of it with her Majeſty, ſince it is a matter which your Grace appears concerned for.

Mr. Harley's project for providing a fund of intereſt for the national debts, is agreed to with great applauſe, and without the pretence of an objection; and yet I am ſorry to be able to tell your Grace, that the diſcrediting of it is made a party cauſe; and that there has not been any one point a great while laboured more ſtrenuouſly than the ſinking of this and all other parts of credit, which naturally ſhould riſe upon ſuch a proviſion made for debts, the payment whereof was, I believe, thought very remote when this parliament ſat down. I make no doubt, however, but theſe artifices will end in the confuſion of thoſe who deviſe and promote them.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Scott.

SIR,

May the 8th, 1711.

IT is ſome time ſince I ſpoke to her Majeſty in your behalf, and propoſed to employ you in the affairs of the north, which are now haſtening to that degree of confuſion that I have long expected, and which was unavoidable, after we had once neglected the opportunity of making the King of Sweden our affectionate friend or our impotent enemy. The Queen inclined to make uſe of your ſervices; and I believe you would have, ſome time ſince, received your letters of credence and inſtructions, if any one but the Duke of Queenſberry had been to diſpatch the former. But as theſe are to be directed to the king of Poland, they muſt come out of his office, although the chief part of your buſineſs will lie in my province. On Sunday, her Majeſty told me that ſhe would give her orders for your diſpatches without loſs of more time, ſo that I believe, you may expect them in a poſt or two; and at the ſame

time I will begin a regular correſpondence with you. In the mean while, you will be taking your meaſures both as to your private and as to your public buſineſs. With reſpect to the former, Dr. Hutton will be on this your ſolicitor; and with reſpect to the latter, you will have ſeveral opportunities of picking up informations neceſſary for your conduct where you are.

I took occaſion to tell the Baron de Bothmar, that the Queen, I thought, intended to make uſe of you in her foreign affairs, that I hoped his Electoral Highneſs* would not diſapprove of your accepting ſuch a commiſſion, ſince ſerving his court and ſerving our's was almoſt the ſame thing, the intereſt of the two being ſo nearly allied.

The Queen has a ſecretary called Mackenzie, now with the King of Poland. I hear that he is a good honeſt man, but indeed his talents do not ſeem to be very great. However, you will be able to make ſome uſe of him.

Mr. Whitworth, who is extremely capable, is ordered to ſuſpend his journey into Muſcovy, and to continue in the empire ſome part of the ſummer, at leaſt till the election of the Emperor is over. He will go to Dreſden from Berlin, where he now is, but not to continue there any time. I will introduce you to his correſpondence as ſoon as it is proper.

I deſire you, Sir, to be perſuaded that I am, with very great truth, &c.

* Of Hanover.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

May 15, 1711.

I HAVE the favour of three letters from you, of the 15th and 22d of this month, N.S. with ſeveral papers incloſed.

My Lord Ambaſſador Raby is a very good man, but he has the misfortune of being a little too apt to take umbrage, and to be punctilious. I hope, however, that the croſs-accident which you ſpeak of ſticks no longer with him; and you will have ſeen by a former letter of mine, the reflection I make upon the divulging of that ſecret, which certainly came from Penſionary Heinſius, with what view is palpable enough.

As to Harry Watkins, the Ambaſſador expreſſes no diſlike of his perſon, abſtractedly; but, on other accounts, he ſtill appears uneaſy at his being appointed Secretary of the embaſſy. I have, therefore, determined to write to his Excellency, that Mr. Watkins was named as the propereſt man to ſerve the Queen, and to be aſſiſtant to him, and that I ſhall ſtill continue to think him ſo; but that my friendſhip for him will not ſuffer me to let him go to any poſt, where I have not reaſon to think he will be welcome, and where a true value will not be ſet upon his merit; that, therefore, his Excellency is deſired to be very plain in this matter, ſince if he deſires to have the benefit of Mr. Watkins's experience and capacity in buſineſs, the firſt intention ſhall be made good; but otherwiſe, I will intreat her Majeſty to do ſomewhat better for this gentleman, and to nominate another perſon to go to the Hague.

This proceeding has a good air, let the event be what it will; and you may aſſure the Judge, that I take myſelf to be much more con-

* Watkins had been Judge-advocate.

cerned

cerned in the affair than he is. One way or another, he ſhall find his account in it.

I thank you very heartily for your care in procuring me the Bay-trees, and hope you will advertiſe me in time of their arrival, that I may have one of my gardeners ready to take them out of the ſhips, and to convey them to Bucklebury. I cannot plunge myſelf ſo far into the thoughts of public buſineſs, as to forget the quiet of a country retreat, whither I will go ſome time or other, and am always ready to go at an hour's warning.

I have ſuch frequent occaſions of giving you neceſſary trouble, that I ought not to detain you long when I have nothing to ſay. Believe me to be, with the utmoſt ſincerity,

Your's, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

May 15, 1711.

I AM extremely concerned to find by your Grace's private letter of the 18th of this month, N.S. that you have been indiſpoſed. Your health is of ſo much conſequence to the Queen's ſervice and to the intereſt of the common cauſe, that, beſides the apprehenſions of a friend, I muſt be allowed thoſe of a well-wiſher to the public upon any accident which happens to your Grace.

Mr. Palmes is come over miſerably crippled with the gout, and I find that the projects he has brought, are verbatim the ſame with thoſe ſent ſome time ſince by Lord Peterborough. They are vaſt, and ſuppoſe nothing leſs than the reſtoring all the troops which belong to the Spaniſh war, to their eſtabliſhed numbers of 52,000 men, beſides

taking 5000 Swiſs, and 8000 Imperialiſts more into the Queen's pay. You know, my Lord, how little able we are to enter into ſuch an increaſe of charge, and will therefore eaſily believe that theſe papers are already grown duſty on the office-ſhelves.

We are undoubtedly expoſed to the miſchiefs mentioned by Monſieur Slingeland*, and I fear that all the ſecret inſtructions which he has given to Monſieur Ranck, without any communication to the Queen's miniſters, will not ſecure us from the ill conſequences of the King of Sweden's operations in the North.

We look upon Lord Peterborough to be now at Barcelona. I pray God the haſte which he is in to bring King Charles into the Empire, where his preſence is entirely unneceſſary, do not prove of advantage to the Duke of Anjou, notwithſtanding the arrival of Jennings † from Britain, and Norris from Italy, as well as of the convoy from Naples.

I expect to hear that the Marquis du Bourg ‡ is come to London every moment, ſince by my letters on Friday laſt from the Hague, he intended to ſail with that boat.

The Duke of Savoy's reſolving to take the field, and the concluſion of the peace with the Hungarians, are two articles of news which we received with very great ſatisfaction.

The Queen has had ſome little attack of the cholic in her ſtomach, but is much better, and lies at preſent at Kenſington.

I am, &c.

* Secretary to the Council of State in Holland.
† The Admirals Jennings and Norris.
‡ Envoy of Savoy at the Hague.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur le Mareſchal de Tallard.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 17me Mai, 1711.

J'AI reçu votre lettre du 5me de ce mois auſſi bien que celle que votre homme d'affaires m'a rendu.

Ce me ſeroit le plus grand plaiſir du monde de pouvoir vous envoyer la permiſſion que vous demandez, & je vous prie de vous repoſer ſur ma parole, que je ne négligerai rien qui dépend de moi pour vous la procurer.

Celui que vous envoyez en France, a été d'abord expédié; pour ſatisfaire à la règle, j'ai parcouru des lettres que vous avez écrit au Roi de France, mais je les ai dans l'inſtant remis au porteur, vous pouvez être très-aſſuré que je ne dirai à qui que ce ſoit ce qu'elles contiennent.

Votre parole d'honneur me ſuffit, & je n'ai pas voulu cacheter les paquets dont votre homme étoit chargé, ni prendre ſur cette occaſion des précautions accoutumées.

Je vous envoie une lettre que le Chevalier Walter m'a prié de vous faire tenir.

On ne peut être plus ſenſible à vos malheurs, on ne peut avoir plus d'eſtime pour votre perſonne, ni être avec plus de reſpect que je le ſuis,

Monſieur, &c.

To Lord Raby.

My Lord,

May 18th, 1711.

AFTER having writ to you a private letter of ſo unconſcionable a length as that of the 8th, I ſhould be aſhamed to trouble your Excellency ſo ſoon with another were there not ſome matter to be ſpoke of to you, not proper to be inſerted in my other diſpatch.

Upon conſideration of what your Excellency ſays concerning the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, her Majeſty is of opinion that this Prince ſhould not be abſolutely neglected, nor the negociation be quite laid aſide, though ſhe never looked upon it as a very promiſing ſcheme. To admit him to have his part in this election, her Majeſty thinks too dangerous an experiment, but ſhe remembers that, by the former accounts, he ſeemed to deſire to have the treaty of neutrality firſt executed, and the other to be negociated whilſt that ſubſiſted.

Now, if he will ſtand to his own propoſal, the commencement of the ſecond treaty might be fixed at a time ſubſequent to the election, and, by conſequence, any danger of diſturbing the Empire be avoided. But even in this caſe, the Queen thinks that if he ſhould not finiſh and execute the ſecond treaty within a reaſonable time to be agreed on, the firſt ſhould then be looked upon as void and of no effect.

Monſieur du Bourg is come, and I have ſeen him in one viſit of ceremony. He has a great deal of ſpirit, and ſeems to be very adroit. I am to meet him in a day or two, with my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Harley, on the ſubject of his ſecret commiſſion, of which I will give your Excellency an account. In the mean time, he agrees with me, that the beſt thing, even for his maſter's intereſt, is to have at preſent all diſcourſe of the Spaniſh monarchy avoided. There is a manner

of knowing one another's mind without coming to direct and premature declarations*.

I may tell your Excellency, in confidence, that I have a letter of twenty ſheets from Lord Peterborough, wherein the whole world is parcelled out, as if with a fiat and the breath of his mouth it could be accompliſhed. Warm with theſe ideas, he is gone to Barcelona. We expect impatiently the return of Barlow. I expected that the meſſage he carried would have the reception which your Excellency deſcribes.

As to your private intereſt, I will be a watchful and a faithful ſervant to you; and it is with pleaſure that I aſſure your Excellency, that I have found the Queen rather increaſe in her favour to you. Of which, that you may have all the proofs you can deſire, is the wiſh and ſhall be the endeavour of your Excellency's, &c.

P.S. I had almoſt forgot to mention another matter to your Excellency, which omiſſion I ſhould not have forgiven myſelf; and it is in relation to Mr. Watkins. He was named, my Lord, as ſecretary to the embaſſy, for no reaſon but this, becauſe he is indiſputably the fitteſt man who can be had for that employment; and therefore the moſt likely to be aſſiſtant to your Excellency. However, as in all inſtances I deſire to contribute to your Excellency's ſatisfaction, and am not conſcious to myſelf of having done the contrary in any, with deſign, ſo I muſt own it concerns me a good deal to obſerve that you are pleaſed to ſpeak of this gentleman, as one who is put upon you. For God's ſake, my Lord, uſe me like your faithful ſervant, and tell me whether you can be reconciled to try him or not; ſince if your Excellency is determined againſt him, I will apply to her Majeſty to do ſomething elſe for Mr. Watkins, and never ſend him where he is not likely to be welcome.

* The re-inſtatement of the Elector of Bavaria, and the pretenſions of Savoy to the Crown of Spain, were probably ſettled by the miniſtry at this time, conſidering that France would demand the one, and Savoy require the other.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

May 18, 1711.

WHEN you lay your commands upon me, I desire you will not imagine that you give me any trouble: I can have no greater pleasure than serving you; and if my power was equal to my inclination, your desires would be satisfied as soon as signified.

Do you not remember, my Lord, a certain time last summer, when for several weeks I avoided writing to you, although I knew how uneasy the pangs of expectatian were to the Duke of Argyle and yourself, in that crisis of domestic affairs? We are now in a state not very unlike to that which we were then in. Mr. Harley, since his recovery, has not appeared at the Council, or at the Treasury at all, and very seldom in the House of Commons. We, who are reputed to be in his intimacy, have few opportunities of seeing him, and none of talking freely with him. As he is the only true channel through which the Queen's pleasure is conveyed; so there is, and must be a perfect stagnation till he is pleased to open himself, and set the water flowing*.

You remember, my Lord, that a scene of action followed last year, very quickly after that full stop which seemed to have been put to the measures then carrying on. I hope the same will again happen; and as soon as I discern the least appearance of it, you shall hear from me on the subject. I fancy the delay will not be long, and that the alterations will begin with the promotion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the Earldom of Oxford, and to the rank of Treasurer.

I do not in the least wonder that your Lordship seems enamoured with the Duke of Shrewsbury. I never knew a man so formed to

* Harley was always considered as a very reserved man, but at this time began the rupture between him and Bolingbroke, which was fatal to both.

please,

pleaſe, and to gain upon the affection whilſt he challenges the eſteem.

The poor Mr. Southern complains extremely, I believe, but I hope Mr. Fenton will not be of his mind. The verſes were ſo near being admirable, that it would have been pity to have let them go into the world without one ſtroke more of the file; I have ventured to make ſome alterations, and to mark other places where I think alterations ſhall be made; Dr. Robert Friend* agrees with me, and therefore I believe I was right. In ſhort, I dare promiſe, that Mr. Fenton will not have leſs applauſe, though he will have it later than if Mr. Southern had governed.

Adieu, my dear Lord, having no buſineſs in command to write to you upon, this is the only letter which you will have by this poſt from

Your's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

May 22, 1711

ALL your letters are very acceptable to me, but none could be more ſo than your laſt, of the 26th inſtant, N.S. ſince none could contain a more welcome account of the diſpoſitions of that great miniſter, the Penſionary. He may be aſſured of meeting on our ſide with at leaſt equal returns of friendſhip; and you can be a witneſs with how much concern we beheld the ill effect, which the factious endeavours of ſome ambitious men amongſt us, had in Holland. We feel no leſs ſatisfaction in obſerving the change, and I can make no doubt but that the harmony between the Queen's miniſters and thoſe of the States will

* He was afterwards maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool. His brother, the phyſician, was a writer of the Examiner, and had the office of Phyſician-general.

every day increaſe, ſince it is our mutual intereſt and our mutual inclination.

I believe my Lord Raby will have the Queen's leave very ſoon to take a ſhort turn hither; we ſhall ſend him back to you fully inſtructed in all the Queen's intentions; and I hope meaſures may be fallen into as will tie the knot ſtill faſter between Britain and Holland. Our union has ſupported the war, and by ſupporting that has preſerved Europe from oppreſſion. The ſame union muſt be ſecured in peace; that, whatever incidents happen, theſe nations may continue the ſhield of liberty and Proteſtantiſm.

It was with very real pleaſure that her Majeſty heard me read that paſſage in your letter, where you mention that generous warmth with which the Penſionary expreſſed himſelf, when he ſaid, that no little difference of commerce ſhould ever create jealouſies between England and Holland, if it were in his power to prevent it. I hope it will be in his power, ſince we can never break but to our common ruin, and ſince there is no other ſeed of diviſion which can probably grow up to any head. I can ſee very plainly from what ſprings theſe jealouſies may flow; you touched upon ſome of them. The honeſt men of both nations, whoſe ſouls are above the little ſchemes of over-reaching one another, muſt lend their attention therefore in time to prevent the miſchief.

We look on the general ſtate of affairs with the ſame eye as the Penſionary does, but as to Spain I cannot help ſaying to you, that people reflect how little has been done by Holland even ſince the misfortunes of the laſt campaign. We have advanced all our ſubſidies in great meaſure; we have ſent eleven battalions from England and Ireland to Portugal and Spain, beſides 3000 recruits, and 2000 horſe from Italy. The Dutch have ſent nothing, that we know of, but a general.

I do not believe that the enemy intend to play their Prince upon us,

and

and yet their preparation is ſuch as makes it neceſſary for us to act as if we did believe it. Give me leave to add, that Holland will have no very good grace, unleſs they ſhow a readineſs upon the ſame occaſion, and that the Queen deſerves no leſs at their hands. Is it impoſſible to penetrate the real deſign of Du Guay's equipment? Some intelligence we have, ſays his ſhips are victualled for eight months*.

The poſt is come in ſince I writ what goes before, and I have in your letter of the 29th, a very full account of the Breſt equipment, for which I deſire you to accept of my hearty thanks.

I am ſure you will be glad to hear that I have paſſed the warrant for creating Mr. Harley Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The next news I ſhall ſend you concerning him will be that the Treaſurer's ſtaff is put into his hands.

I hope, among other good effects of this promotion, that it will teach the Dutch politicians not to look on a man to be dead becauſe he is out of employment. This you will ſay may now be applied to Lord Godolphin; but there are many material differences between his removal and that of Mr. Harley. There is this, I am ſure, that neither his life nor his reputation are ſought after, whereas our friend was attacked in both.

I have nothing farther to add, but the ſincereſt aſſurances of my being

Your's, &c.

* He was deſtined for the Portugueſe ſettlement of St. Sebaſtian, which he made himſelf maſter of.

To

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

May 22, 1711.

I HAVE read your Grace's private letter of the 28th inſtant, N.S. which I received this morning, to the Queen, to the Duke of Shrewſbury, and to Mr. Harley. Your Grace will eaſily believe that her Majeſty is extremely diſpleaſed to find the regiments of foot ſo very weak. The neceſſary orders will be given here for quickening any officers belonging to theſe battalions who may be recruiting in Britain. The effectual remedy to this ſcandalous neglect, the Queen thinks muſt be particular notice and cenſure of thoſe who are in fault. This remedy it is in your Grace's power to uſe, and her Majeſty's concurrence will infallibly ſupport what you ſhall think proper to do upon this occaſion.

The two memorials incloſed in your laſt, as well as that of Mr. Leathes, I will take care very ſoon to give your Grace an account of.

The Queen, my Lord, commands me to recommend another affair, on the ſucceſs of which her heart is entirely ſet, to your Grace's prudence; you will find, by my two other letters in French and Engliſh, how earneſtly her Majeſty deſires you ſhould preſs the Prince of Savoy to have the eight thouſand men ſent from Hungary, before the end of the campaign, into Italy, and with how much reaſon ſhe expects and inſiſts that this reinforcement ſhould be furniſhed by the Court of Vienna on their own account. However, my Lord, that the common cauſe may not ſuffer, if it is poſſible to prevent it, by the fatal obſtinacy of thoſe who are moſt concerned in intereſt to promote a vigorous war, I have orders to let your Grace know, that if you find, in treating with the Prince of Savoy, no poſſibility of obtaining

ing theſe eight thouſand men any other way, your Grace may promiſe him in the Queen's name, that, upon condition they march theſe troops to Italy, the Queen will allow a ſum of money towards the maintenance of them. But ſhe will be ſure of the ſervice before ſhe puts herſelf to the expence, and truſts to your Grace not to make the offer but in caſe of neceſſity. It will be expedient not to have it known at firſt that the Queen has taken this new charge upon herſelf, that ſo we may have time to endeavour to draw the States into their ſhare of it, or at leaſt into ſomething elſe, which may be a kind of equivalent.

The warrant is paſſed for creating Mr. Harley Earl of Oxford, of which I ſuppoſe you will hear by other hands.

May your Grace be ſucceſsful abroad, and return with as much pleaſure to Britain as ever you did at the end of your moſt proſperous years. Theſe are the ſincere wiſhes of, my Lord,

Your's, &c.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

May the 22d, 1711.

I THANK your Excellency for your two private letters of the 26th, and for that of the 29th, N.S. I have laid them before her Majeſty, and her directions will be given in a day or two upon them. What I have at preſent to ſay to your Excellency on the chief ſubject which they relate to, is, that whenever a peace is treated, either the Dutch are to truſt us, or we them; and therefore they muſt take no umbrage if we ſee how far the enemy will come towards a ſafe and honourable

agreement. I hope all the Penſionary's profeſſions are true, ſome I believe indeed are.

The Queen will give your Excellency leave to take a turn hither as ſoon as you pleaſe, and Mr. Harley (for ſo I muſt call him a day or two longer) thinks that the journey ſhould not be much longer delayed. But your Excellency will judge in this matter better when you can be ſpared, than we perhaps can do on this ſide. I beg you will give me as early notice as you can of your ſetting out.

Before you leave the Hague, it will be neceſſary that you ſound the Penſionary's mind about the Barrier-treaty, ſince we would be glad to compound that matter with as little ill-will as poſſible.

Your Excellency will likewiſe endeavour to diſcover what ſort of alliance the Dutch would deſire ſhould ſubſiſt between us in time of peace. There was a project of this kind formed in 1706, by Mr. Harley*. Thoſe papers I will try to get into my hands, and be preparing againſt you come over a ſketch of it.

The directions which your Excellency gives concerning the letters ſhall be obſerved.

I am, &c.

Mr. Harley's warrant has paſſed through my hands for creating him Earl of Oxford.

I ſay nothing to your Excellency on your own account. That muſt be left to her Majeſty, who will receive your Excellency in ſuch a manner, I dare ſay, as your ſervices deſerve, and as will give you entire ſatisfaction. I have omitted two points, which by the next poſt I will write to you upon.

* Mr. Harley had been appointed Secretary of State in 1704, and reſigned in 1708, during which period St. John was Secretary at War.

To Mr. Whitworth.

SIR,

May 29th, 1711.

I HAVE this day the favour of your private letter of the 19th, from Berlin; and I desire you to believe that those expressions, which you say you read with confusion, were used with sincerity. I serve with zeal myself, I see others endowed with great capacity; but I observe these two characters united in so few instances, that you must not wonder if I appear a little transported when I meet them together, as I do, without any compliment, very eminently in yourself.

By the next post, or by that of Tuesday, you shall hear from me, and be informed where her Majesty's service will call upon you next. In the mean time, I find that Prince Kurakin* is very solicitous to have you at his master the new bridegroom's court.

I cannot tell whether my Lord Peterborough, may not be a little uneasy when he finds you come to negociate a matter at Vienna, which has been in his hands already, but he can have no reason to be so, since this affair is of too great importance, and dispatch is too essential to the success of it, to have it trusted to the chance of his being returned in time to Vienna; you will by your address soften any discontent that may arise in his Lordship, whom I make no doubt but you will find extremely zealous in promoting every thing which relates to the public interest, and this scheme in a particular manner.

I am, &c.

* Ambassador to the court of Great Britain from the Czar, whose son had lately married a princess of Wolfenbuttle.

To Lord Raby.

My Lord,

May the 29th, 1711.

I HOPE I begin my letter very agreeably to your Excellency, when I acquaint you, by her Majeſty's order, that ſhe would have your Excellency make all poſſible haſte to come over, ſince her ſervice may better diſpenſe with your abſence at this point of time, than it will perhaps do at another, and ſince we muſt now expect to have very ſoon upon the *tapis* many intrigues, concerning which the Queen thinks it expedient that you ſhould confer with the miniſters here, and have your inſtructions, in relation to them, formed with your own aſſiſtance. At the ſame time, her Majeſty orders me to let your Excellency know, that ſhe intends on your arrival in Britain, to give you that promotion in the peerage which you deſire.

It had almoſt ſlipped me to ſay, that one great inducement to her Majeſty to deſire to ſee your Excellency here as ſoon as may be, is the meſſage of the Marquis du Bourg. Her politics differ upon this ſubject a good deal, I believe, from thoſe of the ſtate where your Excellency reſides; and as the matter is of a very nice nature, Monſieur du Bourg will be kept till you come over, that the meaſures being taken whilſt you are both on the ſpot, you may act in the better concert when you return to the other ſide. Your Excellency will take all occaſions of inſinuating, as adroitly as you can, that this miniſter's journey hither regards only military operations, and the Earl of Peterborough's projects.

Your Excellency will pleaſe not to communicate to the Penſionary, or any one elſe on that ſide, the errand on which Mr. Whitworth is ſent to Vienna. I have little to ſay, in this letter, upon the ſeveral

points

points contained in the private one which I am obliged to your Excellency for, ſince thoſe matters will be one great part of what we ſhall have to debate here. Britain has gone ſo much too far in weaving her intereſt into that of the continent, that it will prove no eaſy taſk to diſentangle our affairs, without tearing or rending.

I find that the Queen has not a yatch on your ſide of the water, neither can we immediately ſend one over, with a convoy, for your Excellency. I will be preparing both for you, in caſe you determine to ſtay for their arrival; but as your Excellency's ſtay here is likely to be very ſhort, I ſuppoſe you will bring little equipage with you, and therefore may perhaps venture in the packet-boat.

I beg your Excellency to believe that I long extremely to have the pleaſure of kiſſing your hands here, and that no man lives who is more truly, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c.

To Sir Hovendon Walker *.

SIR,

May the 29th, 1711.

BY letters which we received yeſterday from Ireland, we were informed that the Mary tranſport was driven into that kingdom. I have got the Lords of the Admiralty to diſpatch a frigate with her, and by this opportunity I write a few lines to you.

The French ſquadron being reported to be at ſea when you left the Channel, and all the cruiſers ordered to join Sir J. Leake, I find there was ſome diſſatisfaction at your taking the three ſhips into the ſea with you; but no accident has happened; and the French, according to our laſt advices, were driven back into the ports of Weſt France, ſo

* Commander in chief of the ſea forces on the expedition to Canada.

that

that you need be under no uneaſineſs, but may depend on my ſupporting and juſtifying your conduct.

Heaven proſper an undertaking ſo much to the reputation and to the real benefit of our country. I make no doubt but as we have done our part here in ſetting you out, ſo you will do your's in executing the Queen's commands in North America.

The frigate which convoys the Mary, you will keep with you; and let me deſire you to remember to uſe all poſſible diligence in giving, as many ways as you can, notice of your firſt ſucceſs, and other proceedings.

I muſt entreat that you will prefer Mr. Garrard, and give your advice and inſtructions to him where he may want them; for I am, and have reaſon to be, a true friend to his family.

There is nothing more which I have to add, your inſtructions being very ample and full.

I ſubſcribe myſelf, Sir, &c.

To Brigadier Hill *.*

SIR,

May the 29th, 1711.

YESTERDAY we had advice that the Mary, one of the tranſports, was driven by ſtreſs of weather into Ireland. I have already obtained an order to one of the Queen's frigates which attend that iſland, to haſten with the ſaid tranſport after you, and I hope they may be able to join you before you proceed from Boſton to Canada. Though the true ſecret of the expedition continues to be talked of, yet there is no certainty in the rumour; and I think I may aſſure you

* Commanding the land forces on the ſame expedition; he was brother to Lady Maſham.

that

that the enemy are in the dark. God give you ſucceſs; if good wiſhes can contribute to it, they are in no degree wanting. I am ſure there is no need of ſaying any thing to animate you to purſue with vigour an undertaking, wherein the honour of our miſtreſs, and the moſt durable advantage to our country, is concerned; I ſhall, therefore, only renew my vows for your proſperity, and the aſſurances of my being, Sir, &c.

To Mr. Dudley.*

SIR,

May the 29th, 1711.

THE Mary tranſport, belonging to the fleet which ſailed on the 4th of this month, under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of her Majeſty's white ſquadron, out of the Channel, having been ſeparated and forced to return to Ireland, the Queen has thought fit to order a frigate to proceed immediately with her to Boſton, in hopes that ſhe may arrive there before the admiral is ready to depart from thence for the river of St. Lawrence. And in caſe the fleet ſhall be gone from Boſton, upon the intended expedition, before the arrival of the frigate and tranſport, it is her Majeſty's pleaſure that you uſe your utmoſt endeavour to ſupply them with any refreſhment, ſtores, or other matter, whereof they may ſtand in need; and that you do uſe all poſſible diſpatch in haſtening them away, and giving them the proper directions for joining the Admiral, which directions the Commander of the man-of-war is by his inſtructions ordered to obſerve.

I am, &c.

* Colonel Joſeph Dudley, Governor of New England and New Hampſhire.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur le Marquis du Bourg.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 5me Juin, 1711.

COMME vous avez demandé que je vous communiquaſſe par écrit, ce qui vous a été dit ce matin, par ordre de Sa Majeſté, dans la conférence que vous avez eu avec les Seigneurs du Conſeil, j'aurai l'honneur de vous faire ſavoir—que la Reine eſt non ſeulement portée par l'eſtime et par l'affection qu'elle a pour la perſonne de Son Alteſſe Royale votre Maître, à contribuer tout ce qui dépendra d'elle à l'avancement de ſes intérêts, mais auſſi qu'elle regarde l'agrandiſſement de la maiſon de Savoye comme un des moyens les plus ſûrs de maintenir cette balance de pouvoir ſi eſſentielle au repos et au bonheur de l'Europe.

Que ſa Majeſté eſt réſolue de mériter à l'avenir, comme elle croit avoir fait par le paſſé, cette confiance que Son Alteſſe Royale repoſe en elle; et que la Reine entre dans les vues de ſa dite Alteſſe, tant ſur le cas d'incompatibilité, que ſur celui de l'union de l'Empire avec la Monarchie d'Eſpagne.

Que Sa Majeſté regarde le mariage du Prince de Piémont à l'Archiducheſſe comme le moyen le plus ſûr & le plus équitable pour détourner les dangers auxquels Son Alteſſe Royale ſe croit expoſée, dans un cas, & pour aſſurer ſes prétenſions dans l'autre. Qu'elle eſt prête à propoſer ce mariage dans le tems & de la manière que Son Alteſſe Royale le jugera elle-même à propos. Mais qu'elle croit, que pour faciliter d'autant plus cet ouvrage, il ſera néceſſaire que l'Archi-ducheſſe renonce aux pais héréditaires de l'Empire. Que ſa Majeſté travaillera immédiatement à mettre ſes Alliés dans les mêmes ſentimens, & qu'elle commencera, d'abord que my Lord Raby ſera de retour en Hollande, à perſuader à Meſſieurs les Etats d'agir ſur le même plan. Que la Reine

étant ainſi diſpoſée à faire, dans cette conjoncture délicate, tout ce que Son Alteſſe Royale peut demander d'elle, Meſſeigneurs du Conſeil ſont prêts à conférer avec les miniſtres de votre maître, les meſures les plus propres pour faire réuſſir ſes deſſeins.

Voilà, Monſieur, ce que j'ai eu ordre de vous écrire, & ce que je vous ai expliqué plus en détail de vive voix. Je ſuis, &c.

Je ne vous parle point de la commiſſion que Monſieur Whitworth doit exécuter à Vienna, touchant le renfort des huit mille hommes, puiſque vous êtes déjà très-bien inſtruit des ordres que ſa Majeſté a donné ſur ce ſujet.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

June 8, 1711.

I THANK your Grace for the honour of your private letters of the 8th of this month, N.S. both which I have read to the Queen. You will allow me to ſay, that an air of melancholy runs through one of them, which communicated its infection to me.

The Committee of Council which ſits at the War-office, is in a declining ſtate, and will, I believe, very ſoon expire. This account I hear from thence, for I have not been there myſelf a conſiderable time.

If the news brought by our Oſtend letters prove true, and the French have made a conſiderable detachment for Germany, their entrenching and covering themſelves is accounted for by this, as well as by the diverſion which they expect in the North. As to the latter, I begin to hope the King of Sweden will not be able to give us much diſturbance this ſummer, and we ſhall be very much wanting to ourſelves if we do not provide againſt another year.

Our parliament is at laſt ready to riſe, and I hope the Queen will be able on Monday to put an end to the Seſſion, which has half murdered me, for one.

Her Majeſty has had the gout in her right arm, but without any great pain or uneaſineſs. In the main, I thank God, her health is very good.

That your Grace's is reſtored I very heartily congratulate, and hope it will long continue. May you enjoy that happineſs and quiet in an honourable old age, which you have done ſo much to procure to Europe for this and for ſucceeding generations.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Argyle.

My Lord,

June the 12th, 1711.

I HAVE always profeſſed myſelf to be your Grace's ſervant, and I will endeavour to convince you that thoſe profeſſions were ſincere, and came from an honeſt heart; but, my Lord, I believe your Grace will agree that it was impoſſible to preſs your recal from Spain, after her Majeſty had been pleaſed to declare that ſhe would write herſelf to you upon that ſubject *.

I own, my Lord, the preſent ſtate of the war is bad, and the proſpect we have before us worſe, conſidering how impoſſible it is for Britain to bear any longer the whole load; and how little inclination

* The Duke of Argyle had been, during the war, in Flanders, where a jealouſy was excited between him and Marlborough: to make both eaſy, the Queen gave the former the command in chief in Spain, and at the ſame time appointed him Ambaſſador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to King Charles; though his acceptance of the command was for ſome time doubtful, affairs in Spain being deſperate, after the misfortunes of laſt year.

thoſe powers, who are by intereſt moſt nearly concerned, ſeem to ſhow to take upon them what properly belongs to them.

In Spain your Grace will, without diſpute, have a very difficult part to act; but the diſadvantages you are to lie under muſt, in my humble opinion, afford opportunities of increaſing, and can by no means be the cauſe of leſſening, your reputation.

I cannot help thinking, that meaſures ſhould be taken for every part of the war, and ſupplies ſent with no other regard than that of the public intereſt, according to the general ſcheme framed in the beginning of the year. If the perſon, commanding in any particular place, was to be conſidered, your Grace has friends here who would pleaſe themſelves in making your power as great and extenſive as they could.

It depends at this time on the Houſe of Auſtria, whether ſuch a diverſion ſhall be made, as will effectually give you eaſe in Catalonia, and afford us time to reſtore our troops, and think of new means for ſupporting the war in that part. Your Grace will have heard from my Lord Dartmouth what the Queen expects ſhould be ſent, before the end of the campaign, to reinforce the Duke of Savoy. If theſe troops be given, we make little doubt of eſtabliſhing ourſelves on this ſide the Hills *; and Mr. Whitworth is gone to make ſuch propoſitions at Vienna to this purpoſe, that we muſt look upon a refuſal of them as an abſolute deſertion of the common cauſe.

Breton having bought Mr. Waitland's regiment, for which he is principally obliged to yourſelf and Lord Ilay, Gardner and Middleton preſs extremely for his immediate return to Britain, as a point wherein his intereſt is to the laſt degree concerned; and, indeed, it is with no ſmall trouble that I hinder his Grace of Queenſberry from modelling his regiment for him. I dare flatter myſelf that you, my Lord, will

* The Alps. The Duke of Savoy, this year, penetrated into France as far as the Rhône, which prevented the French increaſing their forces oppoſed to the Duke of Argyle.

be ſo kind to him as to order him home; which I ſhall look upon as a new favour conferred on one who is tied to you by a great many, and who is with the utmoſt reſpect, my Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To the Earl of Orrery.

My Lord,

June the 12th, 1711.

I FIND, with very much concern, by your letter of the 20th, N.S. that you have been out of order. The fatigue and vexation of mind, to which the diſtracted condition of the Spaniſh Netherlands muſt have expoſed you, were ſufficient mortifications. A fever beſides, was more than fell to one man's ſhare.

I hope the cavil about the money to be ſtopped from Mr. Meredyth, is over; and indeed it is very ſurpriſing to me that it was ſuffered to laſt ſo long, ſince the Queen explained herſelf ſufficiently at firſt, and directed that whether the 1800l. was paid to Meredyth on account of the government of Tinmouth, or on account of the debt which incumbered his regiment, it ſhould, however, be ſtopped out of the 3000l, and be applied to the latter*. I wiſh I had more leiſure for buſineſs out of my office, you ſhould not have had a moment of trouble on this ſcore.

The Pretender is at laſt ſet out from St. Germain's, according to the intelligence which you have ſent me, and the advices which I have otherways received†. Our fleet is off Weſt France at this time; and he would find it a difficult enterprize to paſs to any part of the Queen's

* When Meredyth was permitted to ſell out, the price was 3000l. and Lord Orrery got the regiment. Meredyth, in a letrer to St. John, 2d May, 1711, complains of the diſtreſs of his family, and his hard uſage after twenty-three years ſervice.

† He went into Dauphiny, on a viſit to the Duke of Berwick, and returned through Languedoc to St. Germain's.

dominions; but for my ſhare, I believe now, as I have done all along, that he never intended an invaſion. However, by the rumour, and by the appearances of it, we have had an opportunity of ſeeing what excellent guarantees of our ſucceſſion the Dutch are likely to prove; and how fine a bargain thoſe people made, who ſacrificed the liberty of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and that part of the trade of Britain, to the States, under this pretence *. We have not, at the hour I write, one ſhip of Holland to join the Queen's fleet, though we have ſolicited, every poſt theſe many months, that a ſquadron might be prepared, in purſuance of the moſt ſolemn engagement.

My Lord Raby is coming hither for ſome days. The Queen would be glad to have your Lordſhip contrive to be at the Hague, on account of ſettling ſome better regulation of government for the Low Countries belonging to King Charles, during the time the ambaſſador is abſent; ſince buſineſs daily may ariſe which will require the preſence of one of you in ſo buſy a ſcene as the Hague is, and muſt be whilſt the war continues.

Our friend, Mr. Harley, is now Earl of Oxford, and High Treaſurer.

This great advancement is, what the labour he has gone through, the danger he has run, and the ſervices he has performed, ſeem to deſerve. But he ſtands on ſlippery ground, and envy is always near the great, to fling up their heels on the leaſt trip which they make. The companions of his evil fortune are moſt likely to be the ſupporters of his good; and I dare ſay he makes this a maxim to himſelf; for though he often wants that grace and openneſs which engages the affection, yet I muſt own, I never knew that he wanted either the conſtancy or the friendſhip which engages the eſteem.

The Peerage† which you expect, will be declared; and you will have

* By the Barrier Treaty.

† Baron Boyle, of Marſton, in the county of Somerſet.

a companion

a companion whom I am confident you cannot but like, my Lord Keeper Harcourt.

Many changes have been made at the riſing of the parliament, which was this day prorogued to the 10th of July; and although they are ſuch as ought to ſatisfy our friends, yet the number of the diſcontented muſt always exceed that of the contented, as the number of pretenders does that of employments. I confeſs to you, my Lord, that it made me melancholy to obſerve the eagerneſs with which places were ſolicited for; and though intereſt has at all times been the principal ſpring of action, yet I neved ſaw men ſo openly claim their hire, or offer themſelves to ſale. You ſee the effects of frequent parliaments, and of long wars, of departing from our old conſtitution, and from our true intereſt.

I muſt, before I ſend this letter, give your Lordſhip an account of a club which I am forming; and which, as light as the deſign may ſeem to be, I believe will prove of real ſervice *. We ſhall begin to meet in a ſmall number, and that will be compoſed of ſome who have wit and learning to recommend them; of others, who from their own ſituations, or from their relations, have power and influence, and of others, who from accidental reaſons may properly be taken in. The firſt regulation propoſed, and that which muſt be inviolably kept, is decency. None of the extravagance of the kit-cat†, none of the drunkenneſs of the beef-ſtake is to be endured. The improvement of friendſhip, and the encouragement of letters, are to be the two great ends of our ſociety. A number of valuable people will be kept in the ſame mind, and others will be made converts to their opinions.

* The members were, Earl of Arran, Lord Harley, Duke of Ormond, Swift, Sir Robert Raymond, Arbuthnot, Duke of Shrewſhury, Lord Duplin, Sir William Wyndham, George Granville, Maſham, Earl of Jerſey, Bathurſt, Orrery, Colonel Hill, Colonel Deſney, Bolingbroke, Duke of Beaufort, Prior, Dr. Friend, &c. Their meetings were firſt at their ſeveral houſes, but afterwards they hired a room near St. James's.

† This kit-cat was inſtituted in 1699. Congreve, Prior, Sir John Vanburgh, the Earl of Orrery, and Lord Somers were members.

Mr.

Mr. Fenton, and thoſe who, like him, have genius, will have a corporation of patrons to protect and advance them in the world. The folly of our party will be ridiculed and checked; the oppoſition of another will be better reſiſted; a multitude of other good uſes will follow, which I am ſure do not eſcape you; and I hope in the winter to ballot for the honour of your company amongſt us.

I am ever, my dear Lord, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

DEAR SIR,

June 12th, 1711.

I AM to aſk your pardon, and do ſo very heartily, for being too little punctual in acknowledging the favours of your inſtructive letters. Your laſt of the 19th, N.S. came this morning to my hands.

The Chevalier is gone at laſt to make his progreſs; there is ſome myſtery in his journey, or they have at St. Germain's the ſecret of affecting that air well, but an invaſion of the Queen's dominions is certainly not the ſecret. Sir John Leake is at ſea, with a ſquadron of ſhips, ſufficient to baffle any force which France is able to equip; and I am one of thoſe who never believed that an attempt of this kind was meditated by the enemy. However, the appearances looked that way; and by the little inclination which the Dutch have ſhown at this time, to comply with the Queen's demand of ſhips to aſſiſt her fleet, it is eaſy to judge what zeal thoſe guarantees of our ſucceſſion would exert in a real danger. I dare ſay that the preſervation of a herring-buſs would ſway more than that of their good ally Queen Anne. My thoughts are very plainly expreſſed, perhaps too much ſo, but I had a mind that you ſhould feel, as we do, the ill treatment which we receive from the States in relation to the naval ſervice. Be all this ſaid to yourſelf.

Our parliament is this day prorogued to the 10th of the next month; and though we met full of reſentment for the ill uſage which we had received from the tyranny of the Whigs; though there were various opportunities of attacking particular perſons, who deſerved no better at our hands; and though the majority of our friends in parliament, elected by as great a majority in the ſeveral counties, was unexampled, yet you find a repreſentation of ſome of our grievances has been the harſheſt thing which we have done. No man has been forced from his ſeat purely becauſe we did not like him, no perſon has been impeached; and, in a word, no Whig-moderation has been ſhown*.

On the other hand, the beſt and ampleſt funds have been carefully found, and cheerfully given, the debts of the nation have been provided for, and trade ſo long and ſo ſcandalouſly neglected, has been begun to be thought of.

I hope we have ſome degree of reputation among our allies, with whom you live. I believe I may engage that they ſhall neither have reaſon to reproach us for deſerting their intereſt, nor to laugh at us for neglecting our own.

Perſuade your friends in Holland to allow us to have ſome care of Britain, without prejudice to them, and aſſure them that we will give no cauſe of complaint. But they muſt ceaſe to be jealous of every meaſure which has the leaſt appearance of being advantageous to this iſland.

My Lord Raby will receive Mr. Watkins with a very good grace; and I always knew that, at laſt, he would do ſo; but now I will tell you that the Judge ſhall not ſtick long there. My Lord Treaſurer has a farther and much better view for him.

We expect Lord Raby every day in Britain; his ſtay here will be

* This moderation, however, was greatly againſt the opinion and wiſhes of the violent Tories, and particularly of thoſe compoſing the October Club, which conſiſted of more than a hundred members of parliament, and was the reaſon why Lord Oxford's adminiſtration was not heartily ſupported by them.

ſhort,

ſhort, and he will return with a very ſignal mark of the Queen's favour, as his predeceſſor has already received one of her diſpleaſure, my Lord Townſhend's ſtaff * being given to Mr. Paget.

Shall we not ſee you any time this ſummer in Britain? I think you would have ſome ſatisfaction, which letters cannot give, in ſeeing with your own eyes thoſe friends in power whom you beheld in diſtreſs; and that honeſt cauſe in a flouriſhing condition, which you remember very low, oppreſſed by faction, and inſulted by the moſt ſcandalous part of our nation.

Let me hear in your next what is ſaid in Holland concerning Mr. Hill's expedition, our Company for the South-Sea trade †, my Lord Raby's journey, and the preſent ſituation in general.

Adieu, dear Sir, believe me to be, &c.

A Monſieur le Comte de Wratiſlaw ‡.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 15me Juin, 1711.

J'AI reçu la lettre dont il vous a plu charger Monſieur Palmes à ſon départ de Vienna, et me ſens extrêmement obligé de l'honneur de votre ſouvenir.

Le plan, que vous m'avez envoyé, eſt tout-à-fait beau, mais, dans les conjonctures préſentes, il nous paroît un peu trop difficile à exécuter. Songeons, en premier lieu, à remettre nos affaires délabrées en Catalogne, et à pouſſer une guerre vive dans les endroits où elle eſt déjà allumée; après cela il ſera tems de commencer de nouvelles attaques.

* As Captain of yeomen of the guard.

† This was a ſcheme of Lord Oxford's, to ſatisfy all public debts, and to make good all deficiencies.

‡ John Winceſlaus Comte de Wratiſlaw, had been many years Envoy-extraordinary from the Imperial and Spaniſh court, and was now Miniſter of State to the Emperor.

Notre bonne volonté nous a portée juſques ici à faire plus qu'on auroit dû attendre de nos forces; et par tout ce que le parlement, qui vient de finir ſes ſéances, a fait, je ne doute point que vous ne ſoyez convaincu que cette bonne volonté ne ſe ralentira pas.

J'eſpère que Monſieur Whitworth ſera arrivé à Vienna, ſelon les ordres qu'il a reçu de la Reine, pour exécuter une commiſſion qui nous paroît de la dernière conſéquence, et dans laquelle il ne manquera pas d'avoir l'appui d'un miniſtre auſſi zélé et auſſi prudent que vous.

Je me recommande à l'honneur de vos bonnes grâces, et je ſerai toujours, avec beaucoup d'eſtime, Monſieur, &c.

To Mr. Brydges.*

DEAR SIR,

June 22d, 1711.

AS buſy as I am of a poſt-night, I cannot omit writing to you upon a ſubject wherein I think myſelf particularly concerned. Mr. Blake made a very conſiderable proviſion of all ſorts of ſtores for the expedition commanded by Brigadier Hill†. As thoſe preparations both for land and ſea were kept private, and went almoſt ſingly through my hands, ſo it fell to my ſhare to contract on this occaſion by the Queen's command. The poor man is, I believe, half broke and diſcredited by being kept ſo long out of his money, after having extended his credit to the utmoſt ſtretch. My Lord Treaſurer has promiſed to give diſpatch to this affair; and I am confident will do it even to-morrow morning,

* James Brydges, afterwards Duke of Chandos, and at this time Paymaſter-general of the forces abroad.

†Harley, in his "Brief Account," &c. aſſerts that he reſiſted the payment of 28,000l. for this expedition; that at laſt the Queen ordered it to be paid; but upon enquiry it turned out that the public had been defrauded of 20,000l. But it is to be obſerved that Harley had then broken with St. John.

if

if you are ſo kind as to demand the money. Mr. Blake is in danger of being arreſted. I am ſure I had rather be ſo, than be teazed at the rate I have been about this matter. I beg your aſſiſtance herein; and ſhall take it for as great a favour as if I was perſonally concerned in it.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

June 22d, 1711.

I AM to acknowledge your's of the 23d of this month, N.S. and I hope that mine of the 12th inſtant is come to your hands.

The Penſionary judges, I think, very well, in deſiring that you ſhould defer your journey to Britain, till my Lord Ambaſſador Raby is returned to the Hague. What he will have to ſay to the miniſters of Holland may very probably furniſh them with matter, which they will be glad to have the opportunity of communicating to us, through ſo ſafe a channel as yourſelf.

I am glad that the Penſionary ſeems pleaſed with my Lord Raby's journey hither, which has, with ſo little reaſon, made ſo much noiſe. We expected no leſs from the Penſionary's wiſdom and experience. Thoſe of little genius and narrow ſouls are apt to take umbrage, and to be ſtartled at every trifle; but men of his knowledge in buſineſs and ſuperior underſtanding are more compoſed.

The little dabblers in politics, both here and abroad, have amuſed themſelves and others of their own calibre, with a thouſand ſpeculations, firſt upon the voyage of the Marquis de Bourg, and next upon that of the Queen's ambaſſador. I may ſay to you, that for the former there was no reaſon that I can conceive, except Lord Peterborough's

inclination to mortify the Count Maffei, whom he looks upon as a friend to the Duke of Marlborough, ſince du Bourg was charged with no commiſſion which we ſhould not have treated upon with the ſame freedom, if the other had been intruſted in it. For the journey of my Lord Raby, that was owing at this time to the Queen's intention of reſtoring to him the title of Strafford, and the promotion of peers coming on, I writ to him to come over. But give me leave to aſk, if there really had been any grounds to believe that overtures of peace were made to Britain, what occaſion would there have been for ſo much jealouſy? How conſtant has the intercourſe been between Holland and France, and how well known the correſpondence upon this very ſubject? Are we become fit for nothing but the buſineſs of aſſes, to be loaded, bridled, and guided at the diſcretion of others? You may aſſure our friends, and we ſhall make thoſe aſſurances good, that the Queen is no more capable of departing from her engagements, and from a due regard to her allies, than ſhe is from the common intereſt; and however ſome may have ſacrificed all theſe in the war, ſhe will neither give up any of them either in war or in peace. The end of the war is heartily to be wiſhed, but, great as this bleſſing is, we ſhall never embrace it without the concurrence of the States, and the ſatisfaction of our confederates. At the ſame time you will agree, that whenever a peace is ſet on foot, there muſt be, eſpecially in the firſt ſteps, a truſt repoſed ſome where; and we think that can be no where better lodged than in the Queen. God knows what terms any of us may obtain; but a little better care muſt be taken of the intereſt of Britain, than was in the famous preliminaries; and we ſhall not think that thoſe indulgences which we may have to aſk, will be either equal to the part we have had in the war, or to the acquiſitions which we have thrown into the hands of Holland.

The French fleet is gone at laſt from Weſt France, and I believe,

as

as you do, to Brazil. That enterprize may very probably ſucceed, which it is by no means our intereſt that it ſhould; but we have too many irons in the fire, to take care of every part of both worlds. The ſuppoſition of ſome people, that Monſieur du Guay was to follow Rear Admiral Walker, I do not look upon to be probable, ſince the deſtination of our ſquadron has been kept very ſecret; and ſince that of the enemy is fitted out at the charge of private perſons, who are to look for profit and not for dry blows *.

I will not fail to obſerve the caution you give me as to Lord Raby, whoſe failings I know, as well as his good qualities.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

June the 22d, 1711.

I THANK your Grace very much for the two private letters which I received by the laſt mails.

The Queen muſt look upon herſelf to have done much more than could be expected from her, in the affair of the reinforcement deſired for the Duke of Savoy; and I believe all mankind will join in thinking the Court of Vienna without excuſe, if Mr. Whitworth is able to do nothing in the commiſſion given to him. It is hard to forbear on this occaſion making reflections on the unequal foot whereon we ſtand in this war; but your Grace knows this matter, and has, I doubt not, frequently lamented the unhappy ſituation which we are in.

What ſhall we ſay of the King of Pruſſia†? Monſieur Ilgen and his new

* Du Guay attacked and plundered the Portugueſe ſettlement of St. Sebaſtian on the Rio de Janeiro, but the booty fell far ſhort of the expence of the expedition.

† The King of Pruſſia would not permit his troops to leave their winter-quarters until he received full

new councellors make him dance on a rope; for ſurely he cannot come to extremities with us, but he muſt embarraſs and expoſe himſelf at the ſame time.

Monſieur du Bourg has had his audience of leave, and will, I ſuppoſe, be going very ſoon away. Monſieur de Bothmar is likewiſe returning to Holland, and will be back before the next winter.

The court of France will hardly be ſo ſanguine as their general, nor give him the orders which he deſires to execute. Should fighting councils prevail, they might perhaps give your grace another opportunity of adding to your laurels, and of reviving a drooping cauſe.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

June 26th, 1711.

I HAD the honour to read your Grace's letter of the 29th of this month, N.S. to her Majeſty, who was extremely ſurpriſed and troubled at the unaccountable proceeding of the King of Pruſſia. The Queen hopes, as your Grace does, that this will end in a bullying air, and have no farther evil conſequence; but, however, our ſituation is very melancholy, when, upon every trifling occaſion, threats of ſuch conſequence are to be uſed.

As to the hopes which the enemy may conceive from hence, I do not ſee what we are to fear, unleſs the Pruſſians ſhould actually march away. The expectation of this may, perhaps, give them ſpirit enough to attempt what may probably be as fatal to them as the battle of

full ſatisfaction for arrears due to him, and for his ſucceſſion to the eſtates of the late King William, as Prince of Orange. The States-general were obliged to promiſe payment of the former demand in four months, and the immediate arrangement of the latter.

Ramillies was; to venture which, the conduct of the Court of Berlin at the time was no ſmall inducement to them *.

I have ſeen intelligence from France, which ſeems to ſay that the French detach from Germany to Dauphiné, as well as from Flanders to the Rhine. In this caſe, the meaſure of Prince Eugene's leaving your Grace † is ſtill more unreaſonable; and we are ſimple enough here to think, that he conſults at preſent much more his private intereſt, as a good courtier to his new maſter, than that of the common cauſe.

The Duke of Shrewſbury has been, for ſome time, confined by an intermitting fever, but is now in a fair way of being ſoon abroad.

The Queen is this evening gone to Windſor. She has carried extraordinary good health with her, which the air of that place, and the exerciſe ſhe propoſes to uſe, will, I hope, increaſe and confirm.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Orrery.

My Lord,

June 26th, 1711.

A FORMER letter of mine, which you muſt have received before now, has, I ſuppoſe, made you eaſy as to your title; the promotion of Peers will very ſoon be made, and you will be of the number. I take it for granted that ſome perſon here has your directions about the title, the preamble to your patent, and the care of ſoliciting it through the ſeveral offices.

Our friend, Tom Harley, is my Lord Treaſurer's ſecretary, and I

* The Pruſſian troops had no ſhare in the battle of Ramillies.
† He had received orders to march with the Imperial and Palatine troops to the Upper Rhine.

will

will ſpeak to him about the quarter's ſalary, and which may very well ſlip out of the Treaſurer's mind, who has ſo many and ſuch various objects to be intent upon.

I cannot imagine why the 1800l. is not ſtopped; the Queen's orders can neither be more clear nor more poſitive than they have been already; and, in plain terms, Mr. Granville may put an end to the delay whenever he pleaſes.

As to the perſon whom you propoſed to be ſent to France, I think his demand very extravagant, unleſs he could ſhow a proſpect of giving ſome very conſiderable advices, not of reports and gueſſes, but from the officers of buſineſs in France. If he will agree to go upon lower terms, with a promiſe of having his demands made good to him when his ſervices ſhall appear to deſerve them, I will employ him; and your Lordſhip may pleaſe to ſettle with him the method of conveying his letters, and of paying him his money.

The deſertion from our army is ſurpriſing, and muſt, I believe, be attributed to the long campaign and cruel ſieges which we have had.

I heartily wiſh your Lordſhip entirely recovered from your fever, and in condition to bear the fatigues of buſineſs and of pleaſure.

No man living loves you better than

Your, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

June 26th, 1711.

THIS morning, at the Committee of Council, my Lord Treaſurer gave me your letter of the 30th of this month, N.S. for which I am to return you my hearty thanks.

I am glad to hear that his Pruſſian Majeſty was pleaſed to put on ſo much good humour; but the declaration made by the Prince of Anhalt * to the Duke of Marlborough, and to the Deputies of the States, is not of a piece with it. In ſhort, we have, by ſeveral falſe meaſures, brought ourſelves to that paſs, that a King, who is hardly a freeholder, treats as *de haut en bas*. We muſt get out, my good friend, as well as we can; and not only the preſent generation of Britons, but future ages, will, I dare ſay, learn by our example not to plunge themſelves too deep in a war of the continent. The Dutch are in the right to be fond of their barrier, they ſee what a foundation of power that treaty lays for them, and I will aſſure you that we ſee it too. But they muſt not be alarmed, as I believe I told you in a former letter, if we think a little of Britain, which ſurely has had ſome merit in the courſe of this war, whilſt they think ſo much of Holland.

I hope my Lord Raby will be returned out of Yorkſhire, and ready to go over, in a fortnight, after which you muſt keep your word with us, and let us ſee you here. The better informed you come of the ſentiments of Holland, the better ſervice you will be able to do both them and us.

I am glad to find that whatever gueſſes curious people may make, there yet appears no more light into the ſecret of Mr. Hill's expedition. As that whole deſign was formed by me, and the management of it ſingly carried on by me, you will eaſily imagine that I have a ſort of paternal concern for the ſucceſs of it. The Dutch have no reaſon to argue, from the early care which was taken to ſend that ſquadron abroad, that Sir James Wiſhart did not proceed candidly with them, when he propoſed an adventure to the South-Sea. Of this truth you will be ere long convinced.

I am, &c.

* Commander in chief of the Pruſſian troops.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

July the 5th, 1711.

I HUMBLY preſume to acquaint your Majeſty, that a Scotch veſſel is arrived at Greenock, from New England; who met, about the 10th of June, a great fleet of ſhips, ſtanding with a fair wind into the coaſts of North America. This could be no other than the ſquadron commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, who, according to this account, muſt have had a proſperous voyage, and be about this time, with Brigadier Hill, putting your Majeſty's commands in execution.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

July the 10th, 1711.

AFTER a tedious delay, we received ſeveral poſts at laſt together from Holland, and by them I had your Grace's private letters of the 2d and 9th of this month, N.S. for which I return you my moſt humble thanks.

The Muſcovites are, without diſpute, in greater forwardneſs than the Turks, and the King of Sweden in little condition to ſupport that *fierté* which he put on when he proteſted againſt the act of neutrality; ſince this very act may, for ought I know, prove the only ſecurity of Pomerania and the troops under Craſſau now, as it did the laſt year*.

* After the King of Sweden's defeat at Pultowa, the ſmall remains of his army aſſembled and formed under General Craſſau.

But

But, my Lord, our misfortune is, that we can ſupport neither ſide in the manner they deſire, without manifeſt prejudice to the common intereſt, and by a trimming neutrality we have contrived to diſoblige both. Give me leave, on this occaſion, to ſay, that I fear the event of the northern commotions will ſhow that we were in the right, who thought laſt year that the King of Sweden ſhould either have been forced to ſubmit to the terms of the neutrality, however partial they are to his enemies, or have been, by a vigorous meaſure, put out of condition to annoy or even alarm us. We might, at that time, have tied the northern confederates down to whatever conditions we pleaſed, and have remained maſters of both, whereas theſe are likely to impoſe the law upon us now, as the King of Sweden would infallibly do, was he in condition to execute the deſign he has formed. But theſe matters have been, by her Majeſty, left to the management of the States; and I only wiſh that the Queen's part in theſe engagements was as little as it has been in the direction.

Your Grace can beſt judge of the enemy's intentions, as you can beſt prevent them. In general, they ſeem to me to have in view to riſk as little as poſſible, to ſave and nurſe up their troops, and by little actions of ſurpriſe to fluſh the ſoldiers, and to raiſe a ſpirit which ſo many repeated defeats have cowed.

Montgatz being ſurrendered, I am at a loſs to imagine what excuſe the Court of Vienna will find for making no uſe of any part of the troops which they have in Hungary. Some, I am confident, their ingenuity will ſuggeſt to them.

We are in daily expectation to hear from Mr. Whitworth upon this head, who is ordered to proceed directly from Vienna to the Czar's court, where I believe his preſence muſt be neceſſary; and the more ſo, ſince Balhure * is there very buſy, and very well received.

* The French Envoy to the Czar.

The Duke of Queenſberry died on Friday laſt, and her Majeſty has not thought fit to continue a third Secretary, ſo that the provinces return to the former partition, except in the caſe of the Spaniſh Netherlands, which remain under my care.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Whitworth.

SIR,

July 12, 1711.

I AM to thank you for the two private letters, which I received from you with the public diſpatches on Sunday laſt; one of the 23d of June, from Toplitz; the other, of the 1ſt of July, from Dreſden.

You will be informed by the office-news, that the Duke of Queenſberry is dead; and I have the ſatisfaction to tell you, that you will not remove out of my province, though you are to remove out of the Empire. Her Majeſty has determined to ſink the employment of third Secretary; and the old diviſion of buſineſs is renewed, except as to the Spaniſh Netherlands, which are to continue under my care. Indeed, theſe countries belong at preſent ſo much to Holland, and ſo little to Spain, that there would be ſome confuſion occaſioned by throwing them into the ſouthern department. The load was before great enough for ſhoulders as weak as mine, it is now not a little increaſed. If I ſtagger under it, I will, however, hope not to ſink; and the pleaſure of continuing to correſpond with you, will, upon my word, be one great article in my ſupport.

The affairs of the north are haſtening to that point of confuſion and danger which I have been expecting long; and which, in my opinion, is the natural, neceſſary conſequence of all the meaſures taken,

taken, from the treaty of Alt Ranſtadt * to this hour, by Britain and Holland. The guaranty of that treaty was, in the moſt ſolemn manner, and in the Queen's name, promiſed. King Staniſlaus was, after an awkward manner, acknowledged; and our next ſtep was, to encourage Auguſtus to violate this very treaty, and, by his return into Poland, to revive the troubles of the North, and our own difficulties. An act of neutrality is thought neceſſary to preſerve the peace of the Empire; and in forming this act, we go out of Germany, *de gaité de cœur*, to cover Poland on one ſide and Jutland on the other, which we were in no ſort under an engagement to defend; whilſt we neglect to provide for the ſecurity of the Swediſh territories, which, by the treaty of Travendhal, we were under very ſtrong obligations to do. The King of Sweden receives ſome benefit by this act, but declines to ſubmit to it firſt, and openly proteſts againſt it next. We take no meaſures for obliging him to conſent to the treaty, or for putting him out of condition to break it; and by the ſpring of the year are frightened at his declarations, and at the apparent danger from Craſſau's army on one ſide, as well as from his irruption with Turks and Tartars on the other. This fear makes us go *bride en main* in the execution of the act of neutrality; and by that time we have ſufficiently diſobliged the Czar, the King of Denmark, and King Auguſtus, we find that there is more danger of having the neutrality broke by them than by him. In ſhort, the power of England is contemned, and breach of faith objected to us by each ſide in its turn; and we, who ought to hold the balance, and give the law, are every day bullied by our penſioners. By ſuch conduct we have, with great dexterity and pains, departed from the ancient and true character of Britain in many inſtances, and have rendered the nation little, whilſt the multitude

* By this treaty, Auguſtus, Elector of Saxony, ſurrendered the kingdom of Poland to King Staniſlaus. Auguſtus was ſupported in his pretenſions by the Czar, Staniſlaus by the King of Sweden, who being defeated at Pultowa, the crown of Poland was again claimed by Auguſtus.

imagine

imagine that we make a glorious figure. But theſe reflections will do little good: and you and I, and every one who ſerves the Queen, muſt apply ourſelves to get out of the preſent labyrinth, with as few ſcratches as we can.

On the views which the King of Poland* may have of marrying his ſon to an Arch-ducheſs, let me obſerve to you, among many other objections, this, that by the treaty of 1703, made with the Duke of Savoy, it is expreſsly ſtipulated in that article, which revives and confirms the will of Philip the Fourth, that no third perſon ſhall be superinduced to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion after the Houſe of Auſtria and before that of Savoy.

You ſee at once what jealouſy his Royal Highneſs would therefore with reaſon conceive, if the daughter of the late Emperor was to marry any Prince beſides his ſon, as others might with equal reaſon conceive, if ſhe ſhould marry his ſon, until ſome ſecurity was given that the title to the Spaniſh dominions, and that to the Hereditary Countries, ſhould not, at any time hereafter, unite by this match in the family of Savoy.

You was extremely in the right to communicate the letter which you received from Mr. Aſhton; but I think the tale too romantic to deſerve much attention. Her Majeſty deſires, if you hear any more of him, that you would inform me of it; but it is not likely you will, in the country you are now going to.

My Lord Peterborough will, in a few days, be declared to go into Germany, and particularly to Frankfort.

You will give me leave to recommend Mr. Scott to you, who is appointed Envoy to King Auguſtus, as a man whoſe correſpondence you will, I believe, find ſatisfaction in.

By this time, I fear, you have found all your endeavours at the court

* Auguſtus.

of

of Vienna fruitleſs. In ſhort, there is no poſſibility of raiſing ſuch a heap of dulneſs to any pitch of glory and power.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

July 12th, 1711.

ON Sunday we had the ſatisfaction of receiving four poſts from your ſide; they brought me your letters of the 3d, 7th, 10th, and 14th inſtant, N.S. and yeſterday came to my hands that of the 17th.

I wonder that Monſieur de Mellarede's journey ſhould give birth to any new ſpeculations, ſince, of all the perſons in Europe, the Duke of Savoy is moſt deeply and nearly concerned in the turn of affairs occaſioned by the Emperor's death, and in the terms which are to be capitulated for with his ſucceſſor.

Upon this occaſion, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething to you concerning our views with regard to this Prince: and you may inſinuate the ſame to the Penſionary Heinſius. I do this the rather, becauſe the Dutch miniſters, according to what I have obſerved, reaſon very differently from thoſe of the Queen in this inſtance; and one part of my Lord Raby's inſtructions, will be to bring them over to our ſentiments. We think then, that it is the intereſt of Britain and Holland, not only to ſupport the Duke of Savoy, but even to aggrandize him, as far as we can do it conſiſtently with juſtice, and with the preſervation of the preſent confederacy againſt France. The conſiderations, on which this opinion is grounded, are too long to be deduced in a letter, and are ſo obvious, that I dare ſay they do not eſcape you. This principle being eſtabliſhed, we think ought to be purſued at this time very aſſiduouſly; and therefore, when the Marquis de Bourg ſounded the Queen's incli-

nation towards the marriage which his Royal Highneſs intends to propoſe between the eldeſt daughter of the Emperor Joſeph and the Prince of Piedmont, her Majeſty made no ſcruple to promiſe that ſhe will uſe her beſt endeavours to ſupport the Duke of Savoy in this pretenſion, and give orders to her miniſters accordingly at the courts of Vienna and Barcelona. You may eaſily believe, that the objection of carrying, by this match, a title to the hereditary countries in Germany into the Houſe of Savoy, was not omitted; but the Marquis de Bourg immediately removed it, by ſaying, that his maſter was too reaſonable to refuſe coming up to any conditions, which might be judged neceſſary to obviate that apprehenſion.

My Lord Raby, or rather Strafford, for I think his patent is paſſed, will open the Queen's mind very fully to the Penſionary upon this head; but as I ſaid before, it will not be improper to apprize Monſieur Heinſius, in ſome meaſure beforehand, of what paſſed between the Queen's miniſters and the Marquis du Bourg.

I am ſurpriſed to hear that the Dutch make any complaint, concerning our conduct towards them, in what Sir James Wiſhart was ſent to negociate, ſince certainly we have as much to reproach them with upon that ſubject, as one ally can well give another. Sir James Wiſhart propoſed in general an enterprize to the South Sea; and if they would have engaged to join with the Queen, he was ready, as he told them, to enter into particulars, and to concert the meaſures to be taken. This was received coldly, and Sir James was only deſired to open to them all we intended, without knowing whether they would concur in our deſigns, or traverſe them. Do us juſtice upon this head, you know enough of the matter.

The affairs of the north are haſtening to that point of confuſion, where we have long expected them; I am unwilling to look back, and to rip up all the inſtances of miſconduct which made an act of neutra-

lity firſt neceſſary, which afterwards contrived that it ſhould be partial, and which have now rendered it uſeleſs. We muſt get out of this diſtreſs in the beſt manner we can; but give me leave to make this reflection, and make it to the Penſionary if you pleaſe: This northern war was alive; and the conſequences which, ſooner or later, from one ſide or other, it muſt have on our war againſt France, were eaſily to be foreſeen, at the time when peace offered itſelf, and was rejected in Holland *. My Lord Raby came over charged with many general and agreeable aſſurances from the States; but I cannot ſay that he was ſo particularly informed of the deſires and views of the three Penſionaries, with whom he had his laſt conference, as we could have wiſhed. He will return to you as well inſtructed as we can make him, on every article of the general ſyſtem of public affairs, and the States will be convinced that nothing ſhall be wanting on our parts, to render the union of the two nations indiſſoluble, and to continue them in a condition of being the bulwarks of the Proteſtant religion, and of the common liberty. Let this ſuffice in anſwer to that part of yours of the 7th, where you ſeem to ſuſpect that we have bad impreſſions of Holland. Depend upon it, and ſay it freely, that we muſt have a little more regard to Britain, than was paid by our predeceſſors in the miniſtry, but that we will be as good friends to the Dutch as ever we were; and indeed ſelf-preſervation requires no leſs on both ſides.

As to the Flanders affairs, I will tell you very freely my thoughts, and I have writ the ſame to the Duke of Marlborough. The moment we determined to detach from our army, when the enemy detached from theirs, I looked upon the ſcheme of war to be altered, and that air of ſuperiority to be given up, which we have ſo long maintained. The enemy ſaved their men laſt year, whilſt we threw our's prodigally away; they keep themſelves quiet and ſafe now, and by little actions

* In 1709.

of ſurprize, they endeavour, little by little, to reſtore to their ſoldiers that ſpirit which repeated diſgraces had taken from them. Is it not probable that, towards the end of the year, they may think themſelves ripe for ſome attempt, and do not the preparations making on their frontier point that way?

I go to-morrow morning to aſſiſt at a committee of council, at London; if any thing farther occurs to me, I will add to this letter there.

July 13.

I have nothing to add to you, though I aſſiſted this morning at a Committee of Council. Would you not ſpare a few ſhips to join with ours in the Baltic, if ſuch an expedition ſhould appear neceſſary?

I am, &c.

I thank you for the care of my trees. When you come over, let us know what general plan would pleaſe in Holland, to ſubſiſt between us and them in time of peace.

To the Earl of Orrery.

My Lord,

July 20, 1711.

YOU will, I flatter myſelf, believe that I have no affectation about me, when I proteſt to you, that I have been, and that I ſtill continue in ſo conſtant a hurry of intricate, various, and important buſineſs, that you ought to excuſe me if I am not punctual in anſwering your private letters.

We are come now to the point of time when we muſt reap, in their full maturity of miſchief, the fruits of all thoſe ſeeds which have been ſcattered by the falſe politics of thoſe who went before us. There is hardly any caſe applicable to the greateſt cully of the town, which is not

true

true of this unhappy country. Thoſe on whom our fortune has been ſquandered, owe us no obligation; as our neceſſities increaſe, the terms of aſſiſtance are raiſed upon us. That which has been gained at our expence turns to the account of others. We have no chance of advantage, and we are undone if we fail, &c. How to get out of this diſtreſs, God knows. This I know, that we ought to watch for the firſt opportunity, and to ſeize it. But no more upon ſo melancholy a ſubject.

The warrant for your title is diſpatched, and ſhould have been ſo ſooner could I have taken upon me either to chuſe it, or to prepare your preamble.

As to the club, which I ſpoke to you of, I believe you will think it very well choſe, and you may be ſure that you will be one of the firſt. There are about ten or twelve places filled, the remainder, to one and twenty, lie open for ſome of our friends who are abroad, and for ſuch others as we ſhall in the winter, in full chapter, elect.

Some part of our home management I cannot account for, and the reſt it is impoſſible to explain by letter. Lord Nottingham is diſagreeable perſonally to the Queen *; and beſides, his relations are ſo well provided for, that it is thought he ought to be contented. As to the promotion of the perſon you mention to Treaſurer of the Navy, I can only ſay that he has been ſteady and uſeful in the laſt ſeſſion, when ſeveral were very whimſical, and Sir Thomas Hanmer in a very eminent manner †, who has been, however, invited into the ſervice in a handſome manner, but declined it.

* Her majeſty uſed to attend the debates in the Lords; and upon one of theſe occaſions, the Earl of Nottingham moved, that the Electoral Prince of Hanover ſhould be invited to reſide in England. This gave offence to the Queen.

† The moſt violent enemies to the late miniſtry, and the Whigs, were the members of the October Club, which conſiſted of more than a hundred members of parliament; Sir Thomas Hanmer was one: they wiſhed for ſevere examples to be made of the Whigs, and the miniſtry being inclined to gentler meaſures, theſe gentlemen for ſome time ſhowed a diſinclination to ſupport the miniſter.

I was got thus far in a letter which I deſigned ſhould have been full in anſwer to thoſe I have received from you, but a Dutch poſt arrives this moment; and it being late in the day, I am obliged to refer many particulars to another opportunity.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur le Marquis du Bourg.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 24me Juillet, 1711.

IL me doit être très agréable d'entrer dans un commerce de lettres avec vous, puiſque j'ai pour votre perſonne toute l'eſtime & pour le ſuccès de vos négociations tout le zèle qu'il ſoit poſſible d'avoir.

J'avois écrit à un ami, ſelon ma promeſſe; peut-être n'avoit-il pas eu l'occaſion d'entretenir le Penſionaire ſur le contenu de ma lettre, ou peut-être ce miniſtre ne l'a-t-il pas voulu avouer, pour pouvoir d'autant mieux éviter d'entrer en matière avec vous.

Le Comte de Maffei ne manquera pas de vous rendre un compte exacte de ce qui s'eſt paſſé à deux conférences, qu'il a eu avec les Seigneurs du Conſeil, depuis peu de jours.

Le Comte d'Orrery, pour ne pas perdre du tems, a ordre de parler au Penſionnaire, non-ſeulement ſur le mariage, mais auſſi ſur les intérêts de Son Alteſſe Royale dans les deux cas de compatibilité & d'incompatibilité.

Il ne manquera pas de repréſenter les ſentimens de la Reine, & de preſſer la concurrence des Hollandois, d'une telle manière que nous ſaurons, par la réponſe, ſur quoi nous pouvons compter de la part de Meſſieurs les Etats dans cette affaire.

Je ne m'étonne pas de la jalouſie ouverte que vous avez obſervé dans le Penſionnaire, ſur les bruits qui courent touchant la paix, ni de celle

que

que le Comte de Sinzendorf a montré avec moins de retenu. Mais je dois vous rendre beaucoup de grâces de la ſage & véritable réponſe qu'il vous a plu faire à l'un & à l'autre. Si nous n'avons pas ſoutenu la guerre en habiles politiques, au moins l'avons nous fait en gens d'honneur & de cœur, & ce ne ſera pas en faiſant la paix que nous perdrons cette réputation.

Monſieur Whitworth n'a pu obtenir un ſeul homme pour renforcer l'armée de Son Alteſſe Royale ; ſa commiſſion, pourtant, ſelon moi, ne peut pas être regardée comme infructueuſe*. Je vous ſupplie de croire que je ſuis rempli de reſpect et d'amitié pour vous, et que je ſerai toute ma vie, Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

A Monſieur le Prince Kurakin.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 24me Juillet, 1711.

LA lettre que vous avez écrit à Monſieur de Duc de Queenſberry étant arrivée après ſa mort ; elle m'a été remiſe. Comme les affaires du Nord vont dorénavant paſſer par mes mains, j'aurois été ravi d'avoir eu à négocier avec un auſſi habile miniſtre & un auſſi galant homme que vous l'êtes. Quoique nous ayons le malheur de vous perdre, je vous ſupplie d'être perſuadé pourtant, que vos ordres ſeront toujours bien venus auprès de moi, & que je m'employerai avec plaiſir dans toutes les occaſions qui peuvent s'offrir, pour entretenir la bonne correſpondence des deux nations & pour montrer l'eſtime que j'ai pour votre perſonne.

* And the refuſal was accordingly made uſe of againſt the Imperial court at the ſubſequent treaty of peace ; the Emperor had always declared that the troubles in Hungary prevented his completing his contingent, and when thoſe troubles ceaſed, he ſtill refuſed.

Celle-ci

Celle-ci eſt accompagnée d'une lettre de la Reine, en réponſe à celle qu'elle reçut de ſa Majeſté Czarienne. La maladie de feu Monſieur le Duc de Queenſberry, ſa mort, & quelque déſordre qui eſt inévitable dans des pareilles occaſions, ont été cauſes que vous ne l'avez reçu plutôt, ſelon la promeſſe qui vous avoit été faite.

Je ſuis, &c.

To Mr. Boyle.

SIR,

July 25th, 1711.

THE Queen is very deſirous to have ſome letters from Monſieur Pleſſen * to the Duke of Queenſberry, which relate to her private affairs in Denmark, and particularly one which came with the treaty not long ſent over. The gentlemen who ſerved in that office can give me no account of them farther than that they believe them to be among his Grace's papers.

Her Majeſty has therefore commanded me to deſire that you would take the trouble of ſearching for theſe letters, and of tranſmitting them to,

Sir, &c.

* Pleſſen had been Privy Purſe and Maſter of the Wardrobe to Prince George of Denmark.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

July the 29th, 1711.

THE Earl of Stair has given me your Grace's letter of the 26th of this month, N.S. for which I return you my moſt humble thanks. On Monday morning, before my return from Windſor, I had the honour to meet his Lordſhip, with my Lord Treaſurer and my Lord Chamberlain, at the lodgings of the latter; your Grace's preſent ſituation, and the views which you have for puſhing the war on that ſide, were opened. When we attend the Queen next, I ſuppoſe her Majeſty will come to a reſolution.

I have ſince waited on my Lord Stair in town, and have ſpoke with all the openneſs and ſincerity imaginable to him, as I make no doubt but he does me the juſtice to inform your Grace.

I am, &c.

De Monſieur le Marquis de Torcy.*

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainbleau, le 3me Août, 1711.

J'AI vu avec beaucoup de plaiſir Monſieur Prior† revenir ici après un intervalle de pluſieurs années, & j'aurois bien ſouhaité qu'il eût plus de liberté d'employer les talens qu'il a, & dont je ſuis perſuadé qu'il auroit fait un bon uſage. J'eſpère, Monſieur, que Monſieur Meſnager,

* Secretary of State to Louis XIV, and the ſon of the great Colbert.

† Prior had been many years a Commiſſioner of Trade, and was Secretary to the Embaſſy for the peace of Ryſwick, and when the Earls of Portland and Jerſey were ambaſſadors at the court of Verſailles.

qu'il

qu'il mène avec lui, ſuppléra à ce qu'il n'a pu faire ; & je vous ſupplie de croire qu'on ne peut deſirer plus véritablement que je fais, les occaſions de vous marquer que

Je ſuis, très-parfaitement, &c.

To Mr. Harriſon.

SIR,

July 27, 1711.

I AM ſorry that you have any occaſion to entertain melancholy thoughts*. My friendſhip you could have no doubt concerning, ſince I have done the little in my power † to mend your fortune, and to put you in a way of improving it.

I muſt deſire you to make my compliments to Monſieur d'Hervart, and to excuſe my not anſwering his letter by this poſt. I have been all day without eating, and am now ſo tired that he muſt forgive the omiſſion; in the mean time, it may not be amiſs to let him know that the Penſionary has expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs, as if he thought that we, through his channel, carried on a correſpondence with France.

You will enjoin Monſieur d'Hervart, not to appear to have had any ſuch advertiſement, but let him have the more care of his letters, and act accordingly. I have neither time nor ſtrength to add any more, but the aſſurances of my being, &c.

* Harriſon was diſpleaſed at Mr. Watkins being appointed Secretary to the Embaſſy, which he erroneouſly conſidered as a ſuperceſſion.

† Bolingbroke had little in his power; for Oxford engroſſed the patronage to himſelf; and the former, with ſome difficulty, procured a ſmall place in the Weſt-Indies, for Mr. Hare, his Under-ſecretary; which appointment was to be only during pleaſure.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

July 31ſt, 1711.

WHAT I have writ in my other letter will not ſuffice to expreſs that ſurpriſe, and that pleaſure which Brigadier Sutton's arrival, and the news he brought, gave me*.

The hardeſt battles you have fought, and the greateſt victories you have won, cannot afford more honourable teſtimonies of your Grace's ſuperior capacity, and of your indefatigable zeal for the public ſervice, than your late ſucceſs. For my own ſhare, I have the joy which every honeſt man muſt feel when the common enemy receives a blow; and I have the additional ſatisfaction of a faithful friend in thinking that it was your Grace who gave it.

My Lord Treaſurer tells me, that he writes to your Grace on the project propoſed by the Earl of Stair; and, therefore, I need ſay nothing to you upon that head. What thoughts the ſtrength which he is able to collect may put into the Mareſchal de Villars, or what orders he may have from his court, I cannot tell; but I hope, and I make no doubt, that your Grace will ſupport what you have ſo gloriouſly begun; and give me leave to add, that for many reaſons, your actions will have, at this point of time, a very uncommon luſtre. I moſt ardently deſire that uninterrupted proſperity may attend you, and that you may conclude this campaign to your entire ſatisfaction, in every reſpect, abroad and at home.

I am, &c.

* The getting within the formidable lines of the Mareſchal de Villars, between the Scarpe and the Canche, which was followed by the ſiege and ſurrender of Bouchain.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

Auguſt 2d, 1711.

MR. PANTON coming over to ſolicit his promotion, I took this opportunity of moving her Majeſty, that ſhe would graciouſly pleaſe to allow the three commiſſions of Brigadiers to iſſue, which were ſigned ſo long ago, for your Grace's army. I have obtained the Queen's leave to give them out, and Mr. Panton carries over the commiſſion to Mr. Preſton, and that for Mr. Napier, as well as his own. The Queen deſires your Grace will pleaſe to let ſuch officers as may think themſelves aggrieved by this promotion, know, that her ſervice ſuffering for want of theſe brigadiers in Flanders, ſhe has given them their rank, and that the pretenſions of others ſhall be conſidered whenever it may be found neceſſary to make another promotion.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

Sir,

Auguſt 3d, 1711.

I HAVE now before me your letters of the 28th and 31ſt of July, and that of the 4th of Auguſt, N.S. which I think are all at preſent that I am indebted to you for.

The proceeding of the King of Sweden is in every part unaccountable. The pretence he has ſet up to intercept the trade of Britain and Holland to Riga, and ſuch other places as during the courſe of the preſent war have been taken from him by the Muſcovite, is groundleſs

and

and intolerable. We conclude that you will not bear ſuch treatment in the Baltic; on our ſide, it is certain, the Queen will defend her ſubjects *coûte qu'il coûte*; and I have told the Swediſh miniſter ſo already, by her Majeſty's order. You will oblige me if you pleaſe to adviſe with your miniſters and merchants in this affair, and to inform me of their opinions.

I dare ſay my Lord Ambaſſador Strafford will not be ſurprized or ſhocked that Amſterdam ſhould truſt their Penſionary, or Holland any Dutchman ſooner than him, with ſecrets of the nature mentioned in yours, wherein the ſettlement of their trade and the future welfare of their republic ſo much depend. But I muſt own to you, it would be matter of very great ſatisfaction here, one way or other, to be better apprized than we are of the ſentiments of the States, both in relation to their own intereſt and to ours, as well as to the plan of a treaty which may ſubſiſt in time of peace between the two nations. Europe can ſettle on no bottom ſo ſecure and ſo ſtable, but that the maritime powers muſt remain united, or the whole muſt be in danger. This is our ſenſe in Britain, and you may aſſure the miniſters that we will not only come in readily, but even affectionately to the ſtraiteſt terms of union. There are indeed ſome few ſeeds of diſſention imprudently ſcattered, but frankneſs on each ſide, and a good diſpoſition to one another, will ſtifle them, and prevent their bearing any fruit.

The news you heard of the ſucceſs which Mr. Littleton's ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies met with, is very true *. I am heartily ſorry that a ſhip you was concerned in ſhould be taken. But in the loſs it is ſome degree of conſolation to hear that the captain and crew behaved themſelves ſo well. As to the conduct of our ſea-officers, ſure I am you ſhall never find me an advocate for them: we have been theſe many

* Littleton took a Spaniſh galleon and a ſhip of twenty-ſix guns in the Weſt-Indies.

years on the land-war ſo very intent, that the naval intereſt has been almoſt entirely diſregarded. Add to this, that our factions have influenced all rewards and puniſhments, ſo far that merit has met with little encouragement, and demerit with as little cenſure; I am hopeful that we ſhall at laſt ſee our error, and that the ſea will, for the future, have a greater ſhare of our attention applied to it.

The expedition of the Britiſh ſhips was gallantly undertaken, and has been proſperouſly finiſhed. I know nothing of this kind ſince Drake and Cavendiſh, performed by our nation.

The Eaſt-India Company, upon one frivolous pretence or other, will endeavour to moleſt the owners, but the Queen protects them, and will, I hope, in ſome very extraordinary manner immortalize the officers and the ſervice.

The Penſionary's cautions on the ſubject of Savoy are very becoming his prudence; but ſurely it is time to think ſeriouſly of that matter, and to move ſome ſecret engines, if it may be dangerous to act openly.

The blame which you lay on Prince Eugene, for marching to the Rhine, is extremely juſt; you know my opinion by my former letters, and what the Duke of Marlborough has lately done, ſets the matter in ſtill a ſtronger light.

The Prince of Savoy * juſtified his reſolution by pretending peremptory orders from Vienna, which allowed him no diſcretionary power; but I muſt obſerve to you, that when the Dutch miniſters and Mr. Whitworth preſſed to have that General ordered to continue in the Netherlands, the anſwer of the Empreſs Regent was, that no poſitive order could be ſent to him, but that he muſt be left to act according to occurrences in ſo uncertain a ſituation.

* Meaning Prince Eugene.

I ſuppoſe

I ſuppoſe you are informed of Mr. Whitforth's commiſſion to Vienna, and the ſucceſs of it. He was ſent by the Queen to that Court to repreſent once more the neceſſity of detaching from Hungary; the reaſon which Britain and Holland have to inſiſt on this effort; and in plain terms to let them know, that the Queen would look on a refuſal in this caſe as an abſolute renunciation of their intereſt in the war. The Imperial miniſters thought themſelves extremely cunning in catching hold of the difference between Mr. Whitworth and Monſieur Bruyninx*; the firſt aſking the detachment for Italy, the latter deſiring it for the Upper Rhine; but they were defeated in this expedient by our Miniſter's agreeing to have the detachment move towards Bavaria, and aſſuring them that there would be no diſpute between the Queen and the States about the application of it afterwards. Mr. Whitworth was impowered to have gone as far as 40,000l. ſterling, if leſs could not have obtained the 8000 men deſired; and if money would have procured them, he told the German miniſters that he had directions to give them very large aſſiſtances towards this work, and that he would open the particulars to them, if they would engage for the immediate march of the troops. But there was no need of his going farther, ſince they abſolutely refuſed, not on the ſcore of money only, but on account of their apprehenſions from the Muſcovites, &c. After this, my friend, what ſhall we ſay? Do we want zeal? Do the Auſtrians want to complete their full meaſure of provocation?

I look on the progreſs which the Duke of Marlborough has lately made to be really honourable to him and mortifying to the enemy.

The event cannot be aſcribed to ſuperior numbers, or to any accident. It is owing to genius and to conduct. The preſent ſituation of the army ſeems to promiſe deciſive actions. May the arms of the allies

* Envoy of the States-general to the Court of Vienna.

have

have good ſucceſs; and may we live once to behold victory followed by peace; without the latter, the former is of no great advantage.

We are deſirous to haſten the departure of the Earl of Strafford, and yet we chooſe rather to ſend him a little later, and better inſtructed, than to diſpatch him ſooner and worſe informed.

The Earl of Peterborough is ordered back to Germany, he has directions to open himſelf to the Penſionary as he paſſes through Holland, and to act in concert with the Count de Rechteren*.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Auguſt 7th, 1711.

I HAVE yours of the 7th and 12th of Auguſt, N.S. and return you my thanks for the preſent which you make me, and which I hope not to touch till I do it in your company.

The account which you have taken the trouble to ſend me of the ſenſe which the Penſionary expreſſed concerning my Lord Marlborough's declining a battle, ſhall be kept inviolably ſecret; but the fact is ſo publicly talked of, that I have made no ſcruple to ſpeak on the ſubject, even in my letter to Mr. Cadogan, and to aſk him what our ſituation was, and what the enemy's, at the time the Deputies † would have fought, and the Generals would not? My ſpirit is indeed not damped by this contretems, if ſuch it was. I only appre-

* Deputy of the province of Overyſſel to the States-General.

† The Dutch, during the whole of the war, whether from jealouſy of their allies, or diſtruſt of their generals, ſent deputies to attend the army, and aſſiſt in councils of war.

hend,

hend, that before the ſiege of Bouchain is over, we may be obliged to fight at greater diſadvantage than we might have done in the courſe of the late event *.

The Penſionary thinks it a very dangerous meaſure to give into the propoſition of a marriage between the Prince of Piedmont and the Arch-ducheſs, eldeſt daughter of Joſeph; and judges that the maritime powers lie under no neceſſity of coming to a declaration upon this head. The Penſionary's opinion is indeed of that weight here, that upon all occaſions it influences our councils, in many it guides them However, I muſt tell you, that in the preſent caſe we can hardly think him in earneſt. I will not enter into the detail of all which is to be ſaid, but will confine myſelf to this miniſter's arguments, as I find them laid down in your letter of the 12th.

It will be, he ſays, diſagreeable to the Auſtrian family, whom we ought not to diſoblige, nor give jealouſy to, eſpecially at this time, when they have underhand endeavours for themſelves with the enemy. Why will it be diſagreeable to them, when Europe does not afford their Princeſs another more ſuitable match; when, in the caſe of compatibility of the Spaniſh dominions and the empire, nothing elſe can cure the Duke of Savoy of his fears, and obviate his unanſwerable objections; and when in caſe of the incompatibility, the remote and the immediate titles to Spain will by theſe means, and can by no other be united? We look on the Houſe of Auſtria, whatever you do in Holland, as a party who ſues for a great eſtate in *formâ pauperis*; and ſince they have been at no part of the expence of the law-ſuit, it would be very impertinent if they ſhould cavil with us on the terms of

* Mareſchal Villars, after the allied army had penetrated within his lines, endeavoured to retrieve his miſtake, and advanceed his army as if he intended to attack the Duke, while, in fact, he was ſending a ſtrong force towards Cambray. The deputies at that period would have hazarded a battle, but as the ſiege of Bouchain had been previouſly voted in a council of war, the Duke reſiſted the advice of the deputies.

a compoſition,

a compoſition, or on the meaſures of carrying it on. But the Houſe of Auſtria will not make a peace with France. That is to ſay, the bed-rid man whom I carry upon my back, will trip up my heels. I own to you I cannot reply gravely to that argument. I am ſure the Penſionary would think worſe of me, than I deſire he ſhould, if I did. The ſecond objection is, that the Portugal Ambaſſador has declared his maſter will break with us, if we ſet up any pretenſion in the Savoy family to the crown of Spain *. We are not for ſetting up any new pretenſion, we are only for confirming an old one, grounded on the will of Philip the IVth †, and on the treaty made by the Emperor Leopold with the Duke of Savoy, to which Britain and Holland are guarantees ‡. Has his Majeſty of Portugal any better title to Badajos ‖, and to other places belonging to Spain, which he expects in conſideration of the great ſervice he has rendered the common cauſe, than his Royal Highneſs has to a ſecurity that no third perſon ſhall be ſuperinduced to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, after the Auſtrian family, before him? Beſides, let it be conſidered that we have never had any hold on the court of Liſbon, but by their fears, and that hold will ſubſiſt as long as Britain and Holland are maſters of the ſea, which I hope in God will be as long as the world endures.

Objection the third. The French King has propoſed to get King Auguſtus, or the Electoral Prince, declared King of the Romans, and therefore we ought to diſcourage any other pretenders to Spain or the

* Peter II, King of Portugal, was a pretender to the crown of Spain; but his miniſter who propoſed it in the Spaniſh Council, was diſgraced and expelled.

† Philip died in 1665; by his will he left his dominions to his ſon Charles II, and to his children; failing them, to the Empreſs Margaret, his youngeſt daughter, expecting the renunciation of his eldeſt daughter, the Queen of France.

‡ This relates to the ceſſion of Exilles and other places adjacent to the dominions of the Duke of Savoy in Italy.

‖ To induce Peter II, King of Portugal to renounce his alliance with France, and to acknowledge Charles, the Archduke, as King of Spain, the Imperial Council agreed to give Badajos and part of Eſtramadura to Peter. This treaty was agreed to in 1703, but never executed.

Empire, beſides King Charles. In the firſt place, the overture of the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont, has no tendency to the ſucceſſion of the Empire; and, therefore, thus far the reaſon given does only ſerve to refute what was never advanced; and in the next place, the not ſecuring Savoy's title to Spain might be a reaſonable objection at Turin; but the ſecuring it can be no objection at Dreſden. But it is further urged, that the renunciation of any title to the Hereditary countries in Germany, proffered by his Royal Highneſs, in caſe the marriage takes effect, ought not to be regarded; and the example of France is produced, who, by breach of faith, in the like inſtance, gave ground to the preſent war.

I will not go back to what paſſed between that great man Jean de Wit, and Monſieur d'Eſtrades*; I will not go about to ſhow how the Partition-treaty begot the will of Charles IId†; and how that will made the treachery of France ſignificant ‡. I will content myſelf to ſay, that no man ought to reaſon from what an independent and ſuperior power, like that of France has done, to what a dependant and precarious power like that of Savoy may do.

It is with great pleaſure we find that the jealouſy in Holland decreaſes concerning our views in trade. Aſſure the Penſionary, and whom elſe you think fit, that we are determined to ſtand and fall by

* De Wit was Penſionary of Amſterdam, d'Eſtrades Ambaſſador from France at the Hague. The latter entered into a negociation with the Dutch miniſters to guarantee Louis XIV, his ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain; but De Wit rejected the propoſal.

† Charles II, King of Spain, was in a declining ſtate of health, and the right of ſucceſſion to his crown was equal in the perſons of the King of France, and of the Emperor of Germany: to prevent a war, which would inevitably enſue if that crown were conteſted, England, France, and the States-general entered into a treaty in 1700, by which theſe powers parcelled out the dominions of Spain. France was to have Naples, Sicily, and other dependencies on the coaſt of Tuſcany, the duchies of Lorrain and Bar, in exchange for that of Milan, which was to be given to the Duke of Lorrain. Spain and the Indies were to go to the Archduke Charles. This treaty was to be ſecret, but was ſoon known at Madrid, where in the council of ſtate the treaty was rejected; and Charles's right to diſpoſe of his dominions was acknowledged. Accordingly, by will, he gave his dominions entire to the Duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the Dauphin of France.

‡ France, in this conjuncture, played a deep game, and was the ſecret director of the councils of Madrid.

them; that we look on the indiſſoluble union of the two nations as the real ſecurity of both, and of all Europe. But, in plain terms, they muſt leave the proſecution of the intereſt of Britain to the Queen.

They expect in Holland, that the miniſters of Britain ſhould ſpeak plainly to them, and that her Majeſty ſhould propoſe! Whatever occurs to us, concerning the common intereſt, will always be nakedly offered to the conſideration of the States; their opinion taken therein, and the meaſures concerted with their miniſters. Whatever relates to the private intereſt of Britain, as far as the concurrence of the Dutch is neceſſary or reaſonable, will alſo, without any reſerve, be communicated; and whenever Holland has any national advantage to purſue, which this iſland may one way or other be intereſted in, we hope they will with the ſame freedom communicate with us, and give us the opportunity of ſhowing, how much more prevalent, the preſervation of the union and affection of the two nations is, in our minds than any other conſideration.

I think the anſwer which you received about joining the Queen's ſhips and thoſe of the States in the Baltic very cold. Pray take an opportunity of enquiring whether, if the French have taken poſſeſſion of Brazil, they would concert meaſures with the Queen for driving them out again.

You may take my word, when I aſſure you, that Monſieur d'Hervart has no credential from us, nor any authority to ſpeak or act either with Holland, France, or any other nation. He is indeed very well known and eſteemed here, and I have lived and talked familiarly with him, but that is all.

I paſs over the affairs of the north. We ſubmit in the management of them, entirely to the diſcretion of Holland; and the Queen will readily concur in ſuch expedients as ſhall be reſolved upon by the

States; ſo that when you know their mind, you may be certain as to ours.

Forgive the length and freedom of this letter, I write in a heat to you, and have none of thoſe checks about me, which render a man uſually ſhort, cautious, and correct.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

Auguſt 7th, 1711.

I HAVE before me your Grace's private letters of the 10th and 14th of this month, N.S. The latter came this morning to my hands; and, my Lord Dartmouth attending this week at Windſor, I cannot lay it before her Majeſty till Sunday; but, in the letter which I am to have the honour to write to the Queen this afternoon, I will not fail to execute your Grace's commands.

My Lord Stair intends to return in a few days. Mr. Sutton will be, I hope, diſpatched about the ſame time; and by one or both of them, your Grace may, I believe, expect the Queen's reſolutions concerning the project for the winter-quarters, which the preſent operations of your Grace's army do certainly render ſtill more deſirable.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Cadogan.

SIR,

August 7th, 1711.

I CANNOT omit to congratulate with you on the late ſucceſs, wherein I am very ſenſible how great a ſhare you muſt have had, under the direction of the Duke of Marlborough. No enterpriſe could be more finely concerted, nor more vigorouſly executed; and at the ſame time none could be more advantageous to the common cauſe, or more honourable to the arms of the Queen and her allies. Your preſent ſituation ſeems indeed to be very *alérte*, and I believe my friend, Mr. Cardonnel, is not the only perſon among you who is under ſome uneaſineſs.

For my own part, I depend on the ſame conduct to finiſh, which has ſo happily begun the operations of the year; and as you have outwitted the enemy, I hope you will outfight them too.

Since the oppoſition of the French, ſince our misfortunes in Spain, ſince the want of ſtrength or good-will in ſome, and a wrong application of force in others, cannot hinder us from penetrating through the firmeſt barrier by which France, or perhaps any nation was ever covered, it is to be hoped that peace will at laſt enſue, which is the laſt colouring by which victories receive their full perfection of beauty and of value.

Let me deſire you, with the freedom of an old acquaintance, to ſend me an account of the ſituation of the enemy, at the time when the Deputies and ſome of the generals were for attacking, and my Lord Duke was againſt it. Our letters from Holland are full of reaſonings on this ſubject. I ſhould be glad to be rightly informed, and I will

will make a right uſe of my information. I am, Sir, what I always profeſſed myſelf, with much eſteem and truth,

Your's, &c.

A Monſieur d'Hervart.*

MONSIEUR,

Ce 8me Août, 1711.

VOUS ſavez aſſez bien les affaires que j'ai ſur les bras, pour m'excuſer ſi je ne réponds pas à vos lettres avec l'exactitude qu'elles méritent.

Je prends tant de part en tout ce qui vous regarde, que la mort de Monſieur votre fils m'a fort ſenſiblement touchée. Je ne veux pas vous ennuyer avec mes conſolations. Vous êtes trop bon Chrétien, & trop philoſophe, pour en avoir beſoin.

Les réflexions que vous faites ſur les ſoupçons qui ſont entrés dans l'eſprit de Monſieur le Penſionnaire me paroiſſent fort juſtes. On a tâché de ſémer des jalouſies, & ici & en Hollande. Il eſt certain qu'elles ne font pas grande impreſſion chez nous; & j'eſpère que les miniſtres de l'état ne feront pas plus ombrageux que nous le ſommes.

La déſunion des puiſſances maritimes ne peut être que funeſte à l'une & à l'autre, c'eſt une vérité inconteſtable; de notre côté rien ne manquera pour cultiver cette harmonie entre les deux nations.

L'offre que M. de Torcy a fait de ſon chef de donner Dunquerque, non-démolie à nous autres, eſt fort extraordinaire. On doit l'enviſager comme un tour de miniſtre, qui avoit envie de donner l'alarme aux Hollandois.

J'ai parlé pluſieurs fois ſur votre ſujet au Comte de Strafford, de

* Philibert d'Hervart had been employed by King William as Envoy in Switzerland.

ſorte qu'il n'auroit aucun inconvénient s'il venoit à ſavoir que vous receviez de mes lettres par le canal de ſon Secrétaire.

Je ſuis, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Auguſt 8th, 1711.

I HAVE, according to your Majeſty's commands, prepared, in the beſt manner I was able, a draught of a letter to the Electoreſs Dowager of Saxony*. I preſume, likewiſe, to ſend an anſwer to the letter

* " *A l'Electrice Douairiaire de Saxe.*

" MADAME MA SŒUR,

" A Windſor, ce d'Août, 1710-11.

" Quand j'ai pris la réſolution d'envoyer le Comte de Peterſborough (1) en Allemagne, une des premières commiſſions dont j'ai voulu le charger a été celle de vous voir, de vous ſaluer de ma part, & de vous renouveller mes aſſurances d'une eſtime la plus parfaite, & d'une amitié la plus tendre. Je me ſers de cette occaſion, pour exprimer les vives douleurs que j'ai ſenti, quand le bruit s'eſt répandu que le Prince Electoral, mon couſin, alloit changer de religion. A Dieu ne plaiſe que nous ayons la mortification de voir arriver un auſſi grand malheur, que ſeroit l'établiſſement du Papiſme dans la Maiſon de Saxe, qui a eu la gloire d'avoir été de tout tems le plus ferme appui des réformés. J'eſpère que vous prendrez en bonne part cette franchiſe avec laquelle je vous expoſe les ſentimens de mon cœur les plus intimes, & que vous me croirez, Madame ma ſœur,

" Votre très affectionée ſœur,

" ANNE, R."

(1) In expectation of marrying an Archduchess who was a Roman Catholic, the Electoral Prince of Saxony was about to set off for Rome, to abjure the Protestant religion. Lord Peterborough's instructions were as follow:

" ANNE, R. " Inſtructions to our right truſty and right well-beloved couſin and counſellor, Charles, Earl of Peterborow and Monmouth: Given at our Court at St. James's, 22d of February, 1711-12.

" The taking into our ſerious conſideration the great endeavours that are uſed to pervert our good couſin, the Electoral Prince of Saxony, to the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the church of Rome, and the infinite prejudice and diſhonour the Proteſtant intereſt would ſuffer, if ſo conſiderable a Prince, in whoſe country the reformation firſt began, ſhould abandon the principles of our moſt holy religion, think it a duty incumbent on us to prevent, as far as in us lies, ſo fatal a blow. For that end, we have taken the reſolution of ſending you to the ſaid Prince, whom you are to join, if poſſible, before his arrival at Rome, yet in ſuch a manner that your falling-in with him may appear merely accidental: but whether you meet him on the road, or find him at Rome, you ſhall take a proper opportunity to deliver our letter to him, accompanying it with expreſſions of our friendſhip, and real concern for his proſperity. You ſhall endeavour to inſinuate yourſelf into his good opinion, and, as occaſion offers, urge the ſtrongeſt arguments you can for keeping him ſteady to the Proteſtant religion. If you find your repreſentations make any impreſſion upon his mind, you ſhall then open to him the ſubject of your commiſſion, and declare, that we have diſpatched you to him on purpoſe to let him know, that we have ſtill the ſame earneſt deſire of ſeeing him which we have ſo often expreſſed; and

letter which your Majeſty received from the Empreſs Dowager Amelia on the late Emperor's death. Mr. Whitworth was directed ſome time ago to make an excuſe for your Majeſty's delay in writing.

My Lord Treaſurer, going laſt night to Windſor, undertook to acquaint your Majeſty with the contents of the laſt letters from abroad.

I am, with the deepeſt reſpect, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful ſubject, and moſt devoted, faithful ſervant.

A Monſieur le Marquis de Tallard.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 9me d'Août, 1711.

J'AI reçu votre lettre du 14me de ce mois, N.S. avec le duplicate de celle que vous me fîtes l'honneur de m'écrire, il y a trois ſemaines.

La première m'avoit été rendue à tems, mais je vous avoue ingénuement, que je n'ai pu prendre la réſolution d'y répondre, juſqu'à ce que je pourrois vous promettre avec certitude d'expédier la permiſſion que vous demandez de la Reine d'aller en France.

Pardonnez à cette délicateſſe ſi vous la trouvez mal fondée, & faites-

and that if he perſiſts in thoſe good reſolutions he formerly had, to adhere firmly to the religion in which he was educated, he may depend upon a friendly and honourable reception in our Court, in caſe his inclination or the ſituation of his affairs bring him this way. If, upon diſcourſe with him, you ſhall diſcover that he apprehends himſelf under a neceſſity of abjuring his religion, to avoid the dangers and difficulties he will otherwiſe be expoſed to, and that he has an inclination to make his eſcape, you may concert with him the proper meaſures for reſcuing him out of the hands he is in, and bringing him ſafe to our dominions, or thoſe of any other Proteſtant Prince or State.

" If you ſhould happen to be arrived at Turin when theſe our inſtructions are delivered to you, you ſhall acquaint the Duke of Savoy, that, in compliance with your requeſt, we have given you leave to ſee the city of Rome; for you are by all means to prevent any ſuſpicion of the true intent of your going thither. ----The nature of this ſervice in which we now employ you is ſuch, that we can neither enjoin you to correſpond with either of our Secretaries of State, nor limit the time of your return; we therefore leave entirely to your diſcretion and prudence to come back to Turin when you ſhall judge your attendance on the Prince of no further uſe.

" A. R."

moi

moi la juſtice d'être perſuadé que je ſuis incapable d'avoir négligé à vous écrire par aucune autre raiſon. Fiez-vous, pour ce coup, à un homme, qui n'a pas le bonheur d'être fort connu de vous, mais qui ne trompera perſonne.

Je me fait fort d'obtenir dans peu votre liberté ſur votre parole, & je vous aſſure que les difficultés qui ont été oppoſées à une demande auſſi juſte & équitable ne naiſſent pas ici *.

Je ſuis, Monſieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

Que la dernière partie de cette lettre ſoit, s'il vous plaît, pour vous ſeulement.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Aug. 14th, 1711.

I HAVE both your letters of the 21ſt, N.S. to acknowledge, which came together to my hands.

Our conduct is, it ſeems, very ſuſpicious to ſome on your ſide the water; and the delay in ſending over my Lord Strafford affords matter of ſpeculation: this Lord will, I hope, return a little better inſtructed to you, than he came from you. We hope, upon all occaſions, to give Holland reaſon to be ſatisfied with our behaviour; at leaſt, it ſhall be frank and clear. Allow me to obſerve, that, in this inſtance, your miniſters expect a little more than they pay; and while they reflect that the Queen's miniſters continue too long abſent from them, they ſhould remember, that for a conſiderable time they have had

* The allies, particularly the States-General, objected to his enlargement.—On the 4th October he was ſuffered to go to France for four months, on his parole.

none with her. Surely Penſionary Buys does not complain upon this head without grounds; for my own part *il faut franchir le mot.*

I cannot look upon Penſionary Heinſius to be for any peace, unleſs it be ſuch a one as he has the ſole direction of, which will not be the caſe, whenever we are happy enough to treat.

You are extremely kind in letting me know the terms which the well-inclined in Holland believe to be tolerable. Our ſentiments are not different from theirs; but ſurely whatever event any negociation of this nature has, ſome previous care ſhould be taken of the confederacy, leaſt this diſſolve when the war concludes. We hope this point is not neglected in Holland. We are earneſtly deſirous of it.

I find by the Duke of Marlborough's letters to me, that he is a great deal concerned at the report which has been ſpread, concerning the opportunity of fighting which was miſſed. For my own part, I am no very good judge in military affairs, but I endeavour to be impartial; and in that character muſt think that the objections to his Grace's conduct on this occaſion are not of great weight.

I muſt ſay that I ſhould be ſorry, if the Briſtol privateers were obliged to ſell their prize in Holland, and could not end their glorious voyage in Britain, as they ſet out from thence; beſides which conſideration, that of keeping you longer from us, is an additional mortification to one who longs to embrace you, and who is without reſerve.

Your faithful friend,

H. St. J.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Auguſt 17, 1711.

HAVING a matter of very great conſequence to communicate to the Penſionary, you will not wonder if I take the freedom to charge you with it, as a perſon acceptable to him, and on whom we entirely rely. Be pleaſed, therefore, to take the firſt opportunity of waiting on this miniſter, and of informing him that the Queen did, according to the deſire ſignified by him to my Lord Strafford, on the firſt overtures made ſome time ago by the enemy, preſs France to make a more particular propoſal, and to offer ſuch a project as might induce the States to enter into a general treaty, to be carried on ſome where on the other ſide of the water. That inſtead of an anſwer in writing, which the Queen expected, a gentleman has been ſent hither, with whom the Secretaries have, by her Majeſty's command, conferred, and in her name, declared, by way of preliminary, to him, that ſhe will upon no conſideration whatſoever enter into a ſeparate treaty: that it is therefore recommended to this perſon to prepare the propoſition, and that as ſoon as we receive it, my Lord Strafford ſhall be diſpatched to Holland. Be ſo good as to let me hear that you have given part of this to the Penſionary, and to believe me,

Your's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.*

SIR,

THE ſubject of the other letter you may, I ſuppoſe, have heard of from my Lord Treaſurer; what plan France will offer is hard to ſay; but this I believe is certain, that they will not, at firſt, propoſe ſo much as they will afterwards grant; ſo that provided the firſt paper give, in general terms, a tolerable foundation for treating, it will not be very adviſeable, we imagine, to decline a negociation.

If the Penſionary aſks to read my other paper, you may allow him to do ſo, but it is intended for you to keep.

Adieu, I am, &c.

To the Earl of Peterborough†.

MY LORD,

THE letter, which you receive from me this poſt, is the effect of a clamour which lay huſhed till your Lordſhip was gone, at leaſt which I never heard of till then; and this occaſions ſome ſpeculations to run through my mind. I ſuppoſe we ſhall hear no more of it, perhaps it may not be the worſe that you avoid going to King Auguſtus, till we ſee a little more of the deſigns he is driving on, which otherwiſe your commiſſion would have led you to do.

Nothing can be ſo ſcandalous as the proceeding of ſome people on the

* Incloſed in the foregoing. BOLINGBROKE.
† Incloſed in his public letter of Auguſt 17th, 1711. BOLINGBROKE.

ſide of Italy *, and what a condition are we in, who muſt be making new ſyſtems of war at this time of day!

To the Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

Whitehall, Auguſt 17, 1711.

I ACKNOWLEDGE, with abundance of thanks, the favour of your Grace's private letters; and I hear with great pleaſure how ſucceſsfully you proceed in the difficult taſk which you have undertaken.

Several letters, beſides thoſe from France, ſpoke of your Grace's declining to come to an action with the enemy; and it was matter of ſome ſurprize to find the deputies on a ſudden ſo warm for hazarding a battle. I dare, however, venture to aſſure you, that no impreſſion was received here like what your Grace ſeems to apprehend. I writ to Mr. Cadogan upon that occaſion, and deſired him to ſend me an account of that affair.

As to the project, I underſtand it to be agreed to according to what your Grace, in your anſwer to the queries of the States, has laid down; and my Lord Treaſurer tells me that he has acquainted your Grace that he will prepare for the payments.

I am truly concerned for your Grace's health, which I heartily wiſh may be reſtored, and that you may long live to enjoy the bleſſings of an honourable peace, which will, whenever it is made, be due to the fatigues and dangers of the war which you have ſuſtained.

I deſire your Grace to be perſuaded of this truth, and to believe that it comes from the heart of, my Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

* Probably the Imperialiſts.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Auguſt 21, 1711.

I HAVE your two letters of the 25th and 28th, N.S. to acknowledge, and a great deal to ſay to you; but the little time which this night is maſter of, will oblige me to be ſhort, much againſt my will.

In the firſt place, I muſt, with the utmoſt gratitude, return you my thanks, and thoſe of my family, for the generous friendſhip which you have been pleaſed to ſhow us on the occaſion of my brother's illneſs, who will, I hope, recover and preſerve an eternal remembrance of the debt which he owēs you. For my part, I am eaſy, he will have as much care taken of him in your houſe, as he could have in his father's; and the event muſt be ſubmitted to that Providence which diſpoſes of all things.

The next point I have to take notice of is the account you give my Lord Treaſurer of the letter from Deal *; I beg you to let me know who the perſon that wrote it is; I give you my honour to keep your ſecret, but the information will be of great uſe in our future proceedings. What the event of this negociation may be, I cannot venture to aſſure you; but we will neither fall into the ſnare of detaching ourſelves from our allies, let the temptations be never ſo fair, nor do any thing, which may in the leaſt depart from the character of friendſhip and intimacy, which the Queen profeſſes for the States.

I am in great haſte, and with the moſt hearty affection, &c.

H. St. J.

* This relates to the ſecret treaty for a peace between the Britiſh and French miniſters. Prior arrived at Paris the middle of July, and returned with Meſnager the beginning of Auguſt, as appears by a private letter from Torcy to Bolingbroke. At Deal, Prior being without a paſs, was diſcovered. Gaultier was ſent again to Paris about this time; and to prevent detection, he was provided with a paſs for himſelf and the packet-boat, and Thornborough, the meſſenger, was ordered to attend him.

To

To the Duke of Argyle.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, Sept. 20, 1711.

I HAVE from day to day deferred writing to your Grace by the poſt, that I might do myſelf that honour by Colonel Killegrew, which I judged would be a quicker as well as a ſafer conveyance.

Your Grace may very well think, that the melancholy account, which you are pleaſed to ſend of the ſtate of every article of the war in Spain, gives no ſmall uneaſineſs to her Majeſty, and to all thoſe who have the honour to ſit in her councils. I muſt add, that this uneaſineſs is the greater, becauſe we find very plainly, and the world will find the ſame, whenever this matter is examined into, that your diſtreſs in Catalonia does not proceed from want of care or good-will in this adminiſtration to ſupport you better, but purely from the weight of the war, which we have by degrees extended very far, and which we have taken entirely upon ourſelves, whilſt other people have not put a little finger to the burden.

Was the defect here, it would ſoon be corrected; and I make no doubt but your Grace's repreſentations would awaken any indolence that might ſuffer ſo neceſſary a part of the ſervice to languiſh. But, my Lord, our misfortune is, that though we do all that lies in our power, yet we cannot do enough, whilſt others who might, and who ought to ſupply that deficiency, refuſe to do any thing.

The parliament gave a certain ſum for † the expence of the current year in Spain and in Portugal, but would not enter into any examination of the debts accrued in former years, or into any meaſures of providing for them. Beſides this, the difference between the ſeveral heads

* Commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in Spain.
† 1,500,000 l.

of

of expence voted in the Committee of Supply, and the ſums granted in the Committee of Ways and Means, amounts to more than a million, according to the beſt of my remembrance; by which there ariſes a general deficiency, which muſt fall on every part of the ſervice in its proportion.

I mention theſe particulars to your Grace, in order to ſhow you how impoſſible it is, with a ſum ſhort of the eſtabliſhed expence, to provide for that, for the extraordinaries of the war, and for the debt of precedent years. However, I find, by the abſtract given in from the paymaſter's office, that there has been remitted, or otherwiſe anſwered, on account of this year's ſervice in Spain, already very near 500,000l.

The Queen, my Lord, foreſaw, in January laſt, how impoſſible it would be to eaſe the war in the country where you command, and to gain time for reſtoring the ſhattered condition of our affairs, and for putting that ſervice on a more regular and certain foot, unleſs a conſiderable impreſſion was made by the Duke of Savoy upon France, and ſuch a diverſion created, as might draw the enemy's whole attention that way. For this reaſon her Majeſty ſent the Earl of Peterborough firſt, and Mr. Whitworth ſince, to Vienna; for this reaſon ſhe ſtruggled through all the difficulties that retarded the march of the Pruſſian recruits, and advanced to his Royal Highneſs not only the ordinary ſubſidies due by our treaty with him, but alſo a very large extraordinary ſubſidy of her own free gift.

The diſputes between the courts of Vienna and Turin were in part accommodated, and the death of the Emperor made it reaſonable to wave the remainder; the war of Hungary was ended, and the Duke of Savoy took the field, nothing was wanting to complete this project, but an aſſurance of 8000 men before the end of the campaign; theſe Mr. Whitworth was employed to demand; and he had power to have

offered

offered the Auſtrian miniſters a conſiderable ſum for the march of them; as he would moſt certainly have done, if he had not found want of good will a greater obſtacle than want of power; and if the anſwer to all our inſtances for this campaign had not conſiſted in promiſes for the next.

Having ſaid thus much as to the ſtate of the war in general, give me leave to take notice of two or three particular complaints mentioned in your Grace's letters. The ruinous condition of the fortifications of the towns, the want of arms and ordnance-ſtores, and the want of magazines; I confeſs theſe are articles of ſuch importance, that the war cannot be, in any tolerable manner, proſecuted whilſt they remain unſupplied; but I believe your Grace will agree with me, that as to the firſt of them, it can never be thought reaſonable the Queen ſhould enter into any conſideration of it; King Charles cannot do leſs than to mend the walls which we conquer for him, and we know, by fatal experience, what a gulph to our treaſure this has been, when we have undertaken to provide for it. As to the ſpare arms, the ſeveral regiments have funds to buy their own, and neither the Britiſh troops nor the foreigners in the Queen's pay can claim to have them furniſhed. As to the magazines of ſtores and of proviſions, I believe, there never was any eſtimate calculated of them; ſo that if the money was ready for this ſervice, the direction of it here would be found impracticable. Your Grace came too late into Spain to have them provided for this ſummer, on any ſcheme which you could form; and I will be bold to ſay that if the management hereof was to have gone on upon the old foot, if the King's miniſters, and the Queen's commiſſaries were to contract as they thought fit, and the treaſury to pay as it uſed to do, blindly, on account, the mines of Mexico and Peru would not ſuffice to defray the expence.

After this tedious ſcrawl, your Grace will be apt to aſk what I

mean, and what is then to be done? My opinion I will freely deliver; and I believe, in ſo doing, I ſhall ſpeak the ſenſe of the Queen and of her miniſters. Since it is apparent that we are at this time of day unable to ſupply the Spaniſh war as it has been carried on, a new regulation ought to be made for that ſervice, and inſtead of undertaking more than we can perform, an expence, within our power to bear, ſhould be aſcertained. Something of this kind is ſuggeſted, in an anſwer given by her Majeſty to a memorial lately preſented by the Count de Gallas. Give me leave, on this occaſion, to ſay, that to contribute to ſuch a plan for the war in Spain, and in the mean time to maintain the footing we have, is perhaps as great a ſervice as can be rendered to her Majeſty, and to the common cauſe.

It is indeed no agreeable ſituation to ſtruggle with ſuch difficulties as your Grace, I am very ſenſible, labours under; but the glory of bearing up againſt them, and of ſubduing them by perſeverance, is perhaps greater than any which reſults from actions of greater *éclat*; I believe the Mareſchal of Schomberg valued himſelf on the campaign of Dundalk at leaſt as much as on any which he ever made*.

My letter is already ſwelled to an intolerable ſize; but as I write to one for whom I have the trueſt eſteem and warmeſt affection, and as the ſubject is of great importance both to the public and to your Grace, I hope to be pardoned for that which upon any leſs occaſion would be inexcuſable.

Your Grace may be aſſured that I was not wanting to ſolicit the leave which you aſk to come home in the winter, ſince you deſire it ſo earneſtly, and lay ſo much ſtreſs upon it. The Queen was at firſt pleaſed to ſay that ſhe would write herſelf to your Grace, ſince that I find her Majeſty diſpoſed to allow you the liberty you deſire, as I take

* In 1689, King William diſpatched Schomberg to the army in Ireland, where James was in great force, and the utmoſt that could be done by the Mareſchal was to maintain his ground.

it for granted my Lord Dartmouth acquaints you, unleſs the departure of the King from Catalonia, or ſome other accident which may, in the preſent diſtracted condition of Europe, fall out, ſhould make it of abſolute neceſſity for you to continue; in which caſe I will be anſwerable, for your Grace would not think of removing, was the licence in your pocket.

Your Grace's penſion ran the common fate of thoſe charged on the poſt-office, when the ingraftment upon that duty was made in the laſt ſeſſion; but there can be no doubt concerning the renewal of it, and I hope your Grace does not imagine that you want a friend on this ſcore.

Mr. Killegrew is an old acquaintance of mine; but if he was otherwiſe, your recommendation, my Lord, would determine me to do him all the ſervice in my power; and there would be no need of the Marſhal's character of him. Mentioning the Marſhal, puts me in mind to ſay, that I fear your Grace made a wrong judgment of what was wrote to you on his ſubject; ſince I can be very poſitive that nothing was intended like the turn which you ſeem to give to that order. But my Lord Dartmouth tells me that he explains this matter in his letter to your Grace.

Once more, my Lord, excuſe the length and the freedom of this letter. If you find any matter in it contrary to your ſenſe and apprehenſion of things, believe that I may err in my judgment, but that I can never fail on the ſide of inclination and friendſhip towards your Grace, to whom I always have been, am, and will ever be a devoted ſervant.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur le Baron de Seckingen.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 22me, d'Août, 1711.

C'EST une grande juſtice que le Baron de Forſtner * m'a rendu, quand il vous a aſſuré, que je ne diſcontinuois pas à avoir pour vous ces ſentimens d'amitié, dont j'ai toujours fait profeſſion, depuis la connoiſſance que nous fîmes à Milan.

Il eſt vrai que je me ſuis retiré il y a trois ans à la campagne *, & il eſt auſſi vrai que j'y ai paſſé mon tems dans la lecture & dans les plaiſirs champêtres, ſans avoir jamais regretté ou la Cour, ou cette fortune riante donte mon ambition étoit flattée. Mais quand il a plu à la Reine de me rappeler à ſon ſervice, je me ſuis rentré dans les affaires avec un plaiſir égal à celui que j'ai ſenti dans ma rétraite. Voilà, Monſieur, comme je ſuis fait, & j'ai cru qu'il convenoit à notre ancienne amitié que je vous rendiſſe ce compte.

Aimez-moi, s'il vous plaît, toujours; & ſoyez aſſuré, que de mon côté, je conſerverai toute ma vie le ſouvenir précieux de ces beaux jours que nous avons paſſés enſemble, & que je ſerai du fond de mon ame, mon cher Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

A ſon Alteſſe Royale le Duc de Lorraine‡.

MONSEIGNEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 22me Août, 1711.

LES témoignages que j'ai tâché de donner du zèle que j'ai pour le ſervice de votre Alteſſe, ne méritent pas l'honneur qu'elle vient de me faire, par ſa lettre du 4me du mois paſſé.

* Envoy of the Duke of Lorraine.

† Bolingbroke was not returned member in the parliament preceding the change of adminiſtration.

‡ The Duke of Lorrain's territories had been ſeized by the French, though his neutrality had been accepted by Louis XIV; and at this time the Duke was in retirement at Luneville, retaining only the outward ſemblance of his former dignity.

La Reine a tant d'eſtime & tant d'amitié pour la perſonne de votre Alteſſe, & ſe trouve tellement perſuadée de la juſtice de ſes prétenſions, qu'il ne faut pas que je m'attribue un faux mérite, mes offices à cette égard ne peuvent être que très inutiles auprès de ſa Majeſté.

Monſieur de Steignhens * eſt un miniſtre que j'ai connu depuis long tems, & pour lequel j'ai toute la conſidération poſſible. Il ſera toujours le bien venu auprès de moi, mais il ne pourra l'être jamais tant que quand il me fournira les occaſions de montrer avec combien de reſpect & d'attachement je ſuis,

Monſeigneur,

De votre Alteſſe, &c.

A Monſieur le Baron de Forſtner.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 22me d'Août, 1711.

VOUS êtes trop obligeant, & vous me faites des complimens qui ne ſont pas proportionnés aux petites honnêtetés que j'ai tâché de vous faire pendant votre ſéjour à Londres. Je me rends juſtice, & j'aurois honte de n'avoir pas plus fait pour marquer le reſpect que j'ai pour votre perſonne, & pour le caractère dont vous étiez revêtu, ſi je ne ſavois que les occupations continuelles que j'ai ſur le bras, me ſerviroient d'excuſe envers un homme auſſi raiſonnable que vous l'êtes. Monſieur de Steignhens † n'aura qu'à me fournir les moyens d'être utile à Monſeigneur le Duc de Lorraine, du côté du zèle & de la bonne volonté je ne pécherai pas.

Le Comte de Peterborough, qui va veiller aux intérêts de ſa Majeſté & de la cauſe commune dans l'empire, a dans ſes inſtructions une

* Had been Reſident of the Elector Palatine.
† Steinghens was now probably Reſident of the Duke of Lorrain.

entr'autres qui regarde ce point. Il ne manquera pas d'appuyer ladeſſus, & j'eſpère que vous ſerez content de ſa conduite.

Permettez-moi de vous renouveller les aſſurances d'un ſouvenir éternel, & de l'eſtime parfaite que conſervera pour vous, Monſieur,

Le plus humble, &c.

From the Duke of Shrewſbury.

SIR,

Heathrop, 25th Auguſt, 1611, at night.

IF the gentleman* you have to deal with comes with ſincere intentions to agree, what is aſked from hence will appear ſo reaſonable, that I hope the bargain will ſoon be concluded. Since it has been reſolved to let him ſend at all, nobody was ſo proper for that office as Gau—†. I wiſh it could have been determined with leſs loſs of time, for I apprehend our friends beyond ſea will be impatiently jealous of theſe delays, and apt to make too much clamour, unleſs means have been uſed to give them ſome ſatisfaction.

I ſuppoſe you ſpent the firſt part of this week in informing yourſelves, and coming to an agreement together, what you ſhould demand, and for that reaſon could not ſee him ſooner than Thurſday night; but, however, ſince that has been deferred ſo long, I may be ſure that being at Windſor next Friday, as I will not fail to be, that will be many days before you can expect a return from your meſſenger, and as ſoon as you can have any ſervice to command, Sir,

Your moſt obedient, and faithful

Humble ſervant,

SHREWSBURY.

Though

* Meſnager. † L'Abbé Gaultier.

Though I give this letter to the meſſenger to-night before I go to bed, I told him there was no haſte in his return, and he might ſtay till the morning.

From the Duke of Shrewſbury.

Auguſt 27, 1711.

I HAVE received the favour of your letter of the 26th, with the two papers. As to what we demanded for ourſelves, I hope it has been well conſidered, and is ſo beneficial to the nation, that it will warrant the conceſſions we are obliged to make; but I am ſo ignorant in thoſe affairs, that I ſhall trouble you with nothing upon them. But as I continue ſtill to miſtruſt the ſincerity of the French, and that theſe are nothing but arts to ſow diviſion among us, ſo one time or other, I conclude, theſe papers will be made public; in which caſe, though we know her Majeſty has a fair and juſt intention, with relation to the allies, yet in theſe papers little notice having been taken of their intereſts, neither in general words nor in particular, it may look ſuſpiciouſly, as if her party had had no conſideration but of what concerns Britain; and, having ſettled that with France, would leave her friends to ſhift for themſelves at a general treaty, in which her partiality might be liable to ſuſpicion, ſince ſhe had beforehand ſtipulated for herſelf: this, as it is far from her deſign, ſo in all the papers that paſs, a more than ordinary care ſhould be taken to explain that to the world. I remember to have ſeen, in a paper delivered in by Monſieur Me—*, ſome propoſitions ſo diſadvantageous to the allies, that I queſtion whether notice ſhould not be taken of them—as the articles about the empire, that of the Elector of Bavaria's having Flanders, and I think ſome others; for if ever all theſe papers ſhould be

* Meſnager.

be made public, ſilence, on ſuch a ſubject, might fall within the ſuſpicion of conſent; and if Me— had been deſired to form a project to ſend to Holland, theſe matters would have fallen in naturally. I think we ought to be more particular as to the demoliſhing Dunkirk; the referring the conſideration of an equivalent to a general treaty, looks too like yielding a point, it is my opinion, we muſt inſiſt on.

I do not comprehend why one paper is given to Me— and another to Gau—*, for there can be no doubt but what you give to the laſt he will communicate to the firſt.

Looking over the papers again, I am more of opinon there is ſomething in them looks ſo like bargaining for yourſelves apart, and leaving your friends to ſhift at a general treaty, that I am confirmed the expoſing ſuch a paper (as it will be in the power of France to do) may create great jealouſy and complaint from the allies.

I will not fail to be at Windſor on Friday; and am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

SHREWSBURY.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Auguſt 24, 1711.

I AM ſorry that the affair of the 1800l. which lies in a little compaſs, and the Queen's orders upon which were ſo very clear and explicit, is not yet concluded: I can only repeat, that, upon my word, it is no fault of mine.

We hope that the ſiege of Bouchain, difficult as it is, will now ſucceed. I hardly think two armies in the world were ever in ſuch a ſituation, as that of ours and that of the French are at this time.

Mr.

* Gaultier.

Mr. Lambard was with me about Mr. Fenton; I told him, that the alterations in the ſeveral commiſſions not going ſo faſt as was expected, the proviſions for many people were delayed, and for Mr. Fenton among the reſt; but that I durſt venture to take it upon myſelf to anſwer, that the gentleman's merit would not go unrewarded, nor his genius want encouragement, and that I would make his intereſt my care.

The man at Paris ſhall have his bills punctually anſwered by Meſſrs. Drummond and Vander Heider, at Amſterdam.

We have this day received news that the account was come to St. John's, in Newfoundland, of the fleet under Admiral Walker, and the forces under Mr. Hill, having ſailed up the river of Canada to Quebec, whilſt Colonel Nicholſon was marched over land with the militia of the Queen's colonies, and the Indians, into New France. This diſpoſition being exactly agreeable to their private inſtructions, the news is, without diſpute, authentic, and I believe you may depend on our being maſters, at this time, of all North America*.

I am, &c.

H. St. J.

I will ſend you, next poſt, a copy of my letter to the Duke of Argyle.

* Bolingbroke, with the aſſiſtance of Nicholſon, planned this expedition, which failed *in toto*. The ſhips of war were too large for ſuch ſervice, and were ſent back to Great Britain; and the admiral, not being able to procure pilots for the river St. Lawrence, being in want of proviſions, of which, at that time, he could draw no ſupply from the American colonies, and having loſt ſeveral tranſports, returned with the fleet, without farther attempts.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Auguſt 28th, 1711.

I INTENDED to have troubled you with a long letter by this poſt, on the ſubject of ſome of the laſt which I received from you, but it is impoſſible, a tide of buſineſs comes in upon me, and beſides, I am a good deal diſordered with a cold.

I muſt, in every letter, renew my hearty thanks to you for your generoſity and kindneſs to the poor lad who lies ill in your houſe. My father does the ſame for himſelf; and ſure I am ſuch a mark of friendſhip can never be forgot by any who have the leaſt tincture of gratitude and honour: you will oblige us further in ſending for ſuch books or other things as my brother may have left behind him at Utrecht, and in ordering any thing he may ſtill owe in that place to be cleared; for though he ſhould recover, my father does not intend to let him return thither.

We are as earneſtly and as zealouſly for a new alliance to ſubſiſt between the two nations, in time of peace, as the Penſionary can be; we will think on our ſide, you muſt do ſo on yours, how to make it as cloſe and as ſtrong as poſſible; and when my Lord Strafford goes over, he will meet the Dutch Miniſters more than half way in this affair.

Britain will act honourably to the laſt; no peace without the States is to be had, or ever was thought of here, but a peace muſt be had in concert with them; and ſuch a one will, I hope, be thought of both there and here.

Pardon me if I ſay, the Penſionary's deſire of a deciſive battle is aſtoniſhing; it looks like the ſally of a man who, having once miſtook

in his game, piqued and half deſperate, determines to make a puſh, and either to win or to loſe all.

No man takes more part in the intereſt of our gallant countrymen who are returned from the South-Sea than myſelf, and I aſſure you that there is nothing in my power for their honour and ſervice which ſhall be omitted. They need not have any doubt of the Queen's protection, and I take it for granted that Lord Dartmouth has had her orders about the convoy to attend them.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 29me d'Août, 1711.

JE n'ai pas pu me réſoudre à laiſſer partir Monſieur Gaultier ſans me ſervir de cette occaſion, pour vous rémercier très humblement de l'honneur de votre lettre, qui m'a été rendue par Monſieur Prior, & pour vous aſſurer qu'il n'y a rien que je deſire plus ardemment que de pouvoir continuer vous écrire, & à recevoir de vos lettres.

Vous voulez bien, Monſieur, que je me remette à la rélation que Monſieur Meſnager vous fera par écrit, & Monſieur Gaultier de vive voix, & que je finiſſe en vous aſſurant, que je ſuis, avec beaucoup d'eſtime,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Auguſt 31ſt, 1711.

I RECEIVE this moment the honour of your Grace's letters, which I ſhall be ſure to-morrow to lay before her Majeſty, and by Tueſday's poſt to acquaint your Grace with any orders which I may receive upon them.

I am heartily glad to find that the ſiege of Bouchain goes ſo ſucceſſfully forward, notwithſtanding the difficulties under which you labour, and am, with all reſpect,

My Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Windſor Caſtle, Sept. 4th, 1711.

I CANNOT help being concerned to find, that in Holland, as well as at Hanover, umbrage is ſtill ſo eaſily taken upon the ſlighteſt occaſion, but I muſt tell you we ſhall grow leſs and leſs uneaſy at theſe jealouſies every day. You will find the Queen act with equal affection to her friends and allies, and at the ſame time with more firmneſs, with a greater air of independence, in ſhort, more like herſelf than ever.

Thoſe who have the honour now to ſerve her, will endeavour to do it according to this character, and will depend on the courſe and tenor of their proceedings, to ſet their merit in a juſt and proper light, without being frightened, vexed, or diverted from their meaſures, by any

ſuſpicions which may be entertained of them, or by any clamour which may be raiſed againſt them.

You have already had ſome account from me, as well as from the Gazette, of what paſſed at Edinburgh, in relation to the medal of the Pretender, ſent by the Ducheſs of Gordon to the College of Advocates. Since that time, one Mr. Dundas, who is deſcribed by the Lord Advocate to be a light, pragmatical, headſtrong young fellow, has printed a pamphlet, which, under the pretence of defending the royalty of that ſociety, is the moſt virulent libel that I ever ſaw, againſt the revolution, the ſettlement of the crown, the paſt, the preſent reign, the union, and the whole Engliſh nation. You remember, I dare ſay, how, ſoon after her Majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, a book came out called "The ſhorteſt Way with the Diſſenters," written in the character of a Church of England author, but full of a ſpirit falſely aſcribed to the members of it; how vengeance was denounced againſt all our ſectaries, and what an alarm it created amongſt them, who were under real or pretended apprehenſion of perſecution; at laſt you know the writer was diſcovered, and proved to be De Foe*. We look on Dundas employed to act a ſecond time the ſame kind of farce, and many circumſtances there are to induce us to this opinion. Among others, I own to you, that nothing weighs more with me than the behaviour of Sir D. Dalrymple, the Queen's Advocate he ought to be, and he rather proves the Advocate of the Ducheſs of Gordon, of Dundas, and of whoever elſe may appear to have had a hand in ſending, receiving, or defending the medal. His excuſes are grounded on the weakneſs of the guilty perſons, on the ill-temper of Scotland, and on miſtakes in law, which I cannot perſuade myſelf are real; but ſure it is, that if the adminiſtration ſhould be influenced by that coolneſs which he en-

* A hireling ſcribbler, who wrote for any party, and was afterwards employed and paid by Lord Oxford to write the *Mercator redivivus*.

deavours

deavours to inſpire, he would himſelf hereafter prove one of the moſt forward to convert it into a crime. I may own to you that the Queen is determined to turn his artifice upon his own head, and to remove him from his poſt* ; after which, the moſt ſtrict enquiry into this whole matter, and the moſt vigorous proſecution of it, will be directed.

I had writ to the Poſt-maſters General, upon the firſt notice you gave me of the letters being ſtopped which were ſent to the perſons concerned for the South-Sea adventurers, and do aſſure you, that the matter ſhould not have ſlept, but ſince thoſe gentlemen are now ſatiſfied, I have no more to ſay.

As I am writing this I receive your's of the 11th inſtant, N.S. by which I perceive you will be gone from Amſterdam before mine can reach you. I ſhall, therefore, omit a great deal which I intended to have ſaid to you, on the contents of your letter of the 4th and 8th. I ſend this, however, to Mr. Decker, and leave it to him to forward or not as he ſhall judge of your motions.

I am extremely pleaſed that I may hope ſo ſoon to embrace you here, and am, with the utmoſt truth,

Your, &c.

---

*To Mr. Laws**.

SIR,

Windſor, Sept. 4th, 1711.

I HAVE the letter from Paris of the 3d of September, which is the ſecond I have received from the perſon my Lord Orrery employs on my account; Mr. Drummond, of Amſterdam, will take care to an-

* He was accordingly diſplaced, and Sir James Stewart ſucceeded him.
† Secretary to the embaſſy at Bruſſels.

ſwer,

ſwer, according to the agreement made with him, the ſixty piſtoles a month. I cannot ſay the gentleman's letters are yet very full, but I hope they will, when he has had more time to get acquaintance, and to ſettle his correſpondencies. The facts, which he dwells pretty much upon, concerning M. Hermes being ſent to the Baſtille, and his aſſociate, M. Du Pré, arriving at Paris, and immediately returning into Holland, may be of moment for ought I know, but not being acquainted with the characters of theſe perſons, they are of little information or uſe to me.

I am your, &c.

To the Biſhop of Winchester *.*

My Lord,

Windſor Caſtle, Sept. 5, 1711,

I HAVE the honour of your Lordſhip's letter of the 2d inſtant, and in an anſwer to it muſt take the liberty to ſay, that the perſons who complain ſo loudly know very little of the forms of buſineſs, or have a very great inclination to find fault.

Some time in the laſt month, the Earl of Dartmouth ſent me from this place, where he attended the Queen, the letter of the Mayor and juſtices of Wincheſter, together with the copy of Benj. Crooker's information. I laid the whole before my Lords of the Committee of Council, and by their direction referred the caſe to Mr. Attorney General, whoſe report I tranſmitted to the ſame gentlemen as had ſent up the information, ſignifying to them that they ſhould proceed according to his opinion. My conduct in this affair has been with her

* Dr. Trimnel; he had been tutor to Lord Sunderland.

Majeſty's

Majeſty's knowledge, and has had her approbation: I hope it will have your Lordſhip's.

I received from the Duke of Beaufort, a few days ſince, the ſame information, taken before Mr. Popham, as your Lordſhip now ſends me; and although what is fit to be the rule in Codrington's caſe, muſt naturally be ſo in Dickenſon's, yet I have ſent the latter alſo with Crooker's atteſtation, by her Majeſty's order, to Mr. Attorney General, and a copy of my letter to him comes incloſed.

Whoever protect Popiſh prieſts, are certainly friends to the Pretender. I hope there are no ſuch any where in authority; ſure I am, that the proceedings in this caſe give no ground to ſuſpect there are any. For my own part, as I never intend to live under his government, ſo I ſhall never favour his cauſe. I acknowledge very thankfully your Lordſhip's good opinion of me, and the trouble you have been pleaſed to give yourſelf on this occaſion.

I am, my Lord, with all poſſible reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

My Lord,

Whitehall, Sept. 11, 1711.

THE perpetual hurry which I have lived in for ſome days paſt, has been the only reaſon why you have no ſooner heard from me. I have not, indeed, materials for a letter of form, but I want none for a letter of friendſhip; and it would be inexcuſable, if I ſhould ſuffer many poſts to go without carrying your Lordſhip my thanks, when hardly any arrive without bringing me ſome favour from you.

In all the converſations which I have had on your ſubject, or on that

that of the public, with the Count de Gallas, I have been very frank in commending your Lordſhip's zeal for the common cauſe, and in blaming the indolence of his Court. The ſeveral hints which you are pleaſed to give me, I will take ſome occaſion of uſing, according to your Lordſhip's deſire; but I muſt own myſelf entirely of the opinion which I have ſeen mentioned in a letter of the Duke of Savoy to the Count de Maffei, that, *des dits & des redits avec ces Miniſtres ne vaillent rien*; and the beſt thing we can reſolve upon, is to endeavour to ſave the whole, without depending on them, or even expecting their concurrence.

Our meaſures are not in the leaſt altered here, concerning the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont, nor our opinions concerning the true policy of continuing united with the Duke of Savoy, and of ſtrengthening that Prince's hands. On the contrary, my Lord Strafford will be amply inſtructed on this ſubject; and he will be directed to ſpeak of the marriage to the States, not as a matter which her Majeſty deliberates upon, but as a propoſition which is ſo juſt, and ſo expedient, that the Queen is determined to purſue it by all poſſible means.

I hope the firſt packet will bring us ſome letters from your Lordſhip, writ ſince your arrival at Frankfort. The ſtate of the confederacy in general, and of Germany in particular, ſeems, to my poor apprehenſion, ſo perplexed—there is ſo much to be feared, ſo little to be hoped—the different views are ſo many, and the changes of them ſo frequent, that the Queen, on one hand, takes too great a ſhare in the affairs of the Continent, and has too large a proportion of the burden of the war upon her to be ſo little in the ſecret; and, on the other hand, her increaſe of knowledge might perhaps draw after it an increaſe of load; and ſhe, who has already more engagements than are agreeable to the intereſt of Britain, might, by a larger participation of the ſecret, be preſſed to advance into more. Your Lordſhip's obſervations concern-

ing

ing the ſtate of your own country, and the dangers which thoſe, who mix in public buſineſs here, are expoſed to, are juſt; I wiſh they were otherwiſe, for your ſake, for my own, and for that of the public.

I am, with truth and reſpect, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 11th, 1711.—Near twelve at night.

COLLINS, the Meſſenger, is this moment arrived from the Duke of Marlborough; he has brought the incloſed letter for your Majeſty, and the good news of the garriſon of Bouchain ſurrendering priſoners of war.

I have the honour to tranſmit to your Majeſty, at the ſame time, a draught of my letter to Mr. Scot, which I have ſhown this morning to my Lord Treaſurer; and which, with your Majeſty's approbation, is to be ſent, whenever you ſhall pleaſe to write to the Electreſs Dowager of Saxony.

Beſides the buſineſs of the poſt I have the honour to ſerve in, there are two days this week to be given up to the South-Sea Company, otherwiſe I ſhould have had an opportunity of bringing theſe diſpatches myſelf to Windſor.

I am, with all poſſible devotion, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful ſubject, and moſt obedient, faithful, humble ſervant,

H. St. J.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

Verſailles, le 18me Sept. 1711.

J'AI reçu avec un ſenſible plaiſir la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, & que Monſieur Gaultier m'a remiſe. Je vous prie de croire que je ne ſouhaite pas moins que vous, qu'il revienne bientôt des tems plus tranquilles & plus heureux, où je puiſſe cultiver l'honneur de votre amitié, & vous faire connoître que je ſuis parfaitement, Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

Whitehall, Sept. 11, 1711.—Eleven at night.

I HAD nothing to write to your Grace in the ordinary forms of buſineſs, when Collins, the Meſſenger, arrived this moment, and brought us news which adds to your glory and our happineſs.

I have ſent an expreſs to Windſor with your Grace's letter to the Queen, the tower guns I have ordered to fire, and I beg you to believe that I take ſuch part in this ſucceſs as becomes an honeſt man, and, my Lord,

Your Grace's faithful, &c.

To Mr. Cadogan.

SIR,

Whitehall, Sept. 11th, 1711.—Twelve at night.

COLLINS arrives this moment; and, with me, friendſhip muſt give room to buſineſs. I thank you for your letter; I congratulate with you upon your good ſucceſs; and I hope the triumphs of the Queen's arms will bring the enemy to ſuch a ſenſe of their weakneſs as may produce reaſonable propoſitions of peace.

I am, &c.

We ſhall do our part as to your project, but we ſhall not underſtand any backwardneſs in the Dutch.

A Monſieur le Baron Bothmar *.*

De Whitehall, ce 14me Sept. 1711.

JE n'ai pas manqué de repréſenter à la Reine le contenu de votre lettre du 8me de ce mois, & ſa Majeſté a trouvé les appréhenſions & les demandes de ſon Alteſſe Electorale ſi bien fondée, que ſes ordres ſont donnés au Duc de Marlborough de concerter les moyens pour retirer la cavalerie, & les dragons inſenſiblement, & avec le moins de bruit qu'il ſera poſſible †. Pointe d'une très grande importance; comme on l'a fort bien prévu à votre cour. Je vous ſupplie, Monſieur, de croire que j'embraſſe avec plaiſir toutes les occaſions d'entretenir une correſpondence avec vous, & que je me ſens ex-

* The Hanoverian Envoy at the courts of St. James's and the Hague.

† Theſe apprehenſions were probably excited by the King of Denmark, and the ſtate of affairs in the north of Europe, for the Daniſh troops were then upon their march to Bremen.

trêmement heureux quand je puis donner quelque marque de mon zèle pour le ſervice de Son Alteſſe Electorale.

Je ſuis, &c.

Le Grand Tréſorier s'eſt donné l'honneur de répondre à la lettre de ſon Alteſſe Electorale par la dernière poſte.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 14th, 1711.

I HAD indeed a particular ſatisfaction in the good news of the ſurrender of Bouchain, and of making the garriſon priſoners of war. There is nothing wanting to complete your glory, or the diſhonour of your enemy.

It will be very extraordinary, if the States, who were a few weeks ago, ſo much upon their mettle, ſhould refuſe to enter into the propoſitions which your Grace has ſent them. On the Queen's part, nothing will be neglected, as I hope my Lord Stair has ſatisfied you before this letter can come to your hands.

The Queen, my Lord, thinks the apprehenſions of the Elector of Hanover ſo well grounded, that his deſire ought to be complied with, My Lord Treaſurer has writ to this purpoſe to his Electoral Highneſs, I have done the ſame to Monſieur de Bothmar; and I am directed to let your Grace know that her Majeſty refers it to you to ſettle the moſt proper methods of parting with the horſe and dragoons as inſenſibly as poſſible, leſt other demands of the ſame kind ſhould come upon us.

I am ever, with reſpect, &c.

To

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 18th, 1711.

AT my arrival here, I found a Dutch poſt come in, and juſt now we received another. The incloſed extract contains all the news which the office letters bring.

By the Duke of Marlborough's private diſpatch it appears, that the Dutch make great difficulties about executing the project for winter quarters, and begin already to inſiſt, that your Majeſty ſhould, in this inſtance alſo, exceed your own proportion to pay ſome part of theirs.

I am, with the utmoſt reſpect,

Madam, your Majeſty's, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 18th, 1711.

AT my return this morning from Windſor, I received the honour of your Grace's letters of the 21ſt and 24th of this month, N.S. with the two from my Lord Albemarle to your Grace, and that from your Grace to my Lord, incloſed.

You may depend that no perſon ſhall have any knowledge of them beſides the Queen, except the Treaſurer and the Chamberlain, who will be conſulted on the application which the Dutch intend to make, and who muſt therefore be apprized before-hand of the ſtate of the affair.

Your

Your Grace ſeems fully to have removed the difficulty ariſing on the uncertainty they pretended there was, whether the foreign corps would furniſh their quotas towards this winter campaign. It is undoubtedly reaſonable, that all the troops which compoſe the army ſhould have their ſhare in this fatigue, but the States ought to be the leſs rigid upon this head, becauſe they may conſider, that although the Queen's troops take the field every year to the laſt regiment, yet of theirs a greater and a greater number is each ſummer left in garriſon, and as their conqueſts increaſe their army leſſens.

The Queen makes no difficulty of coming into the proportion of expence for forage, which your Grace at firſt offered to her Majeſty's conſideration; and my Lord Treaſurer did this day tell me, that when he received a computation of the expence, he would be ready to remit the money: to inſiſt that a farther load ſhould be laid here, will I doubt, be thought a ſevere impoſition; we are to hope that the reaſonableneſs of this pretenſion, and your Grace's repreſentations againſt it, will have the effect which they ought to have.

The condition which your Grace mentions as fit to be made with the Elector of Hanover, you will have it in your power to make, the Queen having in general agreed to his requeſt, but having left at the ſame time the particulars to be adjuſted by your Grace.

I am, my Lord, &c.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur d'Hervart.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 18me Sept. 1711.

JE vous dois mes remercimens pour deux de vos lettres, dont la dernière, qui eſt du 22me de ce mois, N.S. eſt arrivée ce matin. Elles roulent ſur deux chefs, l'envoi de Monſieur Buys dans ce pays-ci*, & les bruits qui courent en Hollande d'une négociation de paix entre la Reine & le Roi de France.

Quant au premier pointe, je vous dirai, que tout homme qui paroîtra propre aux Hollandois eux-mêmes d'être envoyé dans cette conjoncture auprès de ſa Majeſté, nous ſera bien venu, & Monſieur Buys autant qu'aucun autre. Notre procédé ſera toujours clair & net, & ſi l'on ne craigne pas chez vous que nous ſoyons meilleurs Anglois que nos prédéceſſeurs dans le miniſtère, on n'aura pas la moindre raiſon d'appréhender que nous devenions des alliés ou moins affectionnés ou moins fidelles.

Quant à l'autre pointe, je ne vous puis dire que deux mots, mais je crois que vous les trouverez ſignificatifs; c'eſt, que la Reine ne fera jamais la paix avec la France, comme les Hollandois ont fait à Nimegue. Elle a ſoutenu cette guerre, auſſi bien que la dernière, de concert avec les Etats; elle prétend traiter la paix de même, elle avancera dans l'une & l'autre leurs intérêts autant qu'il lui ſera poſſible, & elle n'oubliera pas les ſiens.

Je ſuis, mon cher Monſieur, &c.

Depuis que j'ai écrite cette lettre, j'ai reçu la vôtre du 27me de ce mois, N.S. par laquelle je vois que, ſelon toute apparence, Monſieur Buys ne tardera pas à nous rendre viſite.

* Vryberge, the Dutch Ambaſſador, died in July, and the States-general had no repreſentative at the Britiſh Court, till Buys's arrival, in October.

*To the Earl of Peterborough**.

THE rumour of Mr Prior's† journey into France, and of ſeveral other particulars concerning a negociation of peace, has been every where propagated with great induſtry.

Your Lordſhip thinks it neither proper nor poſſible to diſown the fact. I confeſs my opinion is, that to take any pains either to deny or to own it, is below the character of the Queen; and certainly the beſt anſwer that any miniſter of her's can give, is to ſay, that her Majeſty, on whom they have all leaned during the whole courſe of the war, may very well be truſted in preparing the way for peace, if any ſuch treaty be on foot.

A Monſieur de Paleotti‡.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 21re Sept. 1711.

VOUS recevrez avec celle-ci la lettre que ſa Majeſté a écrit en votre faveur au Roi Catholique. J'eſpère que vous en reſſentirez tous les effets que vous devez attendre d'un appui auſſi puiſſant, & d'une récommendation auſſi forte. Par la poſte qui part ce ſoir, j'écrirai au

* Incloſed in a public letter of 18th September 1711. BOLINGBROKE.

† Prior's authority was very laconic, and conſiſted of the following words, ſigned by the Queen: "Le Sieur Prior eſt pleinement inſtruit & autoriſé de communiquer à la France nos demandes préliminaires, & de nous en rapporter la réponſe.

‡ Had been Envoy-extraordinary from the Duke of Guaſtella.

Comte de Peterborough, miniſtre de la Reine à Frankfort, ſur votre ſujet, comme il eſt fort des amis du Duc de Shrewſbury, il ne manquera pas de l'employer, avec chaleur à l'avancement de vos intérêts, leſquels je vous prie de croire que j'ai fort à cœur, & d'être perſuadé que je ſerai toujours avec beaucoup d'eſtime,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

To Mr. Harriſon.

SIR,

Whitehall, Sept. 21, 1711.

MR. DRUMMOND has given me your letter of the 22d of this month; and I will own, that in the caſe you mention, you have ſome obligation to me, to bring you acquainted with Mr. Drummond, and to recommend you to his confidence was doing you a real ſervice. I hear, with great pleaſure, that you have made a very good uſe of this advantage; for ſince it fell to my ſhare to throw you into buſineſs, I think myſelf, to ſome degree, concerned about your proficiency in it.

I believe that Mr. Hare wrote by my direction to you concerning a Jacobite pamphlet, which was ſent from hence, tranſlated into French, and openly ſold in Holland*. That old woman d'Ayrolle† is ordered to complain in form of this ſcandal, but I ſhould be glad if you could make uſe of your ſagacity to diſcover, from what quarter here it was conveyed thither. Corticelli is ſaid to have received and conveyed it to the bookſeller; if money will ſecure the diſcovery, I will furniſh that to you.

* This pamphlet was entitled, *An Oath to an Invader, and abjuring the invaded, diſſected and examined.* It was ſent to the Secretary of State by the penny-poſt.

† Secretary of the Queen at the Hague.

The licence of the preſs in Britain, and the licence of the tongue every where, is at preſent employed about ſuppoſed negociations of peace carried on in this country. I believe you may properly enough ſay, whenever you are talked to on that ſubject, that it is certain the Queen will never take any meaſures contrary to the public intereſt, or without the participation of Holland, in matters relating to the common cauſe; and that her conduct, throughout the whole courſe of the war, muſt put every one in the wrong who pretends to ſuſpect the contrary. At the ſame time you will do well to inſinuate, that ſhe is Queen of Britain, and that the intereſts of this iſland are not any longer to be deemed the property of other people. Certain it is, that ſhe will uſe Holland as her beſt and neareſt ally; let the Dutch take care to obſerve the ſame conduct, and the union of the two nations is indiſſoluble.

My Lord Strafford is married, honey-moon is, I ſuppoſe, over, and as a proof of my friendſhip to him, I will now endeavour in a few days to ſend him back.

I am ever your affectionate kinſman and ſervant,

H. St. J.

P.S. I forgot to tell you, that in a letter to Harry Watkins, you will do well to obſerve from what I write to you, that the Examiner is ſilent, but that my Lord Marlborough's ſtupid Chaplain* continues to ſpoil paper. They had beſt for their patron's ſake, as well as their own, be quiet. I know how to ſet them in the pillory, and how to revive fellows that will write them to death.

* Dr. Hare, Canon Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, and afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 25, 1711.

TO another it would be affectation, to you I may ſay with the freedom of a friend, that I am half murdered with a load of buſineſs, in compariſon of which all that I ever went through in my life, is a trifle *.

I cannot imagine what ground my Lord Marlborough has of complaint, in a caſe where, as General of the Army, or Ambaſſador to the States, or Maſter of the Ordnance, or Colonel of the Guards, he has no proper authority; but you muſt account rightly for this ſtart, which is owing to the people about him, who have been the occaſion of his late misfortunes, for the greateſt part. To ſhow you how wiſely they act in little as well as in greater inſtances for him, there came out the other day a pamphlet called *Bouchain*, writ by his ſtupid prieſt, Hare, which is one entire panegyric upon his Grace, and an invective, I think, againſt the Queen, and all who ſerve her. What has been the conſequence of this able performance? Somebody or other has been provoked by it; an anſwer full of ſpirit has come out, old facts are revived, new ones told, and whereas the humour was ſpent, and his name either not uſed, or not uſed with reſpect, he has been treated, in my opinion, worſe than ever he was. Write to me a letter ſome time hence, which I may read to the Queen, concerning your coming over.

Breton is this day arrived from Spain; and I was extremely glad to receive a letter from the Duke of Argyle, writ in a milder ſtyle than his diſpatches have of late been. I cannot forbear ſaying to you,

* The buſineſs relating to the negociations for peace belonged properly to Lord Dartmouth's department; ſo that Bolingbroke undertook it extra-provincially.

that he has all this ſummer ſent ſuch letters hither as his friends do neither deſerve nor fear, and as no miniſters living could bear from any man but one whoſe heart is good, and who only errs from too much heat of conſtitution *. One fatal error has miſled him, which is, that he has reaſoned abſtractedly on what he ſaw in his own ſphere, and did not conſider, nor indeed know the whole ſyſtem of the Queen's meaſures.

My dear Lord, I have always been, I am, and ever will be,

Your's, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM, Whitehall, Sept. 20th, 1711.

THE Lords of the Committee of Council met this morning at the Cockpit, and directed the Earl of Dartmouth and myſelf to confer with Monſieur Meſnager. We ſaw him accordingly this evening at Mr. Prior's houſe, where my Lord Treaſurer and my Lord Chamberlain were likewiſe preſent. He has put into our hands the anſwer ſigned by the King of France, to the demands laſt ſent over by your Majeſty's order, and this anſwer complies with every article, except the 8th, relating to North America. We find, however, that we ſhall be able to compound this point with him, in the manner which your Majeſty ſome time ago propoſed to paſs it in, provided France gave you ſatisfaction upon the ſeventh article, as ſhe has now entirely done.

The propoſals which are to be ſent into Holland as the foundation of a general treaty, we have likewiſe received from him, and that which was thought the moſt liable to objection has been very much mended. My Lord Treaſurer having, however, propoſed ſome far-

* The Duke of Argyle appears to have been a character perfectly independent of party conſideration.

ther

ther conſiderations, in order to make the whole more palatable abroad, and Monſieur Meſnager ſeeming inclined to agree to them, I am this night to draw them into form, for my Lords of the Council to conſider to-morrow morning.

This, Madam, being the preſent ſituation of the treaty, your ſervants were unanimouſly of opinion that the warrant and the full powers ſhould be prepared this night, and tranſmitted to your Majeſty, by which means, if it be your pleaſure, the latter may paſs the great ſeal to-morrow.

It is now ſo extremely late, I have ſtill ſo much buſineſs to do, which muſt of neceſſity be got ready by morning; that the whole night would not ſuffice if I was to engroſs the inſtruments in my own hand-writing, I therefore make uſe of a clerk fo tranſcribe them; but it is the ſame who has copied all the papers which have paſſed in the courſe of this negociation.

There comes an exact tranſlation of the full powers in this packet, the words of which are very ample and extenſive; but they are agreeable to the form uſed by your Majeſty upon ſuch occaſions.

My Lord Treaſurer moved, and all my Lords were of the ſame opinion, that Mr. Prior ſhould be added to thoſe who are empowered to ſign; the reaſon for which is, becauſe he having perſonally treated with Monſieur de Torcy, is the beſt witneſs we can produce of the ſenſe in which the general preliminary engagements are entered into. Beſides which, as he is the beſt verſed in matters of trade, of all your Majeſty's ſervants, who have been truſted in this ſecret, if you ſhall think fit to employ him in the future treaty of commerce, it will be of conſequence that he has been a party concerned in concluding that convention, which muſt be the rule of this treaty.

The reſt of the plenipotentiaries are all thoſe who have the ho-

nour to ſit in your Majeſty's Cabinet Council, which my Lords underſtood to be your Majeſty's pleaſure.

The Oſtend mail, which arrived laſt night, brought no news.

I am, with the utmoſt reſpect,

Madam, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 24th, 1711.

I HAD prepared another draught of full powers to have ſent to your Majeſty this evening; but conferring with the French miniſter, I found he had altered his mind, and that he was willing to ſign the paper of preliminaries, as conceſſions made by his Maſter, without any engagement on your Majeſty's part. He barely deſires, that at the foot of the paper which he ſigns, a Secretary of ſtate may write, by your Majeſty's command, ſome acceptance of theſe articles, and ſome promiſe to ſet the general treaty on foot.

I will not fail to-morrow, when I hope this matter will be finiſhed, to give your Majeſty an account of all proceedings in it. The paper to be ſent into Holland will be at the ſame time ready.

An Oſtend poſt being arrived, I incloſe an extract of the news contained in my letters.

I am, with the humbleſt reſpect, and utmoſt zeal,

Madam, your Majeſty's, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 25th, 1711.

THIS day, and part of the night, has been ſpent in getting ready the new form, in which Monſieur Meſnager propoſes to ſign the preliminary terms on the part of his maſter; and I now have the honour to tranſmit, which I hoped to have done ſooner, an exact copy of the whole inſtrument, with the authority annexed for my Lord Dartmouth and myſelf to ſign on the part of your Majeſty. God forbid that I ſhould preſume to ſet my hand to any declaration of your Majeſty's pleaſure, without your leave firſt obtained. I aſk pardon if any miſtake of expreſſion in my letter tended that way.

On the return of this meſſenger, we may be able, I hope, to finiſh with Monſieur Meſnager, and I beg leave to add, that this agreement contains more advantages for your Majeſty's kingdoms, than were ever, perhaps, ſtipulated for any nation at one time. As ſoon as I ſee when I can bring this gentleman to Windſor, I will not fail to obey your Majeſty's orders, and to give you notice of it.

I take the liberty, beſides the extract of what our office letters bring, to trouble your Majeſty with a private letter from the Duke of Marlborough, and the papers which came incloſed in it; if the project* has been diſappointed, it has not been ſo by your Majeſty, who gave orders for readily entering into the neceſſary meaſures on your part. However, it is of ſome uſe to have my Lord Marlborough's confeſſion, that we may be diſabled from doing any thing the next year, and that the enemy may, perhaps, be in a condition to act offenſively.

* Upon the taking of Bouchain, the Duke of Marlborough propoſed the ſiege of Queſnoy, to which the States-General objected, on account of the advanced ſeaſon of the year.

If

If your Majeſty is pleaſed to approve the declaration which I drew to-day, at the Committee of Lords, it will be neceſſary that the order to my Lord Dartmouth and myſelf, be ſigned by your Majeſty at top and bottom, in the manner of inſtructions.

I am, with the utmoſt reſpect and duty, Madam,

Your Majeſty's, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 26th, 1711.

THE Lords ſpent the morning in diſpatching a great many heads of home and other buſineſs. The evening has been employed by them, in conferring with the Earl of Strafford, upon the heads of his inſtructions, who may, I hope, be ready to receive your Majeſty's final orders, and to proceed to Holland, in the very beginning of the next week. To-morrow morning, at ten, my Lord Dartmouth and I ſhall meet Monſieur Meſnager, to ſee him ſign the articles, and, purſuant to your Majeſty's commands, to ſign the daclaration ourſelves.

The incloſed extract contains all the news which came by the poſt we received this morning, except what a man, who is now at Verſailles, writes to me, that the Pope has offered to the French King, a retreat for the Pretender at Rome.

I am, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 27th, 1711.

I HAVE the pleaſure to acquaint your Majeſty that the inſtuments* were this day ſigned; and that the paper for Holland is likewiſe ſettled in the manner your Majeſty deſired to have it.†

Monſieur

* " Réponſe de la France aux demandes préliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne plus particulièrement.

" Le Roi étant particulièrement informé par le dernier mémoire, que les Miniſtres de la Grande Bretagne ont remis au Sieur Meſnager, des diſpoſitions de cette Couronne à faciliter la paix générale, à la ſatisfaction de toutes les parties intéreſſées dans la préſente guerre; & ſa Majeſté voyant effectivement, ainſi que le porte ce même mémoire, qu'elle ne riſque rien en s'engageant de la manière qu'il y eſt exprimé, puiſque les articles préliminaires n'auront aucun effet avant la ſignature de la paix générale, deſirant d'ailleurs très ſincèrement de faire tout ce qui eſt en ſon pouvoir pour avancer le rétabliſſement du repos de l'Europe, principalement par une voie auſſi agréable à ſa Majeſté, que le ſera l'entremiſe d'une Princeſſe, que tant de liaiſons de ſang doivent unir avec elle, & dont les ſentimens pour la tranquillité publique ne ſauroient être douteux. Sa Majeſté, touchée par ces conſidérations, a ordonné au Sieur Meſnager, Chevalier de ſon ordre de St. Michael, Deputé au Conſeil de Commerce, de faire par écrit les réponſes ſuivantes aux articles contenus dans le mémoire qui lui a été remis, & qui ſont intitulés—Demandes Préliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne plus particulièrement.

" *Réponſes du Roi.*	" *Demandes Préliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne particulièrement.*
" (1.) Sa Majeſté reconnoîtra la Reine de la Grande Bretagne en cette qualité auſſi bien que la ſucceſſion à cette Couronne ſuivant l'établiſſement préſent.	" (1.) La ſucceſſion à la Couronne de ces royaumes ſelon l'établiſſement préſent ſera réconnue.
" (2.) Le Roi conſent à faire un nouveau traité de commerce avec la Grande Bretagne de la manière la plus juſte, la plus raiſonnable, & la plus avantageuſe à la France & à la Grande Bretagne.	" (2.) Un nouveau traité de commerce entre la Grande Bretagne & la France ſera fait de la manière la plus juſte & raiſonnable.
" (3.) Quoique Dunquerque ait coûté au Roi des ſommes très grandes tant pour l'acquérir que pour le fortifier; & qu'il ſoit néceſſaire de faire encore une dépenſe très conſidérable pour en raſer les ouvrages, ſa Majeſté veut bien toutefois s'engager à les faire démolir immédiatement après la concluſion de la paix, à condition qu'il lui ſera donné pour les fortifications de cette place un équivalent convenable, & dont elle ſoit contente; & comme l'Angleterre ne peut fournir le dit équivalent, la diſcuſſion en ſera remiſe aux	" (3.) Dunquerque ſera démolie.

conférences

† This is inſerted in a note to the Letter to Lord Strafford, dated 12th October, 1711.

Monſieur Meſnager will be to-morrow, in the evening, at Windſor, to pay his compliments to your Majeſty: I will not fail to attend ſome hours before him.

I am, Madam, &c.

To

conférences qui ſe tiendront pour la négociation de la paix générale.

" (4.) Le Roi promet au nom du Roi d'Eſpagne, ſon petit-fils, & ſuivant le pourvoir que ſa Majeſté en a reçu de ce Prince, que Gibraltar & le port Mahon demeureront entre les mains des Anglois, qui poſsèdent préſentement l'un & l'autre.

" (5.) Les Anglois auront, après la paix conclue, le traité de négres de Guinée aux Indes Occidentales, autrement le Pacte d'Aſſiento, aux mêmes conditions que cette convention a été faite par le Roi d'Eſpagne avec les François, en ſorte que la compagnie qui ſera établie pour cet effet en Angleterre, aura la prérogative de faire repoſer, vendre, & débiter les négres dans toutes les places & ports de l'Amérique, ſur la Mer du Nord, dans celui de Buenos Ayres, & généralement dans toutes les places & ports dont l'entrée étoit permiſe aux vaiſſeaux de la compagnie formée en France ſous le nom de l'Aſſiento.

" (6.) Le Roi promet pour lui-même, & pour le Roi d'Eſpagne, ſuivant le pouvoir qui eſt entre les mains de ſa Majeſté, que cet article ſera accordé en cas de la concluſion de la paix, comme les précédens, & qu'il ſera ponctuellement exécuté.

" (4.) Gibraltar & le port Mahon reſteront entre les mains de ceux qui les poſsèdent préſentement.

" (5.) Le Pacte d'Aſſiento ſera fait avec les Anglois de la même manière que les François le poſsèdent à préſent, & telles places dans l'Amérique Eſpagnole ſeront aſſignées aux intéreſſées dans le commerce, pour le rafraichiſſement & vente de leurs négres qui ſeront trouvées néceſſaires & convenables.

" (6.) Tous les avantages, droits, & priviléges, qui ſont déjà accordés, ou qui pourront être accordés dorénavant par l'Eſpagne aux ſujets de la France, ou de quelque autre nation que ce ſoit, ſeront pareillement accordés aux ſujets de la Grande Bretagne.

" (7.) Et pour mieux protéger le commerce dans l'Amérique Eſpagnole, on y mettra les Anglois en poſſeſſion de telles places qui ſeront nommées dans le traité de paix. La France ayant offert une ſureté réelle pour le commerce des ſujets de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne dans l'Amérique Eſpagnole, on n'a jamais douté qu'elle n'entendit par-là des places; & l'on a été confirmé dans cette opinion, vu qu'elle a propoſé Gibraltar comme une ſureté pour le commerce d'Eſpagne & de la Méditerranée, les avantages & les priviléges offerts par le Sieur Meſnager ne doivent pas être regardées comme des ſuretés réelles, parce qu'il ſera toujours dans le pouvoir de l'Eſpagne de les reprendre; c'eſt pourquoi l'on croit que la France eſt dans l'obligation,

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Windſor Caſtle, Sept. 29th, 1711.

I KEPT Collins from returning to your Grace till now, that I might be able to take her Majeſty's pleaſure more exactly, and to write more

" Quoique le Roi d'Eſpagne, au commencement de ſon règne, fût porté à favoriſer la nation Françoiſe, qu'il eut beſoin des ſecours d'argent, pour ſubvenir aux frais d'une guerre imminente; le Prince nonobſtant ces conſidérations n'accorda que pour dix ans aux François le privilége de la traite de négres, ce ſeroit beaucoup faire en faveur des Anglois, que de laiſſer pendant vingt ans entre les mains de la nation Angloiſe, une prérogative dont il ſemble que toutes les nations de l'Europe voudront jouir chacune à leur tour. Toutefois le Roi promet que le Roi, ſon petit fils, laiſſera aux Anglois, pendant trente années conſécutives, la traite des négres de Guinée aux Indes Occidentales, autrement le Pacte d'Aſſiento, aux mêmes conditions, prérogatives, & priviléges accordés à la compagnie Françoiſe, & dont elle a joui, ou dû jouir depuis le premier de Mai, de l'année 1702, juſqu'à préſent.

" Le Roi accordera cet article.

" Sa Majeſté promet pareillement au nom du Roi d'Eſpagne les avantages & exemptions de droits dont il eſt fait mention dans cet article, & dont les Anglois jouiront immédiatement après la concluſion de la paix, à l'échange des ratifications.

" La paix générale étant faite, il ſera aſſigné à la compagnie Angloiſe de l'Aſſiento une étendue

gation, ou de faire céder à la Grande Bretagne les places demandées dans cet article, ou de lui procurer de nouveaux avantages, tels que l'amour de la paix puiſſe faire accepter comme un équivalent; ſur quoi on ſe trouve obligé d'inſiſter que ce miniſtre ſoit muni d'un pouvoir ſuffiſant. Et pour marquer d'autant mieux la ſincérité avec laquelle on traite, & le deſir que ſa Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne a d'avancer la paix générale, elle a trouvé à propos de déclarer que la difficulté ſurvenue ſur cet article pourra être levée en lui accordant les articles ſuivants:

" Que le pacte d'Aſſiento ſoit fait avec la Grande Bretagne pour le terme de trente ans.

" Que l'iſle entière de St. Chriſtophe ſoit aſſurée à la Grande Bretagne.

" Que les avantages & exemptions de droits promis par le Sieur Meſnager, & qu'il prétend devoir monter à quinze pour cent de profit ſur toutes les marchandiſes du crû & de la manufacture de la Grande Bretagne, lui ſoient effectivement accordés.

" La Grande Bretagne peut rafraichir à la Jamaique ſes négres, & y faire la diſtribution de

more fully to you, on the important ſubject of your Grace's two letters, of the 28th of September, and of the 1ſt of October, N.S.

due de terrain dans la rivière de la Plata, ſur lequel elle pourra non-ſeulement rafraicher ſes négres, mais les garder en ſureté, juſqu'à ce qu'ils ſoient vendus, ſuivant les conditions ſtipulées par la convention qui doit être paſſée pour l'Aſſiento. Et pour empêcher qu'il ne ſoit abuſé de cette permiſſion, le Roi d'Eſpagne nommera un officier pour y veiller, à l'inſpection duquel les intéreſſés à la dite compagnie, & généralement tous ceux qu'ils emploiront pour en faire le ſervice, ſeront ſoumis.

" (8.) La diſcuſſion de cet article ſera remiſe aux conférences générales de la paix, bien entendu que la faculté de pêcher & de ſêcher la morüe ſur l'Iſle de Terre Neuve ſera reſervée aux François.

ceux qu'elle enverra à la Vera-Cruz, à Portobello, & aux autres comptoirs dans cette partie des Indes. Mais comme du côté de la rivière de Plate elle n'eſt en poſſeſſion d'aucune colonie, on demande qu'il lui ſoit aſſigné dans cette rivière quelque étendue de terrain, ſur lequel elle pourra non ſeulement rafraichir ſes négres, mais les garder en ſureté juſqu'à ce qu'ils ſoient vendus aux Eſpagnols; & comme on n'entend aucune fineſſe en faiſant cette demande, on ſe ſoumettra à cet égard à l'inſpection de l'officier qui ſera nommé à cette fin par l'Eſpagne.

" (8.) La Terre Neuve, la Baie & les Détroits de Hudſon, ſeront entièrement reſtitués aux Anglois. La Grande Bretagne & la France garderont & poſſéderont reſpectivement tous les pais, domaines, & territoires dans l'Amérique Septentrionale que chacune de ces nations poſſédera au tems que la ratification de ce traité ſera publiée dans ces parties du monde.

" En exécution des ordres du Roi, nous ſouſſigné, Chevalier de ſon ordre de St. Michel, Député du Conſeil de Commerce, avons arrêté les préſentes réponſes aux demandes préliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne, au nombre de huit articles, en vertu du pourvoir de ſa Majeſté dont nous avons fourni la copie ſignée de notre main, & promettons au nom de ſa dite Majeſté, que les dites réponſes ſeront regardées comme conditions qu'elle convient d'accorder, dont les articles ſeront rédigés dans la forme ordinaire des traités, & expliqués de la manière la plus nette & la plus intelligible, à la ſatisfaction commune des Couronnes de la France & de la Grande Bretagne, & ce en cas de ſignature du traité de la paix générale. En foi de quoi nous avons ſigné & mis le cachet de nos armes. Fait, &c.

" Le Roi très Chrétien ayant témoigné à la Reine le deſir ſincère qu'il a de voir rétablir la tranquillité générale de l'Europe par une paix définitive, ſûre, & durable, & convenable aux intérêts de tous les alliés, & ayant ſouhaité que la Reine voulut avancer la négociation d'une telle paix, il a été trouvé juſte & raiſonnable que les intérêts de la Grande Bretagne fuſſent en premier lieu ajuſtés & aſſurés; pour cet effet le Roi très Chrétien ayant envoyé le Sieur Meſnager, Chevalier de ſon ordre de St. Michel, & Député du Conſeil de Commerce, il a arrêté les articles ſuſmentionnés au nombre de huit, en vertu du pouvoir de ſa Majeſté très Chrétien, dont il nous a fourni la copie, ſignée de ſa main; leſquels articles, nous ſouſignés déclarons, en vertu d'un ordre exprès de ſa Majeſté, qu'elle accepte comme articles préliminaires, qui ne contiennent que des ſuretés & des avantages que ſa Majeſté ſe croit en droit d'attendre, quiconque ſoit le Prince qui aura en partage la monarchie d'Eſpagne. Et ces articles doivent être regardés comme conditions que ſa Majeſté très Chrétien convient d'accorder; leſquels articles ſeront rédigés dans la forme ordinaire des traités, & expliqués de la manière la plus nette, & la plus intelligible, à la ſatisfaction commune des Couronnes de la Grande Bretagne & de la France. Et ce ſeulement en cas de ſignature de la paix générale. En foi de quoi nous avons ſigné, & mis les cachets de nos armes. Fait," &c.

Mem. This inſtrument was writ fair, and concluded in the following manner:

" Fait à Londres, le vingt-ſeptième Septembre, vieux ſtile, & du nouveau le huitième Octobre, mille ſept cents onze.

(L.S.) " DARTMOUTH.
(L.S.) " H. St. JOHN."

N.B. Before the words " Le Roi très Chrétien ayant témoigné," Monſieur Meſnager ſigned in the following manner, " Fait," &c. as above:

(L.S.) " MESNAGER."

The

The Queen, my Lord, has heard your Grace's letter to me, thoſe of my Lord Albemarle to you, and the reſolution of the States of the 28th of this month, read, and her Majeſty commands me to obſerve to your Grace, that the conſiderations urged by the Dutch are arguments againſt the project, not only with regard to the expence of it, but alſo to the practicability, or even to the expediency of it. To what this fatality ſhould be owing, the Queen is ignorant, but ſhe is very much reſolved that, on her own part, nothing ſhall be omitted which may tend to put into execution a deſign of ſo great importance, and of ſo promiſing an appearance.

Your Grace may therefore let the miniſters in Holland know, and my Lord Strafford, who goes back on Monday or Tueſday next, at the fartheſt, will have the ſame directions, that the Queen will not only bear her proportion of the extraordinary expence of forage; but likewiſe contribute to the charge of ſtables, barracks, and thoſe other incidents, which naturally ought not to be placed to her account. Your Grace will make the Dutch underſtand, that her Majeſty agrees to this extraordinary expence, on condition that they do effectually remove all obſtructions to the operations, wherein it is deſigned to employ this body of troops during the winter. Particularly, her majeſty expects that the article in the treaty of contributions, referred to in the reſolution of the States, ſhall be entirely laid aſide, ſince it is at all times diſhonourable, as well as prejudicial; and ſince it is abſolutely deſtructive of the great end propoſed in your Grace's ſcheme.

If the ſtates will comply with her Majeſty's deſires, and follow that example which ſhe ſets them, your Grace is to make the beſt bargains you can for the Queen's part of the charge, and my Lord Treaſurer will not fail to remit the money neceſſary for carrying this ſervice on.

Her

Her Majeſty is likewiſe willing to concur in obliging the Spaniſh provinces to ſubſiſt the eighteen Imperial ſquadrons, propoſed to be taken from the Upper Rhine. I write to the Earl of Orrery to act in this matter accordingly.

Your Grace ſees plainly, that as you have neglected nothing on your part to bring a project to bear, from the ſucceſs of which you have the greateſt expectations, ſo the Queen receives the law in every article from the Dutch, and complies with all their demands, inſiſting ſingly on that, without which the whole muſt become ineffectual.

The ſecret was, in your Grace's opinion, neceſſary, and here it has been kept inviolate; but, on the contrary, in Holland, every ſoul knows it; D'Ayrolle, in his letters, ſpeaks of it, and I have ſeen thoſe who only paſſed through the Hague in their way hither, and were as much inſtructed as myſelf almoſt in every circumſtance.

Windſor, Sept. 30th, 1711.

I have deferred finiſhing this letter till now, that I might have firſt the opportunity of laying before her Majeſty that which I received from your Grace yeſterday, which I did this evening in council. The Queen ſees no reaſon to alter her former orders. She looks on the matter to be entirely ſettled on her part, and hopes that no more unſeaſonable delays will happen on the ſide of the Dutch.

My Lord Treaſurer has taken meaſures, and given directions to Mr. Bridges, about the remittances.

I am, with great reſpect, &c.*

* Here cloſed the correſpondence of the Duke and her Majeſty's Miniſters. The preliminaries of peace were ſigned, in which he was not conſulted, and his high mind, long accuſtomed to direct the Britiſh cabinet, conceived a diſguſt which hurried him into all the violent meaſures of the oppoſite party.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Windsor Castle, Sept. 30th, 1711.

I HAVE this evening received the Queen's commands to let your Lordship know, that it is her pleasure that you endeavour, in concert with the Dutch ministers, to prevail on the Spanish Low Countries to receive, and assist in subsisting, eighteen squadrons of Imperial horse, which, it is proposed should take winter-quarters in that country. As this is an article of a project on which the Duke of Marlborough lays so much stress, as to judge that the event of the war turns upon it, your Lordship may be sure that her Majesty desires nothing in her power may be omitted, which can conduce to the success of it.

I must refer you for farther information to the Duke of Marlborough, from whom you will not fail to hear if the design goes on.

Your letter of the 8th of October, N.S. came to my hands yesterday, but I have, at present, only time to add, that I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 2me d'Octobre, 1711.

CETTE lettre vous sera présentée par M. Mesnager, qui après s'être acquitté de la commission que le roi lui a confié, retourne auprès de vous pour rendre compte de sa négociation.

Je ne doute nullement que vous ne reſſentiez le même plaiſir que nous, en voyant aplanir les difficultés, qui ſe ſont depuis long-tems oppoſées au rétabliſſement de la tranquillité publique.

J'oſerois, Monſieur, vous aſſurer d'une bonne foi, & d'une facilité, qui ſoutenues par les mêmes diſpoſitions de la part de la France, ne pourront pas manquer de produire le bon effet que nous en attendons ; mais ces ſortes d'aſſurances doivent être regardées comme très inutiles, après celles que ſa Majeſté a bien voulu donner de bouche à Monſieur Meſnager.

Le Comte de Strafford partira après demain pour la Hollande. Votre miniſtre eſt pleinement inſtruit de ce qu'il propoſera aux Etats.

Je ſuis, Monſieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, October 2d, 1711.

MY lords met this morning at the cockpit, and after diſpatching the current buſineſs, they ſaw the earl of Strafford, to whom they explained ſeveral heads on which your Majeſty's orders have been formerly given, and which will probably, at the Hague, come again before him. They likewiſe agreed upon an additional inſtruction which may be neceſſary to ſave time, and which comes incloſed for your Majeſty's approbation.

We have received this day, by the Oſtend mail, Bruſſels letters of the 9th N.S. but they have no article of news in them.

The letters of cachet which your Majeſty ſigned ſome time ſince, will, I find, on peruſing them, ſerve for the preſent commiſſion which

my Lord Rivers goes upon, ſo that there is no need of troubling your Majeſty to ſign any others.

The papers which he is to take with him will be ready to-morrow, and on Thurſday, both he and my Lord Strafford will be going.

I am, with all poſſible reſpect,
Madam, &c.

To Mr. Harriſon.

SIR,

Whitehall, October 9th, 1711.

YOUR letter of the 6th, N.S. came, by what accident I know not, ſeveral days later than it ſhould have done, to my hands. I thank you for the pains you took, at my requeſt, in endeavouring to find from what quarter Corticelli received the libel, and by whoſe direction he conveyed it to the printer. I am ſo firmly of opinion that he acted in purſuance to orders which he received from hence, that I have troubled my Lord Ambaſſador on the ſubject.

You will, by the time this letter can come to you, be informed of the Queen's reſolution to ſet a treaty of peace on foot; ſince you are ſo near to my Lord Strafford, you can ſtand little in need of any informations or inſtructions from me. I will, however, venture to ſay, that I think you and every other perſon, who has any relation to public buſineſs, ought, upon this occaſion, to ſpeak plainly, where it may be of uſe. The Queen has ſupported a ten years' war, wherein her intereſts were at moſt but remotely concerned, with all the vigour of a principal, and with all the ſacrifices which might be expected from a frontier ſtate, from a prince who fought *pro aris et focis*; the burden

has every year been increaſed, without proportion, upon her. She finds, at laſt, her kingdoms no longer able to continue under ſuch preſſures; ſhe thinks therefore, that ſhe is obliged, in juſtice even to the allies, to declare that it is time to conclude a peace. In the carrying of which negociation forward, as ſhe will not neglect the intereſt of her own dominions, ſo ſhe will ſupport the confederates in all their juſt demands, and conſent to no treaty, wherein they ſhall not find their reaſonable ſatisfaction.

It is evident that peace is become ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary to all parties, that the endeavours which may be uſed to break the preſent negociation off, will not be looked upon here, as the effect of a reſolution to carry on the war, but as the effect of an apprehenſion which ſome people may entertain, that the Queen, by beginning and promoting the treaty, has ſtipulated more advantageous terms for Great Britain, than uſed to be aimed at. If the Queen has done ſo, it is no more than what the ſhare ſhe has had in the war may juſtly entitle her to; and no perſon can have a fair pretence to object upon this account, when her ſervants do, by her order and in her name, repeat their declarations, that no advantage ſhall induce her Majeſty to lay down her arms, till the ends of the grand alliance are obtained.

You will do well to conſider particularly the eighth article of that treaty*, and to obſerve how remote the ſober prudent views, in which this

* Which is as follows:

" When the war is once undertaken, none of the parties ſhall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly and in concert with the others; nor is peace to be made, without having firſt obtained a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for his Cæſarean Majeſty, and for his Royal Majeſty of Great Britain, and a particular ſecurity to the Lords the States-General of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce; and a ſufficient proviſion, that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the ſame perſon, or that the ſame man may never be king of both kingdoms; and particularly that the French may never be in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation for conveniency of trade, under any pretence whatever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed, that the ſubjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to uſe and enjoy

this war was undertaken, are, from thoſe romantic ſchemes which private intereſt formed, and which the ſanguine temper, to which the minds of men had, by miraculous ſucceſſes, been wrought, made them capable of embracing.

I have a brother in Holland, who is to continue there this winter, unleſs the treaty of peace ſhould be carried to another place. In all caſes, he will be where you are, and I muſt deſire your aſſiſtance and advice to him; he is young and unexperienced, I hope he has an inclination to improve.

I am, with very ſincere affection,

Sir, your's, &c.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 9, 1711.

YOU will have ſeen, by a former letter of mine, that I was very far from forgetting the command which you laid, ſome time ago, upon me, and which you have now repeated. I ſpoke to the Queen concerning your leave to come this winter hither, and her Majeſty had no objection to it; but I thought if you received it any time before the ſitting of parliament, it would be ſufficient. On Sunday I will not fail to take the Queen's pleaſure herein, and you may expect by the Oſtend

enjoy all the ſame privileges, rights, immunities, and liberties of commerce, by land and ſea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries which the late king of Spain, at the time of his death, was in poſſeſſion of, as well in Europe as elſewhere, as they did then uſe and enjoy; or which the ſubjects of both or each nation, could uſe and enjoy, by virtue of any right, obtained before the death of the ſaid king of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, cuſtom, or any other way whatſoever.

mail of Monday, and by the Dutch mail of Tueſday, to hear from me.

Upon the Earl of Strafford's arrival at the Hague, the rumour about propoſitions made by France will be cleared; and ſince peace, and the manner of treating it, will become the ſubject of all converſations, I think it neceſſary to ſay ſomething to your Lordſhip of her Majeſty's intentions upon that head, and of the meaſures by which ſhe has thought fit to direct her conduct.

The ſtate of theſe kingdoms with reſpect to the war, your Lordſhip is ſo well apprized of, that you want no information from me; the ſtate of the confederacy, and the alteration made in the ſyſtem of war, by the emperor's death*, your Lordſhip is, no doubt, maſter of; and I dare ſay that the neceſſity of a peace, reſulting from theſe conſiderations, is very apparent to you. The Queen, my Lord, was of this mind, and therefore when France applied to her, and deſired that ſhe would ſet on foot a general negociation, ſhe embraced that propoſition with as much readineſs as was conſiſtent with the proper caution of not ſeeming over-fond of a peace, or over-tired of the war. France would, you may be ſure, willingly have treated, by way of preliminary, with her Majeſty, concerning the intereſts of the ſeveral allies, but the Queen was very far from taking the leaſt ſtep which might look like a ſeparate negociation, or which might preclude any party, engaged in the confederacy, from advancing their pretenſions. She inſiſted to have ſuch general offers made by the enemy, as may give room to all the allies to negociate for themſelves, and ſhe declares that ſhe will ſupport them in all reaſonable demands throughout the whole courſe of the negociation.

She deſires the treaty may be carried on ſomewhere in Holland, or

* By which, had the object of the war continued to be the placing the crown of Spain on the head of Charles VI, the Imperial and Spaniſh crowns would have been united.

in

in the adjacent countries, for the greater conveniency of her allies; and ſhe hopes it may be concluded to their common ſatisfaction. Should the enemy refuſe to comply with their reaſonable demands, no advantage which can be propoſed to the Queen, no neceſſity which ſhe may be under, will be able to induce her Majeſty to make an unſafe or diſhonourable end of the war which ſhe has with ſo much glory ſuſtained.

After this, the Queen thinks that ſhe may expect her allies ſhould comply with her in war or in peace. The diſproportionate manner in which the former has been managed, ſhe can no longer bear, and ſhe makes this declaration, that ſhe may neither deceive herſelf nor them.

We expect to find great oppoſition to the opening of the conferences from ſome quarters, upon ſtate topics; but the true ground of this oppoſition, we imagine, will be the apprehenſion which has been entertained of advantages yielded to the Queen by the enemy; and you know, my Lord, that we have friends who have eaſily taken alarms of this kind.

In ſhort, her Majeſty, who is convinced that a peace is neceſſary for every one, except ſuch as contribute nothing, and get a great deal by the war; who judges that it is at leaſt as fit for her as for any party engaged to promote and take the lead of a negociation; and who is conſcious to herſelf of having acted in the faireſt and the moſt generous manner towards her confederates, deſpiſes the clamour which has been raiſed, fears not that which ſhe foreſees will be raiſed, and purſues ſteadily a meaſure, which ſhe had maturely debated before ſhe acted upon it.

I may very probably write more fully and more plainly to your Lordſhip upon this ſubject in a ſhort time.

I am, with true friendſhip,

My Lord, &c.

To Mr. Scott.

SIR,

Whitehall, October 9, 1711.

HAVING nothing to write to you upon, by this poſt, in an office-letter, I ſhall only give you the trouble of a private one.

Your thoughts are very agreeable to thoſe of the miniſters concerning the neceſſity of a peace, from the conſideration of the Northern affairs, as well as from divers other unanſwerable reaſons; but you will give me leave to deſire you, when you have occaſion to go out of the road of buſineſs, or to ſpeak of any matter which may be nice, and not fit for common peruſal, to throw your thoughts into a letter diſtinct from that of the office. The latter is not entirely mine, whilſt I am Secretary, and whenever I go out, it paſſes to my ſucceſſor, and ſo on, to God knows who.

By obſerving the method I mention, you may write with the greateſt freedom, and you will run no riſque of having your ſentiments on any fact, which ſhould be kept ſecret, diſcloſed.

I believe the commiſſion which Lord Strafford is to execute at his arrival at the Hague, will occaſion many reflections where you are, as well as every where elſe. The proper language for her Majeſty's ſervants to ſpeak every where upon that occaſion, I think, is, that the Queen, at whoſe expence chiefly the war is ſupported, may very naturally take upon her to inſiſt that conferences ſhould be opened, and that it ſhould be tried whether the enemy will, in particulars, be as reaſonable as they are in generals.

I hope to hear, by your next letters, ſome accounts which may enable

us to judge of our intereſt a little better than we can at preſent, with regard to the Northern war.

I am, Sir, your moſt faithful, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, October 12, 1711.

I SHALL not give you, by this poſt, the trouble of an office-letter; but you muſt allow me to ſend you an account of ſuch facts as have happened, and of ſuch thoughts as have occurred to me, ſince I writ to you upon that important ſubject, which your Excellency is at this time beginning to treat*.

My

* "ANNE R. "Inſtructions for our right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Councellor Thomas Earl of Strafford, our Ambaſſador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.

"Upon your arrival in Holland (whither you are to repair with all poſſible diligence) you ſhall take the firſt opportunity of conferring with the Penſionary, and of informing him, that we have ſent you back as ſoon as ſome matters of the greateſt moment were ripe and fit to be laid before our good friends and allies, the States-General.

"You are to repreſent to this miniſter, and to ſuch others as ſhall be appointed to confer with you, that when we received, in the month of May laſt, by your diſpatches to us, an account of the ſenſe which thoſe among them, who were at that time in the ſecret, had of the overtures made by France for ſettling a negociation of peace again on foot, and of the anſwer which it was deſired might be returned to the propoſitions ſigned by Monſieur de Torcy, we did immediately acquaint the enemy, that their offers were thought by us, and by the States-General, neither particular nor full enough; and therefore we did inſiſt, that they ſhould form a diſtinct project of ſuch a peace, as they were willing to conclude.

"You are further to inform the Dutch miniſters, that this affair being tranſacted by papers ſent backward and forward, and much time being loſt in this dilatory method; we did at laſt think fit to ſend to the court of France, in order to have from thence ſome more certain account of the diſpoſitions towards peace, and of the terms on which they might be willing to make it.

"That the French did hereupon ſend over a perſon with power to treat, and to ſettle ſome preliminary articles to a general negociation. But that this perſon being neither fully inſtructed, nor ſufficiently impowered, a ſtill further delay was created, and it became abſolutely neceſſary to allow him to ſend to his court for more ample inſtructions. We being determined on our part, according to the deſire of the Penſionary, and of the other miniſters, to leave nothing undone which might bring the French to be more direct and particular in their overtures.

"You

My Lord Dartmouth and your humble ſervant began, as ſoon as the Windſor journey was over, to communicate to the foreign miniſters the paper

" You are to communicate to the Penſionary, and to the miniſters you confer with, the paper herewith delivered to you, ſigned by Monſieur Meſnager, an old acquaintance of theirs, and one with whom they have formerly treated; repreſenting to them, that, though the ſeveral articles do not contain ſuch particular conceſſions as France muſt, and to be ſure will make, yet they are, in our opinion, a ſufficient foundation whereupon to open the conferences.

" That we were unwilling to take upon ourſelves to determine the ſeveral intereſts of our allies; and, did therefore reſolve to content ourſelves with ſuch general offers as might include all the particular demands proper to be made in the courſe of the negociation; during which, it muſt be the moſt careful endeavour, and the fixed principle of all the confederates, to hold faſt together, in order to obtain from the enemy the utmoſt which can be hoped for in the preſent circumſtances of affairs. And this rule, you may aſſure them, that we ſhall, on our part, firmly adhere to.

" If upon this, or upon any other occaſion, the miniſters of Holland ſhall expreſs their uneaſineſs leſt we ſhould have ſettled the intereſts of theſe our kingdoms in a future peace, by any private agreement; you are to ſay, that we have refuſed to ſuffer the treaty to be carried on in our own country, and that we ſhall ſtill continue to do ſo, unleſs they conſtrain us to take another meaſure. That by this means the Dutch and all our allies will have the opportunity and the conveniency of treating and adjuſting their different pretenſions, in promoting of which we ſhall exert all that zeal for the common good, and for their particular advantage, which we are ſure they do us the juſtice to confeſs that we have ſhown through the whole courſe of our reign.

" You will further ſay, that you can take upon yourſelf to aſſure them, that we have made no ſtipulation for ourſelves, which may claſh with the intereſt of Holland. That thoſe articles which we expect ſhould be inſerted in the future treaty of peace for the particular intereſt of Great Britain, are for the moſt part ſuch as contain advantages which muſt either continue to the enemy, or be obtained by us. And alſo, that no conceſſions whatſoever can tempt us to embrace the bleſſings of peace, unleſs our good friends and allies, the States-General, have all reaſonable ſatisfaction as to their barrier, as to their trade, and in all other reſpects.

" Theſe aſſurances being given in our name, you are to inſinuate ſtrongly to the miniſters of Holland, how juſt reaſon we ſhould have to be offended, and to look on the proceeding between them and us as very unequal, if they ſhould pretend to have any further uneaſineſs upon this head. And we, being determined to accept of no advantages to ourſelves repugnant to their intereſts, nor of any peace which may not be to their reaſonable ſatisfaction, that the figure which we have made through the whole courſe of this war, and the part which we have acted in it, ſuperior to what any of the allies, even thoſe who are neareſt to the danger, and in intereſt moſt deeply concerned, have done, might juſtly entitle us, if we ſhould ſo think fit, in the firſt place, to adjuſt and ſettle the particular concerns of Great Britain, before we ſhould conſent to ſet the general negociation on foot.

" If thoſe engagements which we are under by our treaties, of making no peace, but in concert with them, or the obligations of the barrier-treaty are objected to you, you are to ſay, as to the firſt, that we have not in any ſort acted contrary thereto. That we are ſo far from making a peace without their concurrence, that we have declared our firm reſolution, not to make it without their ſatisfaction, and that all which has paſſed between France and us, amounts to no more than an introduction to a general negociation. As to the latter, you will repreſent very earneſtly to them, how much it is for the intereſt even of Holland itſelf, rather to compound the advantages of the barrier-treaty, than to inſiſt upon the whole, ſince it is notorious that the Houſe of Auſtria, and ſeveral others of the allies, are, and muſt neceſſarily continue utterly averſe to it; and ſince you may yourſelf aſſure them, upon the obſervation which you have made during your ſtay here, that nothing can be more odious to the people of theſe kingdoms than many parts of this treaty; and that nothing has prevented that national and univerſal indignation which would have broke out upon this occaſion, but the great care and induſtry which has been uſed to calm the minds of thoſe who are acquainted with the terms of this guaranty, and to keep the ſame as ſecret as poſſible from thoſe who are not yet apprized of them. You will epoſtulate further

paper which your Excellency carried with you, purſuant to her Majeſty's

further with the miniſters of Holland, by ſhewing the abſolute neceſſity of entertaining a good harmony between the two nations, upon which not only their mutual ſafety in great meaſure depends, but without which there can, at no time, be formed a ſtrength ſufficient to reduce any exorbitant power, and to preſerve the balance of Europe; and upon this foundation you will argue that it is the true intereſt of neither country to inſiſt on any conditions, which may give juſt apprehenſions to the other.

"You are to acquaint them that France propoſes Utrecht, Nimeguen, Aix la Chapelle, and Liege, as places in any one of which the conferences may with conveniency be held; that we have refuſed to let the general treaty be carried on in our own country, and that we are ready to ſend our plenipotentiaries to ſuch of theſe four towns as may be moſt agreeable to them.

"You are to conclude your conference by deſiring that they will give all poſſible diſpatch to the choice of a place of treaty, and that the paſſports to the French plenipotentiaries may be haſtened; it being, in our opinion, of importance, ſo to forward the progreſs of this great affair, that, on one hand we may not be expoſed to begin too late the preparations for the next campaign; nor, on the other, to put ourſelves to an expence, which, in caſe the general treaty proceeds, will be unneceſſary.

"And whereas, not only the Dutch, but the Imperial and other Miniſters may perhaps deny the paper herewith delivered to you, to be a ſufficient ground for opening the conferences upon, and may inſiſt that France ſhould conſent to preliminary articles of the nature of thoſe formed, and, on the part of the allies, ſigned in 1709, you are, in the firſt place, beſides what is in theſe your inſtructions before-directed, to inſinuate, that the French might very probably have been brought to explain themſelves further, had they not perceived the extraordinary uneaſineſs, impatience, and jealouſy, which, during their tranſactions with us, diſcovered themſelves amongſt our allies. You are afterwards, in our name, to declare to them, that if they are deſirous to carry on the war, and determined to accept of no terms of peace inferior to thoſe which have been formerly demanded, we are, on our part, ready to concur with them, and to continue to ſacrifice the blood and treaſure of our ſubjects, as we have hitherto done, for their greater advantage and ſecurity: but that we are in juſtice bound, neither to deceive ourſelves nor them, and do, therefore, by you, our ambaſſador and plenipotentiary, ſolemnly declare, that we can no longer bear that diſproportionate burden which has every year been increaſed upon us, nor that deficiency which our allies, in every part of the war, are guilty of: that it is evident, that the common effort muſt be ſtill greater againſt the enemy than it is, or that there will be no proſpect of arriving at thoſe ends which are propoſed: that therefore it is incumbent on them, if the war be continued, to furniſh, for the future, ſuch quotas of ſhips and forces, as they are at this time wanting in, and to increaſe their expence, whilſt we reduce ours to ſuch a proportion as in reaſon and in juſtice both ſhould be ſettled at.

"If on the part oft he Miniſters of Vienna and of Holland, their inability to do more than they have hitherto done, be urged in anſwer to you, our pleaſure is, that you finiſh by ſaying that we think we may juſtly inſiſt that they ſhould comply with us in war or in peace; ſince, in the former caſe, we require nothing but what it belongs to them to perform, and what is eſſential to the ſucceſs of our arms; and ſince, in the latter, we have done, and ſhall, to the laſt, continue to do, all that is in our power, towards obtaining ſuch a peace as may be to the ſatisfaction of all our allies.

"Given at our Court at Windſor, this firſt day of October, in the year 1711, and of our reign, the tenth.

"A. R."

(L.S.) "ANNE R.

"Additional Inſtruction to our right truſty, and right well-beloved couſin and counſellor, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, our Ambaſſadour Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary, to the States General of the United Provinces. Given at our Caſtle, at Windſor, the ſecond day of October, 1711, in the tenth year of our reign.

"Whereas, by an article in your inſtructions, bearing date the 1ſt inſtant, you are to conclude the conference which you ſhall have upon your arrival at the Hague, with the Minſters of the

My Lord Dartmouth and your humble ſervant began, as ſoon as the Windſor journey was over, to communicate to the foreign miniſters the paper

" You are to communicate to the Penſionary, and to the miniſters you confer with, the paper herewith delivered to you, ſigned by Monſieur Meſnager, an old acquaintance of theirs, and one with whom they have formerly treated; repreſenting to them, that, though the ſeveral articles do not contain ſuch particular conceſſions as France muſt, and to be ſure will make, yet they are, in our opinion, a ſufficient foundation whereupon to open the conferences.

" That we were unwilling to take upon ourſelves to determine the ſeveral intereſts of our allies; and, did therefore reſolve to content ourſelves with ſuch general offers as might include all the particular demands proper to be made in the courſe of the negociation; during which, it muſt be the moſt careful endeavour, and the fixed principle of all the confederates, to hold faſt together, in order to obtain from the enemy the utmoſt which can be hoped for in the preſent circumſtances of affairs. And this rule, you may aſſure them, that we ſhall, on our part, firmly adhere to.

" If upon this, or upon any other occaſion, the miniſters of Holland ſhall expreſs their uneaſineſs leſt we ſhould have ſettled the intereſts of theſe our kingdoms in a future peace, by any private agreement; you are to ſay, that we have refuſed to ſuffer the treaty to be carried on in our own country, and that we ſhall ſtill continue to do ſo, unleſs they conſtrain us to take another meaſure. That by this means the Dutch and all our allies will have the opportunity and the conveniency of treating and adjuſting their different pretenſions, in promoting of which we ſhall exert all that zeal for the common good, and for their particular advantage, which we are ſure they do us the juſtice to confeſs that we have ſhown through the whole courſe of our reign.

" You will further ſay, that you can take upon yourſelf to aſſure them, that we have made no ſtipulation for ourſelves, which may claſh with the intereſt of Holland. That thoſe articles which we expect ſhould be inſerted in the future treaty of peace for the particular intereſt of Great Britain, are for the moſt part ſuch as contain advantages which muſt either continue to the enemy, or be obtained by us. And alſo, that no conceſſions whatſoever can tempt us to embrace the bleſſings of peace, unleſs our good friends and allies, the States-General, have all reaſonable ſatisfaction as to their barrier, as to their trade, and in all other reſpects.

" Theſe aſſurances being given in our name, you are to inſinuate ſtrongly to the miniſters of Holland, how juſt reaſon we ſhould have to be offended, and to look on the proceeding between them and us as very unequal, if they ſhould pretend to have any further uneaſineſs upon this head. And we, being determined to accept of no advantages to ourſelves repugnant to their intereſts, nor of any peace which may not be to their reaſonable ſatisfaction, that the figure which we have made through the whole courſe of this war, and the part which we have acted in it, ſuperior to what any of the allies, even thoſe who are neareſt to the danger, and in intereſt moſt deeply concerned, have done, might juſtly entitle us, if we ſhould ſo think fit, in the firſt place, to adjuſt and ſettle the particular concerns of Great Britain, before we ſhould conſent to ſet the general negociation on foot.

" If thoſe engagements which we are under by our treaties, of making no peace, but in concert with them, or the obligations of the barrier-treaty are objected to you, you are to ſay, as to the firſt, that we have not in any ſort acted contrary thereto. That we are ſo far from making a peace without their concurrence, that we have declared our firm reſolution, not to make it without their ſatisfaction, and that all which has paſſed between France and us, amounts to no more than an introduction to a general negociation. As to the latter, you will repreſent very earneſtly to them, how much it is for the intereſt even of Holland itſelf, rather to compound the advantages of the barrier-treaty, than to inſiſt upon the whole, ſince it is notorious that the Houſe of Auſtria, and ſeveral others of the allies, are, and muſt neceſſarily continue utterly averſe to it; and ſince you may yourſelf aſſure them, upon the obſervation which you have made during your ſtay here, that nothing can be more odious to the people of theſe kingdoms than many parts of this treaty; and that nothing has prevented that national and univerſal indignation which would have broke out upon this occaſion, but the great care and induſtry which has been uſed to calm the minds of thoſe who are acquainted with the terms of this guaranty, and to keep the ſame as ſecret as poſſible from thoſe who are not yet apprized of them. You will epoſtulate further

paper which your Excellency carried with you, purſuant to her Majeſty's

further with the miniſters of Holland, by ſhewing the abſolute neceſſity of entertaining a good harmony between the two nations, upon which not only their mutual ſafety in great meaſure depends, but without which there can, at no time, be formed a ſtrength ſufficient to reduce any exorbitant power, and to preſerve the balance of Europe; and upon this foundation you will argue that it is the true intereſt of neither country to inſiſt on any conditions, which may give juſt apprehenſions to the other.

"You are to acquaint them that France propoſes Utrecht, Nimeguen, Aix la Chapelle, and Liege, as places in any one of which the conferences may with conveniency be held; that we have refuſed to let the general treaty be carried on in our own country, and that we are ready to ſend our plenipotentiaries to ſuch of theſe four towns as may be moſt agreeable to them.

"You are to conclude your conference by deſiring that they will give all poſſible diſpatch to the choice of a place of treaty, and that the paſſports to the French plenipotentiaries may be haſtened; it being, in our opinion, of importance, ſo to forward the progreſs of this great affair, that, on one hand we may not be expoſed to begin too late the preparations for the next campaign; nor, on the other, to put ourſelves to an expence, which, in caſe the general treaty proceeds, will be unneceſſary.

"And whereas, not only the Dutch, but the Imperial and other Miniſters may perhaps deny the paper herewith delivered to you, to be a ſufficient ground for opening the conferences upon, and may inſiſt that France ſhould conſent to preliminary articles of the nature of thoſe formed, and, on the part of the allies, ſigned in 1709, you are, in the firſt place, beſides what is in theſe your inſtructions before-directed, to inſinuate, that the French might very probably have been brought to explain themſelves further, had they not perceived the extraordinary uneaſineſs, impatience, and jealouſy, which, during their tranſactions with us, diſcovered themſelves amongſt our allies. You are afterwards, in our name, to declare to them, that if they are deſirous to carry on the war, and determined to accept of no terms of peace inferior to thoſe which have been formerly demanded, we are, on our part, ready to concur with them, and to continue to ſacrifice the blood and treaſure of our ſubjects, as we have hitherto done, for their greater advantage and ſecurity: but that we are in juſtice bound, neither to deceive ourſelves nor them, and do, therefore, by you, our ambaſſador and plenipotentiary, ſolemnly declare, that we can no longer bear that diſproportionate burden which has every year been increaſed upon us, nor that deficiency which our allies, in every part of the war, are guilty of: that it is evident, that the common effort muſt be ſtill greater againſt the enemy than it is, or that there will be no proſpect of arriving at thoſe ends which are propoſed: that therefore it is incumbent on them, if the war be continued, to furniſh, for the future, ſuch quotas of ſhips and forces, as they are at this time wanting in, and to increaſe their expence, whilſt we reduce ours to ſuch a proportion as in reaſon and in juſtice both ſhould be ſettled at.

"If on the part oft he Miniſters of Vienna and of Holland, their inability to do more than they have hitherto done, be urged in anſwer to you, our pleaſure is, that you finiſh by ſaying that we think we may juſtly inſiſt that they ſhould comply with us in war or in peace; ſince, in the former caſe, we require nothing but what it belongs to them to perform, and what is eſſential to the ſucceſs of our arms; and ſince, in the latter, we have done, and ſhall, to the laſt, continue to do, all that is in our power, towards obtaining ſuch a peace as may be to the ſatisfaction of all our allies.

"Given at our Court at Windſor, this firſt day of October, in the year 1711, and of our reign, the tenth.

"A. R."

(L.S.)

"ANNE R.

"Additional Inſtruction to our right truſty, and right well-beloved couſin and counſellor, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, our Ambaſſadour Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary, to the States General of the United Provinces. Given at our Caſtle, at Windſor, the ſecond day of October, 1711, in the tenth year of our reign.

"Whereas, by an article in your inſtructions, bearing date the 1ſt inſtant, you are to conclude the conference which you ſhall have upon your arrival at the Hague, with the Minſters of the States-

jeſty's commands*. The Count de Gallas†, who does not ſtir abroad, at leaſt to viſit the Queen's ſervants, has writ a letter to Lord Dartmouth, wherein he treats the propoſitions very ſlightly, and only condeſcends to take notice of them, becauſe they were ſent by her Majeſty's order. He calls the whole proceeding an enigma, and, in ſhort, ſpeaks

States-General, by deſiring all poſſible diſpatch may be given to the choice of a place of treaty, and that paſſports for the French Plenipotentiaries may be haſtened:

"It is our further will and pleaſure, that as ſoon as the ſaid paſſports ſhall be promiſed, you do immediately give notice thereof by a courier to the Court of France; or, if the States-General ſhall deſire it of you, that you do ſend the ſaid paſſports to the Marquis de Torcy.

"A. R."

* "Articles Préliminaires de la part de la France pour parvenir à la paix générale.

"Le Roi voulant contribuer de tout ſon pouvoir au rétabliſſement de la paix générale, ſa Majeſté déclare,

"*Premièrement*, Qu'elle reconnoîtra la Reine de la Grande Bretagne en cette qualité, auſſi-bien que la ſucceſſion à cette couronne ſuivant l'établiſſement préſent.

"*Secondement*, Qu'elle conſentira volontairement & de bonne foi à prendre toutes les meſures juſtes & raiſonnables, pour empêcher que les couronnes de France & d'Eſpagne ſoient jamais réunies ſur la tête d'un même Prince; ſa Majeſté étant perſuadée que cet excès de puiſſance ſeroit contraire au bien & au repos de l'Europe.

"*Troiſièmement*, L'intention du Roi eſt, que toutes les parties engagées dans la guerre préſente, ſans en excepter aucune, trouvent leur ſatisfaction raiſonnable dans le traité de paix à faire. Que le commerce ſoit rétabli & maintenu déſormais à l'avantage de la Grande Bretagne, de la Hollande, & des autres nations qui ont accoutumé de l'exercer.

"*Quatrièmement*, Comme le roi veut auſſi maintenir exactement l'obſervation de la paix, lorſqu'elle aura été conclue, & que l'objet que ſa Majeſté ſe propoſe eſt d'aſſurer les frontières de ſon royaume, ſans troubler, en quelque manière que ce ſoit, les états voiſins, elle promet de convenir par le traité de paix futur, que les Hollandois auront entre leurs mains les places fortes, qui ſeront ſpécifiées dans les Pays-Bas, pour ſervir déſormais de barrière, qui aſſure le repos de la Republique de Hollande, contre toute entrepriſe de la part de la France.

"*Cinquièmement*, Le roi conſent auſſi, qu'il ſoit formé à l'empire & à la maiſon d'Autriche une barrière ſûre & convenable.

"*Sixièmement*, Quoique Dunquerque ait coûté au Roi des ſommes très grandes, tant pour l'acquérir que pour le fortifier, & qu'il ſoit néceſſaire de faire encore une dépenſe très conſidérable pour en raſer les ouvrages; ſa Majeſté veut bien toutefois s'engager à les faire démolir immédiatement après la concluſion de la paix, à condition qu'il lui ſera donné, pour les fortifications de cette place, un équivalent convenable, & dont elle ſoit contente; et comme l'Angleterre ne peut fournir le dit équivalent, la diſcuſſion en ſera remiſe aux conférences qui ſe tiendront pour la négotiation de la paix.

"*Septièmement*, Lorſque les conférences pour la négociation de la paix ſeront formées, on y diſcutera de bonne foi, & à l'amiable, toutes les prétenſions des Princes & Etats engagés dans la préſente guerre; et rien ne ſera omis pour les régler & pour les terminer à la ſatisfaction de toutes les parties.

"En vertu du plein pouvoir du Roi, nous ſouſſigné, Chévalier de ſon ordre de St. Michel, Député au Conſeil de Commerce avons arrêté au nom de ſa Majeſté les préſents articles préliminaires, en foi de quoi nous avons ſigné. Fait à Londres, le vingt-ſeptième Septembre, vieux ſtyle, & du nouveau le huitième Octobre, mille ſept cents onze.

(L.S.) "MESNAGER."

† The Imperial Miniſter.

the

the language, which the impertinence of an Auſtrian miniſter, improved by the encouragement and converſation of a ſaucy faction, might make one expect. It ſhall be no fault of mine if he does not receive ſuch a reply, as, by the decency of it, will give him reaſon to be aſhamed, and as, by the reſolution of it, will confound him.

Count Maffei is likewiſe a little in diſcontent, and deſires ſome farther explanation and aſſurances of the Queen's intentions, with regard to the intereſts of his maſter; he objects that a barrier is promiſed to Holland, to the Houſe of Auſtria, and to the Empire, againſt France, but that no mention is made of the ſame for the Duke of Savoy. That care is indeed taken, in the ſeparate article, that ſuch places ſhall be ſurrendered to him as may anſwer the ends of the treaty made with him; but that theſe are to be places in Italy, whereas thoſe places and diſtricts of country which are neceſſary to ſecure his maſter againſt the attempts of France, cannot be with propriety ſaid to be in Italy. By theſe means, ſays this miniſter, my maſter will be excluded from inſiſting, at leaſt from the hopes of obtaining the barrier, which his treaties import, and which is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to preſerve him in a condition of being uſeful to the common cauſe.

In this private letter, and in confidence, I may ſay to your Excellency, that I foreſaw and made this very objection, and that I would have had thoſe words *en Italie* left out; in which caſe that article would have included any thing on the ſide of France, which, in the courſe of the negociation, might have been thought proper for the Duke of Savoy. But the rub is in the way; how it came there is an inſignificant conſideration; the queſtion is, how ſhall it be removed? The Lords, this morning, at the cock-pit, debated the matter; and the turn which will, I believe, by their advice, and her Majeſty's order, be given to it, is this, that her Majeſty has declared ſhe will conſent to no peace without reaſonable ſatisfaction to all her allies; that France has promiſed as

much; that therefore every thing which concerns the Duke of Savoy's ſafety muſt be included in this expreſſion; that the Queen, who has thought of aggrandizing his Royal Highneſs, could never mean to leave him expoſed; that the propoſitions now made public are nothing more than principles, on which France declares herſelf ready to treat; that theſe are to be explained and extended in the general treaty, and many particulars inſerted; in fine, that the Queen hopes a good underſtanding, between the miniſters of the Duke and her own, will continue throughout all the future tranſactions of peace; in which caſe, this umbrage will eaſily be removed, and his Royal Highneſs will be made both ſafer and greater. I muſt add upon this head that I think I diſcern at leaſt as much intention to diſcover what reſerved meaning we may have, what is to be hoped for from us, as what we have done.

Your Excellency ſees, by this time, what the artifices are, which will be employed to hinder this negociation from ſucceeding, and our nation from riſing above the character of a province to the alliance, which character ambition and avarice brought upon us, and preſumptuous folly has made us pride ourſelves in, and value ourſelves upon.

The Queen has determined to ſhake off thoſe ſhackles which her retainers have faſtened on her, to free her people from the oppreſſion which they lie under, and at the ſame time to preſerve both honour and decency towards her confederates. Theſe are, my Lord, the principles on which your inſtructions are founded, and theſe are ſo ſuitable to your generous temper, to your high ſtation, and to your noble birth, that I am confident you will purſue them with all that firmneſs which the cauſe deſerves and requires.

I am, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 15, 1711.

I AM this moment returned from Windſor, where I put her Majeſty in mind of your Lordſhip's deſire to come over this winter, and the Queen has no objection to your doing ſo.

We are now in want of five poſts; as ſoon as they arrive, it will be probably ſeen, whether there may be occaſion to ſend your Lordſhip ſome freſh inſtructions, on a ſubject which my Lord Marlborough repreſents to be of the higheſt conſequence, and which the Queen is determined to neglect, on her part, nothing to promote; after that I ſhall ſend you the Queen's leave in form.

You will probably have received a copy of the paper, which the Earl of Strafford is to communicate to the foreign miniſters, at the Hague; and which having been communicated to thoſe who reſide here, has been rendered as public as the Daily Courant * can make it. I would only obſerve to your Lordſhip upon that paper, that it contains nothing more than ſuch general offers on the part of France, as may fix the principles upon which the treaty is to be carried on, ſo that no ally will be well grounded in objecting to it as not ample enough, or in finding fault that their particular intereſts are not ſecured. If it is a ſufficient inducement, and the Queen thinks it is, to open the conferences for a peace, that is all that it was ſigned or communicated for.

Let me give your Lordſhip one hint more, before I end my letter: the eighth article of the grand alliance of 1701, contains the points pro-

* Count de Gallas, the Imperial Miniſter, ſent it for inſertion in the Daily Courant as ſoon as he received it.

poſed to be obtained by this war, compare the two together. The grand alliance is an engagement upon the Queen, the preliminaries of 1709 are none.

Adieu, my dear Lord,

I am, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, October the 17th, 1711.

I PRESUME to acquaint your Majeſty, that beſides the two Oſtend mails which arrived yeſterday, and by which there came nothing to my hands worth your Majeſty's notice, we have this morning received two poſts from Holland. The incloſed extract contains the advices of our office-letters; beſides which, I beg leave to inform your Majeſty of the following particulars:

Mr. Whitworth's Valet-de-chambre is come expreſs from his maſter, whom he left at Carlbad, on the frontier of Bohemia; his letters are extremely judicious, and he has purſued his orders with great exactneſs and ability. They are very long, but the ſum of them is, that the King of Denmark, King Auguſtus, and the Czar, ſeem determined to purſue their point againſt Sweden, and even that the King of Pruſſia and Elector of Hanover are entering into meaſures to get for themſelves ſome of the ſpoils of that crown. Thus, the danger ſo long apprehended from the North, ſeems rather to increaſe than leſſen. Mr. Whitworth, however, adds that the Czar had in private aſſured him he would regulate his demands in concert with your Majeſty, and continued deſirous of your mediation.

I have ſent all theſe papers to my Lord Privy Seal, that he may have

time to conſider them, the Northern buſineſs being what his Lordſhip is particularly maſter of*.

This moment I received a letter from Lord Strafford, dated on Tueſday laſt. He found Penſionary Buys waiting for a paſſage, to whom having opened himſelf a little, the Penſionary ſeemed very much embarraſſed whether he ſhould come forward, or go back to the Hague. I take it for granted that he did the latter, though my Lord does not ſay any thing of it.

The Earl Rivers was gone forward, and making the beſt of his way to the Elector†.

I have diſcovered the author of another ſcandalous libel, who will be in cuſtody this afternoon; he will make the 13th I have ſeized, and the 15th I have found out.

The Poſt-maſters General give me this minute notice, that Mr. Buys was on board the Eagle Packet-boat, and landed, they believe, at Harwich, laſt night.

I expect hourly three poſts more, and will not fail, as ſoon as they arrive, to communicate to your Majeſty what they bring.

I am, &c.

* Dr. John Robinſon, Biſhop of Briſtol. He had been many years her Majeſty's Reſident at Stockholm, and the northern courts. He ſucceeded the Duke of Newcaſtle, as Lord Privy Seal, in 1711, and Dr. Compton, as Biſhop of London, in 1713.

† Earl Rivers had been diſpatched as Envoy to the court of Hanover, to communicate the ſteps taken to promote a negociation for a peace.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, October 17th, 1711.

THREE other Dutch poſts are now arrived, and by them ſuch articles of news as are in the extract incloſed. I have a letter from the Earl of Strafford, writ on Saturday laſt, in which he ſays that Mr. Buys was ſent for back to the Hague on his arrival. A great conſternation appeared at firſt in the Miniſters of the States; but they take the pli of acquieſcing to your Majeſty's good pleaſure, and Mr. Buys is inſtructed accordingly. I find the fear of loſing the exorbitant barrier they have obtained, is the greateſt, if not the only check to them, and that will ſoon be removed when they are apprized of your Majeſty's generous conduct, and kind inclinations towards them.

I have advice that Mr. Buys landed laſt night, and that he will be in town to-morrow.

I have ſeveral letters from Lord Marlborough, one of the 15th, mentions the ill ſtate of his health, and deſires that your Majeſty will pleaſe to order a convoy and the yatchs for him. Another, of the 19th, is very extraordinary. I had taken notice in a letter, which I knew would be ſhown him again, of the impertinence of his chaplain, who publiſhed libels againſt your Majeſty's government; he denies that the perſon ſuſpected had wrote the book complained of, and then finds fault with the anſwer to it, forgetting that the ſermon preached before himſelf, and ſince printed, was ſtill worſe and more ſeditious than the other paper.

I am, &c.

To

To the Duke of Argyle.

Whitehall, Oct. 18, 1711.

My Lord,

HEARING Mr. Killigrew is to ſet out to-morrow, with the Earl of Dartmouth's diſpatches for your Grace, I cannot neglect the opportunity of giving you a ſecond trouble by the ſame conveyance; and long as my letter written in the laſt month is, you are like to have another from me. The letter which I received by Mr. Breton from your Grace, gives me one pretence, and the new turn which is likely to be given to the affairs of Europe, by the reſolutions her Majeſty has taken and declared, affords me another.

Incloſed, I tranſmit to your Grace, the general offers which France has made to the Queen, and which her Majeſty has communicated to the allies, judging them ſufficient inducements for us to open the conferences. The Queen would not take upon her to determine the particular intereſts of any one party in the war, and therefore contented herſelf to oblige France to ſign ſuch general principles as may include whatever the confederates have to demand. In the courſe of the negociation each ally will advance and manage his own pretenſions; the Queen will hold faſt with them, and ſupport them in all their demands, and conclude no peace without their reaſonable ſatisfaction.

This the Queen thinks a much fairer method than for two Miniſters of one power to treat ſolely with the enemy, and report what they pleaſe to the reſt, according to what was practiſed at Gertruydenberg*; and ſhe judges it more honourable to have France engaged by ſigning

* This certainly occurred at Gertruydenberg, where the two Dutch Deputies, Buys and Vanderduſſen, contrived to keep the whole negociation to themſelves.

preliminaries, and herſelf and her allies free, than for her and them to ſign, and the enemy afterwards refuſe to proceed *.

Your Grace will pleaſe to obſerve, that the grand alliance is the foundation of the preſent war, and that we are ſtrictly engaged to carry on the war no longer than till the ſeveral points mentioned in the eighth article of that can be obtained, every one of which is expreſsly promiſed in the incloſed paper, and room left for any farther demands.

The preliminaries of 1709, do, indeed, eſtabliſh quite another ſcheme; but as they are not obligatory upon us, ſo thoſe may, who do in earneſt intend to make a peace, be very well excuſed from purſuing the plan of thoſe who only intended to ſtrain for pretences of carrying on the war.

The Queen's preſent meaſures are founded on certain facts, which are too evident to be denied, and too important to be neglected.

The war muſt be puſhed in one part, with at leaſt equal vigour; in the reſt, where it is now carried on, with greater; and in ſome, where it has not yet been thought of, it muſt be puſhed: without theſe conditions it will be inevitable ruin to continue it any longer. The Queen has ſo long borne a diſproportionate ſhare of the burden, that ſhe muſt, inſtead of increaſing, leſſen her expence; there is no proſpect that the Dutch can be able to ſupply that deficiency, nor that the Imperial Court will be either able or willing to do it:—What, therefore, in good logic, is the inference?

The Court of Vienna, who ſeems to think every thing due to it, and nothing from it—who would carry on the war to the end of the world, ſince they are at no expence, and claim almoſt the whole advantage—your Grace may be aſſured, begins already to be extremely

* The preliminaries of 1709 were ſigned by the Britiſh, Imperial, and Dutch Miniſters; but the French negociator, De Torcy, refuſed his ſignature.

alarmed; and as their Miniſter has been impertinent in his memorials here, it is not unlikely their General and others may be ſo where you are; for this reaſon, I have deduced this affair a little tediouſly, and for the ſame I hope you forgive me.

Lord Dartmouth writes to your Grace on a ſubject which is of the laſt importance, eſpecially at this conjuncture, to the Queen's ſervice; and though it may give you ſome trouble, and delay your return home for ſome ſhort time, yet her Majeſty is ſo perſuaded of your zeal for her intereſt, and for that of Britain, that ſhe is aſſured your Grace will ſet yourſelf with pleaſure to the execution of theſe new orders.

Port Mahon and Gibraltar muſt not only be ſecured for the preſent, but they muſt be put into ſuch a condition, and have ſuch eſtabliſhments made for them, as may render theſe places abſolutely in the Queen's power—as may ſettle the ſupplies neceſſary for them, notwithſtanding their diſtance, in a certain method—and, in ſhort, as may remedy for the future thoſe groſs abuſes which, I doubt, have been committed in both. All ordinary means have been tried, all have proved ineffectual; the Queen therefore determined to make uſe of one which ſhe perſuades herſelf cannot fail. Your Grace is to go to Port Mahon; and as Gibraltar is too far out of your way, the Earl of Portmore is to go thither. By your direction, when you are upon the ſpot, every article which requires immediate diſpatch will be provided for; and by your report, her Majeſty will be able, once for all, to eſtabliſh theſe fortreſſes under a good economy, and reaſonable regulations.

I enter into no farther particulars, becauſe my Lord Dartmouth had ample inſtructions to write to your Grace upon.

I ſincerely long to embrace you at home, and am, with ſincere reſpect and truth, My Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, October 19th, 1711.

I THINK it my duty to acquaint your Majeſty, that Penſionary Buys arrived laſt night at London, and has been this evening with me. It would be too tedious to trouble your Majeſty with the whole detail of what paſſed between us, in a letter. I ſhall have the honour to do it to-morrow more conveniently, when I attend at Windſor.

The great point which he is to labour, is to convince your Majeſty, that the method which you have taken is wrong, and that there can be no hopes of a good peace, unleſs particular preliminaries be, in the firſt place, ſettled. His drift is what your Majeſty foreſaw, to break off the preſent negociation, and to ſet a new one on foot, in the ſecret of which, from the beginning, his maſters may be, either with, or, which they like better, without your Majeſty. He is gone to my Lord Treaſurer, from whom your Majeſty will, I ſuppoſe, have a farther account.

I have at laſt in my hands the particulars and proofs of great part of the management of the Count de Gallas, ſome of which my Lord Treaſurer did not long ago diſcover, and lay before your Majeſty. Nothing can be more inſolent and ungrateful to your Majeſty, the great protectreſs of the Auſtrian family, more brutal to your ſervants, nor more villainous in its own nature, in every part. I hope the ſpy he employed is turned upon him, that what was intended to your Majeſty's diſhonour and prejudice, will have quite the contrary effect.

I am, with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion,

Madam, &c.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 19th, 1711.

MONSIEUR Buys arrived in London laſt night, and has been this evening with me, ſo that I have little time for my diſpatches, and ſhall confine myſelf to write to your Excellency upon the one great ſubject, wherein our all conſiſts. He brought me, in the firſt place, a particular letter from the States to myſelf; in the next, he proceeded to aſk me *l'hiſtoire de la négociation.* I took an air of frankneſs, and gave him the ſame detail of the ſeveral ſteps as is contained in your Excellency's inſtructions; he looked as if he believed me but by halves, and went to his next point, which was, a diſtinction between matter and method. He owned that the matter contained in the offers of France, was good, and that they do include all which the allies can aſk or expect, but the method, he inſiſted, could never lead us to a good or ſpeedy peace. The enemy, ſays he, mean only to divide; if preliminary articles are ſettled before-hand, that will not be poſſible; if all our intereſts are left looſe to a general treaty, it will be eaſy. My anſwer, I am ſure, was ſo: either theſe preliminaries muſt be treated by ſome particular allies, or by the whole body; if the firſt method is taken, thoſe allies, whoever they are, aſſume more than they ought, and more than the Queen would do, who ſurely is as well entitled as the moſt conſiderable of them; if the latter courſe is followed, the enemy has as fair an opportunity, and as good a field, to break us in treating preliminaries for a peace, as in treating the peace itſelf. We went no farther to-night, for I ſtarted nothing, and contented myſelf to follow him to-morrow; before I ſet out for Windſor, I am to wait on him at his lodgings.

He depends on his rhetoric, and thinks to impoſe, of which imagination he will certainly be the dupe. However, I underſtand the Queen's pleaſure to be, that no affected delays ſhould be yielded to. We ſhall purſue the intent, and uſe the terms of her Majeſty's inſtructions to your Excellency. You will do the ſame on your ſide, and, in ſhort, they muſt truſt the Queen, and give her leave, once in her reign, to influence their councils.

I am ever, &c.

P.S. I forgot to mention to your Excellency, that I ſend you a copy of a letter* which I writ ſome time ago to Monſieur d'Hervart, and which I hear, by d'Ayrolle, has been handed about, receives a wrong turn, and makes much noiſe.

It contains nothing that I am aſhamed to own, neither ſhall I have any farther concern, now it is in your hands. I could only wiſh your Excellency would let Mr. Harriſon drop to d'Hervart that I am informed of the indiſcreet uſe he made of my correſpondence.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

My Lord,

Whitehall, October 19th, 1711.

I AM in daily expectation of writing to you ſafely, and therefore nakedly, by a courier who is to carry your Lordſhip's inſtructions from the Earl of Dartmouth's office. For this reaſon I have forbore, and do ſtill forbear with the greater patience, communicating many points of importance to your Lordſhip.

* 18th September, 1711.

Mr.

Mr. Davenant* is arrived; I have read all the papers he was charged with, and have talked fully to him.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the juſtice which your Lordſhip has done yourſelf and friends, as well as the ſervice which you have done the Queen.

Incloſed, your Lordſhip will receive a copy of the offers made by France, and communicated by the Queen's order both here, and at the Hague, to the Miniſters of the Allies. Your Lordſhip will pleaſe to obſerve that they are general enough to include any demand that any party ſhall think fit to make.

The Queen would not take upon her to determine the intereſts of her confederates, or by accepting particular preliminaries, be reproached for having precluded any pretenſion whatſoever. Her Majeſty thinks theſe propoſitions a ſufficient inducement to open conferences for a general treaty, in the courſe of which ſhe declares ſhe will firmly adhere to her confederates, ſupport them in all their demands, and conſent to no peace which ſhall not be to their reaſonable ſatisfaction.

As this meaſure is juſt, decent, and no more than the Queen's ſhare in the war may give her ground to purſue, ſo ſhe thinks herſelf founded to inſiſt that the allies ſhould comply with her, and try whether France is as well diſpoſed as they pretend to be.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, October 23d, 1711.

MONSIEUR Buys had a private audience of the Queen on Sunday, at Windſor. His diſcourſe was extremely long, but the ſubſtance of it may be contained in a very ſhort paragraph.

* Henry Davenant, Britiſh Reſident at Frankfort.

He

He comes over, he ſays, inſtructed, by all poſſible means, to cultivate that good underſtanding which has, ſo much to the advantage of both, ſubſiſted between the Queen and the States; and to endeavour to tie the bands by which the two nations are knit together, ſtill more cloſely. He is ordered, he adds, to deſire that her Majeſty will join with his maſters, in preſſing the other allies to increaſe their efforts, and to act with greater vigour againſt France. But the principal point of his commiſſion is, to repreſent the apprehenſions of the States, that if conferences are opened, without ſpecific preliminaries firſt obtained, the enemy may have too great advantage in the treaty, may draw it out into an immeaſurable length, and break the confederates among themſelves.

Her Majeſty heard him with great patience, and told him, in anſwer to what he had ſaid, that his perſon was agreeable to her, that her people were ſo much overburdened with the war, that it was time to think, in good earneſt, of peace; that ſhe hoped the States would concur with her in forwarding this work, that her miniſters ſhould confer with him, and make their report, upon which ſhe would give her anſwer to the repreſentations which he had made.

This conference was to have been held to-day, but my Lord Treaſurer being very much indiſpoſed, it has been put off till to-morrow, at one o'clock. On Thurſday, I ſhall attend the Queen, at Hampton-Court, to lay before her the reſult of it; and on Friday, Monſieur Buys will receive a poſitive anſwer, in her Majeſty's name, which will be communicated to your Excellency by the poſt, and which will contain the Queen's fixed and ultimate reſolution upon this great affair; I believe your Excellency is not at all at a loſs what this will be.

It ſhould be matter of ſome reflection to Monſieur Buys, to find upon his arrival, and upon the report that he comes to retard the peace, the ſtocks ſink from fourteen to ſix; we want a peace, and the ſenſe of the

nation

nation is for it, whatever noiſe may be made about London, by thoſe who find their private account in the univerſal calamity.—We act fairly towards our allies, as well as prudently for our own intereſt; and there is no miniſter the Queen has, who would not venture his all, if that was the caſe, to ſave his country, in this critical and, ſhould it be loſt, irretrievable conjuncture.

I think to ſend my next diſpatches to your Excellency, by one of the Queen's meſſengers, ſince they are likely to be of the laſt importance, and ſince I know very little how far the poſt on your ſide is to be truſted.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, 26th Oct. 1711.

I HAVE received all your Excellency's letters, both thoſe by the poſt, and thoſe by Barlow, the meſſenger, to the 31ſt of October, N.S.

They have been all laid before her Majeſty, and conſidered by my Lords of the Council; and the manner in which your Excellency has conducted yourſelf, together with the points you have inſiſted upon, purſuant to your inſtructions, and the arguments you have uſed in defence thereof, are all approved.

On Sunday, as I acquainted your Excellency by a former letter, the Penſionary of Amſterdam had his audience of the Queen, at Windſor; and on Wedneſday morning, according to her Majeſty's appointment, his conference with the Lords at the Cockpit, which proved extremely long, and was to the following effect:

* A public letter.

He began, by ſetting forth the deſire which his maſters have of maintaining, and by all poſſible means of improving, that good correſpondence, which ſubſiſts between the two nations, which has been ſo advantageous to both, and which has been the great ſupport of the common intereſt of Europe. In the next place, he ſpoke very largely of the great efforts made, in the courſe of this war, by the Queen and by the States; owning at the ſame time, how little had been done, and how ill we had been treated by moſt of our confederates: and concluded by an earneſt deſire, that the Queen would concur with his maſters, in preſſing the ſeveral allies to act with greater vigour for the future.

The third head, and that to which the others were indeed only introductory, was the negociation of peace, and the communication given by your Excellency to the States, of the meaſures which her Majeſty has taken, and of the method which ſhe propoſes to proceed in. After having ſaid, in ſpeaking to this point, that his maſters were as much inclined to peace as the Queen, or any other party concerned could be; and after having made the ſame declaration to us, as Penſionary Heinſius made to your Lordſhip, that his country was not able to ſtruggle longer under the preſent burden, he came to this point: that the only diſpute between her Majeſty and the States, was concerning the method of treating; that if the miniſters of France ſhould meet thoſe of the allies, in a general congreſs, before the eſſential articles were firſt ſettled by ſpecific preliminaries, the advantage would be too great on the enemy's ſide, ſince they are but one body, influenced by one council, and directed by one Prince; whereas, we are a confederacy of ſeveral powers, whoſe intereſts are not only diſtinct, but, in many caſes, contrary to each other; that therefore the French Miniſters would have a fair opportunity to divide us, whilſt it would be impoſſible for us to break in upon them.

He obſerved farther, that preliminaries had been ſettled before the

treaty of Ryſwick, and that in all the *pour-parlers* with France, during the preſent war, there has been no diſpute among the allies, whether they ſhould inſiſt upon preliminaries, nor any made by the French King whether he ſhould grant them.

The Penſionary afterwards pulled out a copy of the paper, which your Excellency carried over, and having objected to the articles, as vague and uncertain, which he ſuppoſed we would not deny, he pretended to inſtance ſome of them as prejudicial.

The firſt expreſſion he found fault with, was that where it is ſaid, *le commerce ſera rétabli & maintenu déſormais, &c.*

Theſe words, he pretends, are calculated by France for a future chicane, and in order to deprive the Dutch of the tarif of 1664; becauſe, he pretends to foreſee, that the French Plenipotentiaries will expound *rétabli*, to ſignify no more than the reſtoration of trade to that condition it was in, immediately before the commencement of the preſent war.

The next article he objected to as prejudicial, was that of Dunkirk, which expreſſes that the fortifications ſhall be razed, without mentioning the deſtruction of the harbour; and grants even this upon condition of an equivalent, the ſpecification of which equivalent will, according to Monſieur de Buys, be the occaſion of difference between her Majeſty and the States; ſince Holland will think it hard to have a town the leſs in their barrier, on account of the demolition of Dunkirk, and ſince Britain will be apt to complain, if this thorn ſhould not be taken out of their ſide, for the ſake of giving one town the more to the Dutch.

The laſt inſtance which he advanced, to prove the offers of France prejudicial, was that article wherein it is ſaid, that effectual meaſures ſhall be taken to prevent the crowns of France and Spain from being ever united upon one head; to accept of this propoſition, he af-

firmed, was to ſlide over that important point, and to make the ceſſion of Spain for nothing. For theſe reaſons, he hoped, her Majeſty would be pleaſed to alter the method which ſhe had taken, and to demand ſpecific offers from the enemy, upon all the eſſential points for which we contend. France, he took it for granted, would make ſuch offers, and then he thought it might be proper for the allies to debate, whether they would hazard a negociation or not?

The fourth point of his inſtruction was, to recommend to her Majeſty, that ſhe would not ſuffer herſelf ſo far to be amuſed by a treaty of peace, as to neglect the neceſſary preparations for war; and that ſhe would join with his maſters in exhorting the ſeveral allies to act with greater rigour in the common cauſe.

Your Excellency will ſee by the incloſed copy of a letter, which I have writ this evening to Monſieur Buys *, the ſubſtance of that anſwer, which was this morning given him at a conference with the Lords of the Council, by her Majeſty's command; and I am directed to let your Excellency know, that it is the Queen's pleaſure that you ſhould upon the firſt article above mentioned, renew, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the aſſurances you have already given of her Majeſty's unalterable friendſhip for the States-General, and that you ſhould appear ready to enter into treaty with them, upon the project of an alliance, to ſubſiſt after the war. Monſieur Buys ſeemed to-day very deſirous to enter into negociation upon this ſubject here, but her Majeſty, who is unwilling to give any handle for delay in the great work of the general peace, ordered her ſervants to refer this matter to the Hague.

If we have any farther diſcourſe upon it here, I will not fail to inform your Excellency particularly thereof; in the mean time, by conferring with the Grand Penſionary, and with the other miniſters upon it,

* The next letter.

you will ſoon diſcover what ſcheme they may have in view, and perhaps be able to form ſome *brouillon*, for her Majeſty's approbation.

Your Excellency's diſpatches contain ſo many unanſwerable arguments, in defence of the method which her Majeſty propoſes to follow, for obtaining a general peace, that if I ſhould write any more to you, than what is ſaid in her Majeſty's anſwer to Monſieur Buys, I muſt either tranſcribe your own reaſons, or ſend you worſe. I ſhall therefore content myſelf to ſay to your Excellency, that her Majeſty continues to look on all theſe difficulties raiſed concerning the method of treating, as endeavours to wreſt the negociation out of her hands. In which caſe, a peace might indeed follow, but it would be ſuch a one as neither the honour nor intereſt of Britain would be much conſulted in.

The objections mentioned above, and all others which may be made to any expreſſions in the preliminary offers of France, receive one fair and juſt anſwer, which is, that thoſe articles are all to be extended and explained in the treaty, to common ſatisfaction.

There ſeems very little reaſon for the States to repreſent to the Queen, the neceſſity of exerting the greateſt vigour againſt France, and I believe your Excellency will do very properly upon this occaſion, beſides what is contained in her Majeſty's anſwer, to take notice of Mr. Whitworth's journey to Vienna; of the great conſequence which eight thouſand men, out of Hungary, might at that time have been of to the common cauſe; of the Queen's generous reſolution in empowering her miniſter to offer as far as forty thouſand pounds, for the march of theſe troops, if he found that money could procure them; and of the ill reception which her Majeſty's inſtances met.

Your Excellency is, I take it for granted, informed of the project which was made to keep a vaſt body of troops, and particularly horſe, all this winter on the frontier; by which means, not only Picardy, but even the Iſle de France, muſt have been expoſed to our ravages, the

enemy would not have been able to erect their magazines, and their army, next ſpring, muſt have gone a great way back to be able to aſſemble. Her Majeſty, at the firſt overture, conſented to come into her ſhare of the extraordinary expence of forage for this ſervice; and afterwards was contented to bear a part of the expence of ſtables, barracks, fire, candles, and other incidents, which, in their own garriſons, ſhould in juſtice fall entirely upon the Dutch. However, the execution of this deſign was induſtriouſly delayed, till it became too late to make the neceſſary preparations.

Thus two plans, which, if they had been purſued, might have given us winter-quarters in the two extremities of France, were ſupported by the Queen, and failed by the fault of others. I ſincerely wiſh, that there were no more inſtances of the ſame kind to be produced.

It is impoſſible for me to ſpeak to your Excellency, by this opportunity, upon ſome other heads of buſineſs, contained in your laſt letters; by Tueſday I will endeavour to do it.

I am, with much reſpect and truth,

My Lord, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To Mr. Penſionary Buys.

SIR,

Whitehall, October 26th, 1711.

I HAVE the honour to ſend you her Majeſty's anſwer, which was this morning communicated to you by my Lords of the Council, and which you deſired in writing. I have choſen to write in Engliſh, for fear of committing any miſtake in a matter of ſo great importance.

Firſt, Her Majeſty commanded my Lords to aſſure you, in her name, that

that ſhe ſtill preſerves the ſame affection for the States-General, and the ſame friendly concern for their intereſt; which ſhe has endeavoured to make appear upon all occaſions, through the whole courſe of her reign.

That ſhe deſires moſt earneſtly to have the ſame good underſtanding ſubſiſt between the two nations after a peace, which has been ſo happily continued during the war. That her Majeſty has often ſhown her inclination to enter into a new and ſtrict engagement to this purpoſe; and that the Earl of Strafford is inſtructed to treat with the Miniſters in Holland concerning ſuch an alliance.

Secondly, The Queen commanded my Lords to let you know, that the experience which ſhe has had of proceeding by particular preliminaries towards a general treaty, gives her no encouragement to purſue the ſame method.

That if a preliminary treaty is to be made, it muſt either be negociated by ſome particular allies, or by all. That her Majeſty can never ſubmit to the firſt, ſince ſhe will neither take upon her to ſettle the intereſts of others, nor ſuffer that others ſhould ſettle thoſe of her kingdoms. And that as to the ſecond, your own objection takes place; ſince it is certain that the Miniſters of France will have as fair an opportunity to ſow diviſion amongſt the allies, when they are all aſſembled upon a preliminary treaty, as when the conferences are opened for a negociation of peace.

My Lords did farther acquaint you upon this head, by her Majeſty's order, that if you deſire to have the general offers of France rendered more ſpecific, and then debate whether it was proper to hazard the negociation, the Queen continues ſtill to be of opinion, for the reaſons which were urged in the conference on Wedneſday laſt, that this method can have no other effect than to delay the treaty, without making

thoſe

thoſe advantages, which we hope for, and have reaſon to expect, more certain, or more eaſy to be obtained.

That her Majeſty is ready and heartily diſpoſed, even now, as well as during the negociation, to inſiſt on every thing which may be neceſſary for the ſecurity of the barrier and commerce of her good friends and allies, the States-General; and that ſhe therefore hopes that no farther difficulties may be raiſed, but that we may proceed to open the conferences.

Thirdly, My Lords acquainted you, in the Queen's name, that her Majeſty not only conſents, but deſires, that a concert be made for carrying on the war for the next campaign, and will be ready to do it ſo ſoon as a negociation for peace ſhall be ſet on foot; and will expect, in that caſe, that the burden of the war be laid more equally and more agreeably to the treaties than it has hitherto been. That her Majeſty has given a very freſh inſtance of her deſire to proſecute the war with all imaginable vigour, and that ſhe will join with the States in preſſing the allies to perform their parts, as ſhe has endeavoured to animate them by her example.

This, Sir, is the ſubſtance of her Majeſty's anſwer to your repreſentations, which I ſhall give communication of, by expreſs, to the Earl of Strafford, that the leaſt time poſſible may be loſt in forwarding a work ſo neceſſary, and which her Majeſty hopes, in its concluſion, will prove ſo ſatisfactory, to the whole alliance.

I have nothing to add, but to aſk your pardon for ſending this letter to you ſo late, and to aſſure you that I am, with much reſpect and truth,

Sir, your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. St. JOHN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, October 26th, 1711.

BESIDES the trouble which my other diſpatch will give you, I muſt add that of this private letter.

Monſieur Buys was told this morning, that if the Queen had been better informed of the ſentiments of the States, with reſpect to their own intereſts; and if they had let her know ſooner, what particulars of this kind they deſired France might particularly aſſure them of, that ſhe would have inſiſted upon them; ſince though a due regard is to be had to all the allies, yet certainly Britain and Holland, who have had the greateſt load by much of the war, may very juſtly take upon them to act, in ſome meaſure, independently in the peace. He was further told, that the Queen would immediately inſiſt with France, that more poſitive and ſpecific aſſurances ſhould be given concerning the Dutch barrier and commerce, and that perhaps they might come before the conferences could be opened, at leaſt that the enemy would be prepared to expect no conceſſions from us upon thoſe heads. The reaſon why this is not ſo fully explained in the letter I write to Buys, is, becauſe your Lordſhip knows, that a written ſecret is not long ſuch in Holland, and other confederates might perhaps think they had reaſon to complain.

The Queen will direct me, when I write to Monſieur de Torcy upon this head, to write likewiſe upon the barrier of Savoy towards France; and I believe we ſhall be able to manage both theſe points to the ſatisfaction of the parties concerned.

The laſt there is no need of mentioning to the Dutch; but your Ex-

cellency would do well to give ſome hint to del Borgo*, that we are labouring to ſecure his maſter's country on the ſide of France, as we are deſirous to aggrandize him on the ſide of Italy; and therefore that he ought not to expoſe a meaſure, wherein he has ſo fair a proſpect of advantage, but rather think of promoting the general conferences; and in the mean while, cooperate with us for his own ſervice at the Court of France, where he wants no ingreſſion.

Your Excellency ſees the Queen is determined to go on, and you will therefore pleaſe, according to your inſtructions, to preſs for the choice of the place of treaty, and for the paſſports. The Queen's anſwer, which your Excellency may take upon you to ſay you are ſure is final, cuts off all pretence of delay on the account of what Buys was ſent to negociate.

I muſt now take the liberty to tell your Excellency, with that freedom which becomes a friend, and which you have allowed me to uſe, that you carry your ſuſpicions by much too far.

I really thought that you had carried over with you all the papers which France has ſigned; and if the ſeparate article was omitted to be given you, it was pure miſtake; had I deſigned to keep the ſecret from you, I ſhould not have been weak enough to ſpeak of it in a letter to you.

As to any ſeparate treaty with France, there is no ſuch thing; the Queen would never think of taking ſo diſhonourable a meaſure. We have indeed let France know, that we would ſupport our allies in all their pretenſions, but that where they proved exorbitant, we would ſtep in to mediate. We will keep, in moſt reſpects, as near the preliminaries as we can; and where we ſhall yield, or where we ſhall be firm, muſt be determined by the turn which the negociation takes, and by accidents which ariſe in it.

* Generally called in theſe letters du Bourg, he was Envoy of Savoy to the Hague.

For God's ſake, my Lord, be perſuaded that I have leſs cunning and more frankneſs; and that of all the people in the world I would not begin by playing tricks with one, whom I have correſponded and lived ſo happily with, and in whoſe bottom I am now embarked, upon the greateſt and niceſt occaſion that was perhaps ever to be managed.

The letter which Petkum ſhows about, is ſo full of abſurdities, that either ſome little fellow writ it from Paris, or another little fellow, that is himſelf, invented it; and the latter is not unlikely, conſidering how much he muſt be piqued, as well as the reſt of the peace-brokers, to ſee their game taken out of their hands, and themſelves made uſeleſs.

I am dead with ſleep and fatigue. My dear Lord, adieu; once more I conjure you, no jealouſies of a man who will always try to deſerve your confidence, and who is, &c.

The ſeparate article is out of my hands at preſent, you ſhall have it next poſt.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Hampton Court, 30th October, 1711.

SINCE my laſt to your Excellency of the 26th, I have received the honour of your letter of the 4th November, N.S.

I hope your Excellency has found, that I have been as exact as you deſired I ſhould be, in ſending you an account of what has paſſed with Monſieur Buys ſince his arrival here, and of the conferences which he

* Public Letter.

had with the Queen's miniſters. If I have not made ſo ample a relation of the ſeveral anſwers and arguments, which were made uſe of in the debates with that miniſter, it was becauſe your Excellency appeared in your own diſpatches, to be very much maſter of the ſtate of the diſpute, and that what was urged here was much to the ſame effect with what your Excellency had inſiſted on at the Hague.

The great noiſe which is very induſtriouſly made every where againſt the Queen's meaſures for procuring a general peace, does not give the leaſt ſhock to her reſolutions, which were taken on very long and very ſerious conſideration, ſince her Majeſty always foreſaw that every thing would be put in practice that was poſſible to hinder the peace being made by her; or if ſhe ſhould make it, yet at leaſt ſhe might not be a free agent in the matter, but find herſelf obliged to act according to the meaſures which ſhould be preſcribed by Holland.

If the Dutch will do juſtice to themſelves, they muſt not be ſurprized that the Queen does not leave the negociation any more in their hands, where it has miſcarried twice already; the enemy, as their own miniſter, Monſieur Buys, owns, being diſpoſed to conclude it on ſuch conditions, as it was not worth the life of one common ſoldier to refuſe. Neither ought they to be ſurprized if her Majeſty thinks fit to purſue another method than that which has been hitherto tried, and found to be only a means of eluding a peace, and was certainly an invention of thoſe who, as your Excellency obſerves, made a grimace of carrying on a treaty without any intention of concluding. It is likewiſe a little extraordinary that ſo ſmall a weight ſhould be laid on the Queen's aſſurances of making no peace without their reaſonable ſatisfaction; which engagement, however, her Majeſty will not fail to perform very religiouſly; and ſhe has inſiſted, and does at this time inſiſt, not only on ſecuring them in reſpect to their barrier, but alſo on procuring them the advantages they deſire for their commerce.

And there is no room to doubt but that France will give all that can be reaſonably expected on thoſe two heads, rather than run the riſk of another campaign; ſince the difference between what they might propoſe to gain by chicaning and protracting the concluſion of the peace, and what is demanded of them in our preſent circumſtances, is not ſo conſiderable as to be worth the hazard of breaking off the negociation by affected delays, and endeavouring to ſow diviſions among the allies.

Although, in the laſt conference, the Lords gave Monſieur Buys to underſtand that the anſwer which he had from them in the Queen's name was final, ſuch as had been maturely weighed, and from which her Majeſty would not depart; the ſaid miniſter, however, prayed and inſiſted that their Lordſhips would report again to the Queen the ſame repreſentations, hoping, as he ſaid, that her Majeſty might change her mind upon reconſideration. I cannot perſuade myſelf that he expected any effect from theſe inſtances, unleſs it were the gaining of time; I ſhall, however, at my return from Hampton Court, let him know that the Queen perſiſts in her ſentiments; and that it is a vain thing to imagine that the States will be able to make her alter her reſolution. It will therefore ſurely be the opinion of the wiſeſt and moſt reaſonable men among them, that they had better concur with a good grace in the Queen's meaſures, and cooperate with her for their own intereſt, which next to that of Great Britain, is what her Majeſty has neareſt at heart, than by ſhowing ſuch an obſtinacy in their miniſters, and raiſing ſuch a ſpirit in their people, to diſoblige the Queen perſonally, and to give effectually to the French, by their conduct, that advantage which they are afraid they ſhould get by her Majeſty's meaſures.

I hope what has been ſaid here to Count Maffei, with whoſe behaviour the Queen is very well ſatisfied, and what was ſaid by your Excellency to the Marquis del Borgo at the Hague, will have that effect

on

on his Royal Highneſs's mind, which it ought, and which we expect it ſhould have.

The Queen had for ſome time, with great reaſon, ſuſpected that the Count de Gallas was engaged in practices very diſagreeable to his character; it has at laſt happened that ſuch authentic proofs thereof are come to her Majeſty's knowledge, as made it abſolutely neceſſary to have a juſt reſentment ſhown.

The maſter of the ceremonies was therefore ordered, on Sunday laſt, to go to the Count de Gallas, to forbid him the Court, in her Majeſty's name, and to declare that ſhe looked no longer upon him as a public Miniſter, nor would receive any application from him; but that your Excellency may better be appriſed of this matter, and the reaſons which induced her Majeſty to take this ſtep, I ſend you the copy of a letter which I writ to Sir Clement Cottrel, and of another which I writ to Monſieur Hoffman*, by the Queen's command.

As to the affairs of the North, which your Excellency mentions, I ſhall be much more able to write upon them, after I have received inſtructions for anſwering thoſe diſpatches which we had ſome time ſince by expreſs from Mr. Whitworth. I can only ſay at preſent, that I think her Majeſty determined to take ſuch meaſures this winter, as may leave her the leaſt that is poſſible at the mercy of the Northern powers, particularly, as to the Daniſh and Saxon troops; the Queen, I believe, is reſolved to be at a certainty very ſoon, and not to ſee herſelf a ſecond year expoſed to pay for bodies half complete, and to be threatened upon every occaſion, even with the recall of theſe. In this general view, your Excellency may ſafely venture to guide your conduct,

* Gallas had been many years Imperial Envoy; but it was, in thoſe times of party violence, no uncommon occurence to find the Miniſters of foreign powers deeply engaged in theſe cabals: this was his caſe, he was forbid the Court; but Hoffman, the Imperial Reſident, was informed, that communications from Vienna through any other medium than the Count, would be received as uſual.

and

and to this effect you will pleaſe to ſpeak to the Miniſters of the States, who, her Majeſty makes no doubt, have the ſame ſentiments, as they have the ſame experience.

I am, &c.

H. St. John.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

Monsieur,

A Verſailles, le 21e d'Octobre, 1711.

LA lecture de la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré, le 14me de ce mois, m'a fait autant de plaiſir, que vous en avez eu vous-même à l'écrire. Je ne doute pas des ſuites heureuſes de la confiance réciproque qui commence à s'établir; & je puis vous aſſurer que le Roi contribuera de tout ſon pouvoir à la fortifier. Il eſt aiſé à ceux qui trouvent leur intérêt dans le trouble, d'exciter & d'entretenir les défiances, mais il eſt facile auſſi de les diſſiper, lorſque de part & d'autre on deſire ſincèrement la paix & l'union. J'eſpère, Monſieur, que nous verrons enfin l'heureux effet de cette ſincérité réciproque; vous la trouverez toujours dans les éclairciſſemens qu'il vous plaira de me demander, ſoit preſentement, ſoit dans la ſuite de la négociation. Vous trouverez auſſi de la part du Roi, la fermeté que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne peut deſirer, pour faire jouir la nation Angloiſe des avantages dont on eſt convenu.

Je ſuis perſuadé que de la part de ſa Majeſté Britannique, cette fermeté ne ſera pas moindre pour achever l'ouvrage de la paix à des conditions avantageuſes à la France, & à l'Angleterre, en ſorte que déſormais les deux nations s'uniſſent par des liaiſons que rien ne puiſſe rompre. Je vous ſupplie de croire que perſonne ne ſouhaite plus que

moi

moi les occaſions de vous faire connoître que je ſuis très parfaitement, Monſieur, &c.

Votre, &c.

Le Roi a nommé Monſieur le Mareſchal d'Huxelles, Monſieur l'Abbé de Polignac*, & Monſieur Meſnager, ſes Plénipotentiaires aux conférences de la paix.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Verſailles, le 2me Novembre, 1711.

COMME la ſituation préſente des affaires demande qu'on agiſſe d'un parfait concert pour l'accompliſſement de l'ouvrage commencé, j'écris au Sieur Gaultier pour ſavoir quelles méſures la Reine de la Grande Bretagne jugera qu'il y ait à prendre ſur le refus que les Hollandois font d'entrer en conférence pour la paix. Permettez-moi, Monſieur, en vous addreſſant la lettre, de vous aſſurer, que je ſuis, &c.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Hampton Court, ce 22me Octobre 1711.

J'AVOIS répondu à votre lettre du 21me d'Octobre, N.S. quand celle du 2e Novembre fut rendue.

Je ne vous répéterai plus les aſſurances d'une ſincerité parfaite, puiſ-

* Afterwards Cardinal.

que

que les paroles deviennent inutiles quand les occaſions ſe préſentent de la montrer par des effets.

Monſieur Gaultier, qui aura l'honneur de vous rendre cette lettre, vous décrira en même-tems la ſituation préſente des affaires de la paix.

Il eſt aiſé à ceux qui trouvent leur intérêt dans le trouble (je me ſers, Monſieur, de vos expreſſions) d'exciter & d'entretenir les défiances. Voilà à quoi les mal-intentionnés travaillent chez nous, & par-tout ailleurs. Je n'en ſuis pas pourtant beaucoup en peine, puiſqu'il ne dépend que du Roi Très Chrétien de rendre tous leurs efforts inutiles.

Les éclairciſſemens que vous me promettez, diſſiperont tous ces nuages, & vous croirez que nous nous ſervirons de ces lumières avec beaucoup de retenue, quand je vous aſſure que ſi le Roi voudroit offrir, comme il a fait autrefois, un plan de préliminaires ſpécifiques, la Reine ne les le voudroit jamais communiquer à ſes alliés.

Je finirai en vous aſſurant que pourvu que le Sieur Gaultier retourne avec ces marques de confiance, dont je ne ſuis nullement en doute, vous verrez notre parlement, qui va s'aſſembler, autant porté à la paix qu'il a jamais été à la guerre.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 30th, 1711.

I AM come from Hampton Court to finiſh my diſpatches, and ſhall throw into this private letter, what I have to ſay to your Excellency of greateſt moment.

Incloſed, you will receive a ſort of memorial, which I prepared by the Queen's order, and which has been given to the perſon employed between France and us, in the courſe of the preſent negociation.

This man, whoſe name is Gaultier, went away this morning, and is fully inſtructed to open the Queen's views to the French, and to ſhow them how certainly the great difficulties, both here and abroad, are removed, if they place that confidence in her Majeſty which her conduct deſerves from them. In ſhort, my Lord, we are on the only bottom which can carry us to a peace. The conferences muſt be opened upon the general preliminaries, and the Queen muſt be empowered ſeparately to offer to the allies what may be reaſonable for each to accept; her own intereſts being ſettled, ſhe muſt be mediator for others. I incloſe likewiſe a copy of a letter to Monſieur de Torcy, ſince every paper which paſſes on this occaſion, though never ſo trivial, helps to let your Excellency the more into her Majeſty's ſenſe.

My Lord Dartmouth has, by the Queen's order, ſpoke to the Count de Maffei, and given him communication of the inſtances made in behalf of his maſter's barrier, which it was not to be imagined would be neglected by her Majeſty, who has been ſo frank in declaring her opinion, and in offering her beſt offices for his aggrandizement.

Your Excellency will pleaſe to ſpeak to the Marquis du Bourg to the ſame effect, without telling him in what manner theſe inſtances are made. I believe you will think proper to inſinuate to this gentleman, as I have done to the Comte de Maffei, that his Royal Highneſs cannot but be convinced of her Majeſty's ſincere concern for him, and for his family, and therefore; that he will do well to make all the neceſſary advances on his ſide, and to ſhow the due returns to her Majeſty, by co-operating with her, and by obſerving the ſtricteſt confidence with her, in the progreſs of theſe negociations.

I am not ſurpriſed at the uneaſineſs which the Dutch feel, nor at the

riotous manner in which they expreſs it. So many years together has this nation received the law from the influence of their councils, that they are come to think themſelves poſſeſſed of a ſort of preſcriptive right to govern us for ever. But ſurely the ſober and reaſonable men amongſt them, will look on the aſſurances, ſo often repeated by the Queen and her ſervants, as a very good reaſon for being ſatisfied themſelves, and for calming the minds of others. We only differ about the method of proceeding, and it will not appear very juſtifiable, every thing conſidered, that the Queen's inſiſting on that which ſhe thinks the beſt, ſhould occaſion ſo much clamour in Holland, and run ſo far towards breaking the good correſpondence of the two nations.

I am ſure I need not ſay to your Excellency, that it will be of great uſe to have ſome particular people made ſenſible of this, and of the folly of ſhowing any diſtruſt of the Queen. Might not people be found to inſinuate, that Holland have, more than once, rejected or evaded the beſt terms of peace, that wiſe men could have wiſhed to obtain; that it is time to try whether the Queen cannot make the peace which they neglected; and whether another method may not ſucceed better, worſe it cannot, than the former did?

I have not time to acquaint your Excellency with the particulars of the diſcovery which induced her Majeſty to ſhow her reſentment in ſo remarkable a manner to the Count de Gallas. What you will find in my other diſpatch is all that the Queen thinks proper ſhould yet-a-while be ſaid upon the ſubject. By the firſt ſafe opportunity, I will inform your Excellency more circumſtantially of the matter; in the mean time, I cannot forbear telling you, that the whole drift of this Miniſter's correſpondence, was to repreſent the Queen's word as not to be relied on, to repreſent her Miniſters, in the groſs, as fools, knaves, and, in expreſs terms, as enemies to the common cauſe.

My letter is grown immoderately long, it is high time to relieve you, and to finiſh, by aſſuring your Excellency, that I am faithfully, and, if you will allow the familiarity, affectionately,

Your's, &c.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

My Lord,

Whitehall, October 30, 1711.

I AM ſtill in daily expectation of an opportunity of writing to you by the courier, who will carry my Lord Dartmouth's diſpatches to your Lordſhip; and indeed till ſome ſuch conveyance preſents itſelf, I dare not write with freedom, ſince the matters at preſent in treaty, are of the niceſt nature; and ſince the methods uſed for diſcovering what paſſes are more refined, and more ſcandalous than ever. The incloſed papers will ſhow your Lordſhip, in what manner the Queen has thought fit to proceed with the Count de Gallas, and the public reaſons which ſhe gives for her conduct towards him. I ſhall only add at preſent, that this diſcovery gives her Majeſty juſt occaſion of ſhowing, that ſhe will not ſuffer the treatment which ſhe has met with, and of giving warning to others how they preſume too far upon her goodneſs, and the lenity of her temper. It has proved of great ſervice in a critical time, and there is here a due ſenſe of the merit of it.

Though you muſt be impatient to receive her Majeſty's farther orders and inſtructions, yet I hope this interval from the hurry of buſineſs will have contributed to your Lordſhip's health, as I make no doubt the good climate, whither you are going, will confirm it.

I am, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Portmore.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 24, 1711.

I TAKE the opportunity of her Majeſty diſpatching Colonel King to your Lordſhip, to return my humble thanks for the honour of your Lordſhip's letter, which I received by Mr. Conduit, and for that kind remembrance, and favourable opinion, which you are ſo good as to preſerve of me.

The whole ſyſtem of the war in Portugal and Catalonia, is ſo wrong in every part, that Britain cannot, in the firſt place, bear the unequal load, and, if ſhe could, perhaps the expence is not directed to the purpoſes moſt conducive to that end, which we propoſe to ourſelves. The Queen is ſo ſenſible of this, that your Lordſhip ſees ſhe begins to change her meaſures; and, I believe, the fears which ſome people may have of loſing by this alteration, give riſe to many of thoſe difficulties which you meet with in carrying the ſervice on.

The reſolution her Majeſty is come to, of ſending your Lordſhip to Gibraltar, and the Duke of Argyle to Port Mahon *, may ſeem at firſt a little extraordinary; but when it is conſidered of what importance the preſervation and ſettlement of theſe places, on a good foot, is to Britain; when it is conſidered what immenſe ſums have been expended upon them, how blind the accounts are which come over of the condition of them, and how many particulars are not accounted for at all; when all this has been conſidered duly, I believe it will appear, that a ſervice of ſo much moment, requires ſuperviſors of your rank; and that

* This appears to be a *coup d'état*. Portmore and Argyle were both appointed to their commands, in Portugal and Catalonia, by the new miniſtry; both were at this time diſguſted with their ſtations, both ſolicited to return; the war in both places was given up; and in order to ſoften their return, employments of conſiderable importance were aſſigned to them.

ſuch

ſuch a ſcene of ignorance and knavery, requires an authority equal to yours, to check and to reform it.

The perſon ſent with this letter, is a young man, who has, I think, as much genius as a fond father would wiſh to his favourite ſon; and beſides the theory of his trade, he has all the experience which the campaigns in Flanders of this war, could give him. I took the liberty to recommend him to the Queen, when I found ſhe was quite diſſatiſfied with Mr. Bennet's conduct, and determined to truſt him no more. I muſt recommend him likewiſe to your Lordſhip; and I dare anſwer, that when you have once made experience of him, he will ſufficiently recommend himſelf.

My Lord Dartmouth writes ſo amply to your Lordſhip, concerning the particular intentions of her Majeſty, that it would be ſuperfluous and impertinent for me to add any thing; I cannot, however, omit ſaying, that I hope your Lordſhip will not only put the place in a condition of ſafety, but bring her Majeſty ſuch an account of the ſtate of the town, fortifications, ſtores, artillery, economy, government, garriſon, and other circumſtances, as may enable her, once for all, to make ſuch regulations, and to eſtabliſh ſuch a method of ſupporting them, that ſhe may be well ſerved for the future, where it is of ſo great importance that ſhe ſhould be ſo. Colonel King is either to ſtay there, or to come back with your Lordſhip, as you ſhall pleaſe to determine; in the laſt caſe, I ſuppoſe he will be ordered to return immediately with the Queen's directions upon your Lordſhip's report. I will end this tedious letter, with the repetition of my ſincere reſpect for your Lordſhip, and of my aſſurances that

I am, my Lord, &c.

To

To Mr. Stanwix.*

SIR,

Whitehall, 31ſt October, 1711.

THE Queen having determined to ſend the Earl of Portmore to Gibraltar, that he may inſpect the condition of the place, and bring her Majeſty an account of every thing relating to it; upon which, I hope, ſuch an eſtabliſhment may be ſettled, and ſuch regulations made, as will be for the advantage of the Queen's ſervice, and for the eaſe of you and all the gentlemen under your command; her Majeſty has likewiſe thought fit to order Colonel King, upon his return from North America, to proceed to Liſbon, that he may attend the Earl of Portmore, and either ſtay with you, or return hither, as his Lordſhip ſhall judge moſt proper.

You will give me leave to recommend this officer to your acquaintance and friendſhip; as he is maſter of a thouſand good qualities, I am ſure you will never blame me for taking this liberty.

I have ſaid to my Lord Portmore, and to Colonel King, and I muſt ſay to you, that I hope the report, which from this ſurvey we ſhall receive, will enable the Queen to take her meaſures with certainty, in every reſpect.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Brigadier-general Stanwix, Commander in Chief at Gibraltar.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, November 2d, 1711.

YOUR Excellency will receive in this packet a ſtate † of the proceedings in Denmark towards ſeveral of her Majeſty's ſubjects, concerned in, and owners of ſhips bought in Sweden, and taken by the Danes in their paſſage to Britain.

The injuſtice is ſo very flagrant, that the Queen will not ſit down under ſuch treatment, and the particulars are tranſmitted to your Excellency, that you may be able to ſpeak to the Daniſh miniſter upon the ſubject, and that you may ſee how much more reaſonable and neceſſary it is for us to demand new ſecurities from Denmark, than for thoſe people to inſiſt on new advantages from us.

Upon the two laſt diſpatches which I had the honour to ſend your Excellency, you have, I ſuppoſe, again preſſed the States to think ſeriouſly, of what you have, in her Majeſty's name, communicated to them; and on the accounts which they have received from Monſieur Buys, it is to be hoped they have ſpoke to you in a more complying ſtyle, ſince he has ſerved them very ill, if he has not convinced them of the Queen's firmneſs, and ſhown them how little is to be got by attempting to ſhake her reſolution, or to alter her meaſures.

I ſaw this miniſter yeſterday morning, and this evening, at my office; we talked indeed a little, and but a little, on the method of peace-making; ſince the Queen's final anſwer being given, it was vain to argue any longer about the matter. I preſſed him upon two other heads:

* Public Letter.

† Extracted from Mr. Pulteney's Letter. Bolingbroke.

the method of carrying on the war, and the project of an alliance between the two nations.

On the first he has no instructions, and he seems to entrench himself in these two holds, that England and Holland have done equally well, since both have done their utmost, and nothing but exhortations can be used to prevail on the other allies to act with greater vigour. On the second, he has instructions to treat, and to take the matter as it were, *ad referendum*, but he has no power to conclude.

We cannot agree, that there is that parity between the efforts of England and Holland, and we think that as little good effect is to be expected from future exhortations, as has been produced by those volumes, which the Dutch have every winter so liberally dispersed *. The Queen, indeed, will not finally concert a plan for the prosecution of the war with the States, until they join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace; but I have offered Monsieur Buys to go through the several particulars with him, and to show him where we think our own burden too heavy, and that of others too light. By these conferences we should at least understand each other the better, and prepare the way for a new system of war.

On the head of the alliance a *brouillon* has been formed by my Lord Privy Seal. Mr. Buys has read it, and has made some alterations in it. It will be again talked over, and then transmitted to your Excellency to finish.

I am, &c.

H. St. John.

* The Dutch published every winter, a state of the war.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, November 9th, 1711.

ALTHOUGH we have no boat on this ſide of the water, yet her Majeſty having directed ſome matters, which are of moment, and which require diſpatch, I have ſent to the Poſt-maſters General that they ſhould hire a veſſel to carry over the letters of this night, as well as thoſe of Tueſday and Friday laſt, which are ſtill detained.

Whilſt Mr. Buys is in expectation of freſh inſtructions from his maſters, that he might not appear to be entirely idle, he has preſſed to proceed upon the project of an offenſive and defenſive alliance betwixt the two nations; he owns himſelf not impowered to ſign ſuch a treaty, but deſired extremely to ſee one formed, and to have the liberty of ſending it over, in hopes that his maſters might authorize him finally to conclude it, or at leaſt to ſign it *ſub ſpe rati*. The Queen, who has not agreed with him in many other points, was willing enough to indulge him in this; and accordingly a *brouillon* having been formed by my Lord Privy Seal, ſeveral extenſions given to it by Monſieur Buys himſelf, the Lords of the Council met him this morning in a conference at the Earl of Dartmouth's office.

There was no diſpute between him and the Lords, except upon two points; the firſt related to theſe words in the preamble, *cum pax communi conſenſu inita fuerit*.

My Lords thought that this muſt be improper to be mentioned, ſince, in its full extent, it never can be expected; the joint conſent of Britain and Holland to a treaty of peace will, we can make no doubt,

* Public Letter.

be at laſt eaſily had; but by the laſt clauſe in this project of a treaty, the Emperor and other allies are to be invited as parties into it; and conſequently the conſent of every one of theſe would, by theſe general words, become neceſſary. Monſieur Buys, in anſwer to this, obſerved, that this treaty propoſed is nothing more than a repetition of what has been already, by former treaties, ſtipulated; that it is deſigned to ſhow both our friends and enemies, by a renewal of former engagements, that we intend to continue firmly united together; and therefore that the expreſſions in this ought to be at leaſt as ſtrong as any precedent alliances, in all which, upon the ſame occaſion, theſe words, *communi conſenſu*, are uſed. He did indeed agree, that a peace by univerſal conſent was hardly to be expected; but he perſiſted, that admitting of theſe words would tie Britain and Holland down in a future negociation, no more than the ſame had done in that of Ryſwick, where the Emperor diſſented from us, and yet the peace was made.

The ſecond objection made by the Lords to what had been inſerted by Monſieur Buys, was to theſe words, *eoſdem tractatus de novo confirmare*. My Lords were apprehenſive that what went before might not be ſo clear, but that this expreſſion might hereafter be conſtrued to confirm all the treaties between the Queen and the States, and might make it difficult to alter even ſuch particulars of them, as it may appear reaſonable to change. It was inſinuated to him, that he himſelf had not been very well able to defend all the exceptions to the barrier-treaty; and beſides that, perhaps the barrier of Holland might be equally good, though not numerically the ſame, as is ſpecified in their favourite bargain. His anſwer to this was, in ſhort, that theſe words could never be underſtood to include the barrier-treaty, but they could refer to none but offenſive and defenſive alliances; and that they ought either to be left in, or the treaties thereby confirmed ought particularly to be mentioned. The whole matter was

at laſt taken *ad referendum*; we report to the Queen, he to the States; and after having compared his copy of the project and mine together, we parted. The incloſed* is an exact tranſcript of it, diſtinguiſhing by the lines drawn† ſuch additions as were made by Monſieur Buys to the firſt plan.

After he was gone, my Lords, upon farther conſideration, thought that the ſecond objection might eaſily be cleared by making uſe of the hint which himſelf had given.

And I have therefore altered the latter part of the preamble, of

* Project of a treaty with the States-General.

" Sereniſſima ac Potentiſſima Princeps & Domina, Anna, Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, Fidei Defenſor, &c. et Celſi ac Præpotentes Domini Ordines Generales Fœderati Belgii ad rationes tam belli preſentis, quam pacis obtandæ, & Deo favente ſecuturæ, animum omni ſtudio advertentes, *& volentes quam maximè ad bellum feliciter finiendum, & cum pax communi conſenſu inita fuerit, ad eandum contra quoſcunque tuendam omnem operam conferre, è re communi exiſtimârunt (quamquam præcedentes Tractatus, qui inter Regiam ſuam Majeſtatem & dictos Ordines Generales intercedunt, eò ſatis tendant) eoſdem Tractatus de novo confirmare, & ſpecialem eâ de re pactionem inſuper inire qua propter* communicatis conſiliis ſuper arduis hiſce negotiis ſuam & communem Orbis Chriſtiani Salutem tangentibus, de iiſdem per infraſcriptos ſuos Miniſtros plenâ authoritate munitos, tenore ſequenti convenire æquum duxerunt & neceſſarium.

Vigore præſentis conventionis mutuo ſeſe obſtringunt altememorata Regia ſua Majeſtas & præfati Domini Ordines Generales, ad ea omnia præſtanda, quæ bello, quod nunc geritur *feliciter*, proſequendo ipſis ex pactis initis invicem incumbunt, *imo plura ſi neceſſarium fuerit* idque ſe bonâ fide & totis viribus qua mari qua terrâ facturos, donec hoſtis in pacis æquæ ac tutæ leges conſenſerit, & pax generalis obtineri ac ſtabiliri queat.

Pace inſuper, Deo propitiante, parta ſinceré & ſolemniter ſpondent & mutuo promittunt regia ſua Majeſtas & Domini ordines generales ſeſe fideliter, ſeduló, omnique induſtriâ rationem conſiliorum ſuorum eo directuros, mutuamq. curam et operam impenſuros, *etiam armatâ manu ſi neceſſum fuerit* quo dicta. Pax ritè obſervetur, *& jus quod federatorum quivis per eandem communi conſenſu acquiſiverit ſartum ipſi tectumq. maneat*, ac ut *omnes ejuſdem pacis infractiones tempeſtivè evitentur ac impediantur*; controverſiæ vero omnes, quæ circa ſenſum ejus genuinum oriri poterint, amicé dirimantur; vel ſi media amicabilia *intra bimeſtre ſpatium* minus proceſſerint, *tunc aut etiam citiùs, caſu quo periculi exigentia moram non patiatur*, communes ſuæ & fœderatorum qui huic conventioni acceſſerint vires conſocientur, *et tali numero terrâ marique ad hibeantur contra quemcunque turbatorem, prout periculi magnitudo id exigerit, uſque dum parti læſæ fiat ſatis* ac pacis et tranquillitatis publicæ redintegrationi & ſecuritati omnino proſpectum ac proviſum fuerit.

In quem quidem finem, ad firmam nempe ſolidamque tranquillitatem eò plenius perfectiuſque procurandam, *eandemq. poſtra tuendam* omnes et ſinguli principes ac ſtatus Chriſtiani, pacem amantes, maximé veró Cæſarea ſua Majeſtas et reliqui fœderati invitandi erunt, ut in hæc pacta tranſeant, deque eiſdem ampliandis porró aptandiſque ad ſcopum pium, pacificum et ſalutarem, quem ſibi unicé proponunt altememorati contrahentes, conſenſum & operam ſuam adhibere velint.

Quamquam tractatus anno 1701, inter cæſaream ſuam Majeſtatem nuperumque Magnæ Britanniæ regem Gulielmum Tertium glorioſæ memoriæ et dictos ordines generales concluſus, aliuſque anno 1703, inter ſupradictam reginam magnæ Britanniæ eoſdemq. Ordines Generales factus eò ſatis tendant.

† Which are here printed in *Italics*.

which,

which, and of the letter I writ to him on this occaſion, incloſed are copies.

The Queen having writ with her own hand to the Emperor, on the ſubject of the Count de Gallas, has thought fit to order her Secretary of the embaſſy at the Hague to proceed to meet his Imperial Majeſty, and to deliver her letter to him. Mr. Watkins is at the ſame time fully inſtructed in the ſeveral particulars on which the reſentment, her Majeſty thought fit to expreſs againſt the Count de Gallas, was grounded, as they are too voluminous to be ſent with this letter to your Excellency, you will allow me to refer you to Mr. Watkins for them. The Queen thinks it below her dignity to enter into a formal juſtification of her conduct; and I believe the beſt meaſure your Excellency can obſerve, will be to ſpeak in general terms of this matter, without ſeeming to be inſtructed.

I ſend your Excellency a copy of what I have writ to Monſieur Roſenkrantz, concerning the diſpute, which we have at this time with the Danes. There comes likewiſe a copy of a report of the Commiſſioners of trade, relating to the ſame matter. It is hard to conceive a treatment more unjuſt, than what our merchants have met with at Copenhagen, or a proceeding founded on more arbitrary principles, or ſupported by more abſurd arguments.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Verſailles, le 18me Novembre, 1711.

J'AI reçu par le Sieur Gaultier la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 9me de ce mois, & je crois que vous êtes bien perſuadé, que le roi a vu avec beaucoup de plaiſir, les marques nouvelles de la fermeté que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne fait paroître pour le rétabliſſement d'une bonne & ſûre paix. J'eſpère, Monſieur, que ſes intentions ſincères & équitables auront tout le ſuccès qu'on en doit attendre pour le repos de l'Europe. Vous verrez auſſi, Monſieur, par le mémoire que le Sieur Gaultier aura l'honneur de vous remettre, que le Roi n'oublie rien pour l'heureux accompliſſement d'une négociation auſſi bien commencée, & que ſa Majeſté compte entièrement ſur le ſecret & ſur le bon uſage que vous ferez de la confiance entière qu'elle témoigne à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

Les bonnes diſpoſitions du parlement prochain, acheveront de détruire les eſpérances de ceux qui veulent la continuation de la guerre, au dépens du bonheur de la nation, & vous ne lui rendez pas, Monſieur, un médiocre ſervice en travaillant à la concluſion d'une paix, où elle trouvera ſa gloire & ſes avantages. Je vous ſupplie de croire qu'on ne peut être plus véritablement, que je ſuis,

Monſieur, &c.

To Mr. Watkins.

Whitehall, November 9th, 1711.

YOU receive, by the Queen's command, here incloſed, a lettre de cachet* from her Majeſty to the Emperor, and copies of ſeveral affidavits, relating to the conduct of the Count de Gallas.

The Queen directs that you proceed immediately to meet his Imperial Majeſty, which ſhe ſuppoſes you may do about the time he arrives at Frankfort. You are to make the proper compliments, and to acquaint his Imperial Majeſty, that the Queen having an occaſion to write to him, in an affair of great importance, and which touches her very nearly, had commanded you to leave your poſt at the Hague, and to deliver, with the greateſt diſpatch, her letter to him. You may likewiſe inſinuate enough to make the Emperor underſtand, that you are ſufficiently inſtructed in the particular inſtances which prompted her Majeſty to take the reſolution of forbidding the Count de Gallas the court; and when the Miniſters preſs you upon the ſubject, you may ſpeak to them, according to ſuch informations as the encloſed papers will give you. Whenever you mention Clemente†, you will talk of him as a ſpy diſcovered and ſeized by us, and leave them rather to think his confeſſion made after he was taken up, than to imagine that he was gained by us, whilſt he was employed by them. A day or two will ſuffice for performing this ſervice, and you are then to return to the Hague with all poſſible diligence, where her Majeſty judges that your preſence will by that time be abſolutely neceſſary, on account of the negociation of peace, and ſuch other matters as immediately belong

* This epithet ſounds, to a Britiſh ear, unpleaſantly, as conveying ideas of the tyrannical uſe of theſe lettres de cachet in France; but there, as well as in England, the ſimple meaning is nothing more than a letter written and ſealed by the King.

† Clemente's conduct was not very praiſe-worthy, as he had betrayed his maſter.

to

to the poſt of Secretary to the embaſſy, and wherein the Queen makes no doubt of your ſerving her with equal capacity, faithfulneſs, and application.

I ſhould have encloſed a copy of the lettre de cachet, but the Queen forgot to ſend it from Hampton Court.

Not having time to enter into the detail of the commiſſion you are ſent upon, in my letter to the Earl of Strafford, it will be proper to acquaint his Excellency with it, and I have accordingly referred him to this diſpatch.

I am, Sir, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Hampton Court, November 17th, 1711.

I CANNOT do any more at preſent, than acknowledge the favours of your Excellency's letters of the 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 20th, and 21ſt, N.S. Monſieur Buys will this evening have an audience of the Queen, and in the beginning of the week, a conference with the Lords; immediately after which, I ſhall diſpatch a meſſenger to your Excellency.

It is impoſſible to do better than you have done, my Lord, in every part of this difficult negociation, and I heartily congratulate with your Excellency on the ſucceſs of your labours. The Queen commands me to ſay, ſhe is extremely ſatisfied with your Excellency's conduct.

The perſon I named to you more than a fortnight ago, is returned.

The Queen, I think, has it in her power to do every thing that is reaſonable for her allies; and the beſt thing they can do for themſelves, is

to ſubmit to her, inſtead of ſtruggling againſt that power, without whom, they can neither make war or peace to any good effect.

I am, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Hampton Court, November 21ſt, 1711.

I AM to return my humble thanks for ſeveral private letters from your Excellency, which I have been honoured with; the importance of the negociation now on foot, and the villainous endeavours which are uſed to diſappoint or to ſpoil it, make it abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe, who are employed in the conduct of it, to correſpond without reſerve towards each other, and to act with the utmoſt caution towards the reſt of mankind.

We have had letters from Monſieur de Torcy, and a memorial, in anſwer to that ſent ſome time ago into France, wherein the Queen deſired particularly to be informed of the intention of that court, as to the barrier and commerce of Holland, and as to the Duke of Savoy's intereſts. The paper we have received, is extremely long, and in ſome parts not extremely clear; but, upon the whole, I dare ſay we may depend on every thing reaſonable for the States, for his Royal Highneſs, and for all the allies, except the Emperor, at whoſe expence this peace is likely to be made, as the war has been at ours.

When we have ſettled the propoſitions with Monſieur Buys, and with the Chevalier de Maffei, which we ſhall inſiſt upon at the future treaty; I will be ſure to inform your Excellency of the whole; and my opinion is, that we ſhould then frankly let France know, what the terms are to which the principal allies will probably reduce them-

ſelves, which we muſt join with them in demanding, and which muſt be yielded to ſecure the peace. I ſhould add, that we have not yet owned to Buys, the return of the perſon ſent to France.

The Duke of Marlborough, I have ſeen once, but it has been in public, ſo that I am very much a ſtranger to his Grace's ſentiments. I hear, however, that he will decline here meddling in this affair, and that in his converſation with the Queen, he has ſpoke againſt what we are doing; in ſhort, his fate hangs heavy upon him, and he has of late purſued every council which was the worſt for him.

There will be mention made in the Queen's ſpeech, of the negociation of peace; but, I take it for granted, this will only be general, and enough to procure the ſanction of both Houſes to our proceedings. Indeed, if the Dutch had been obſtinate, it would have been neceſſary to have opened more to the parliament, as we ſhould have wanted more from them.

The Queen deſires that your Excellency will compliment Mr. Van Lia*, and acquaint him, that her intention always was to have his penſion continued to him, and that Mrs. Maſham has her Majeſty's orders to pay it.

Since I writ thus far, I have been with the Queen, and I find that my intelligence was true concerning the Duke of Marlborough. His Grace may take what turn he pleaſes, but I will venture to aſſure your Excellency, that the bent of the nation is for peace; and thoſe who talk with the members, as they arrive from their ſeveral countries, aſſure me, that they come up determined to ſupport all we are doing; and that nothing is more popular, than that firmneſs and reſolution which has been ſhown by the Queen's ſervants, in carrying on the great work, amidſt ſo much oppoſition and ſo much clamour.

Barton, who brings this diſpatch, is ordered to attend your Excel-

* A perſon of this name was, in King William's reign, Envoy from the States.

lency,

lency, and I believe you will think fit to have either Barlow or him always in waiting.

I am, with great truth,
My Lord, &c.

Breton * will be ſhortly ſent to Berlin, but it is not yet declared.

To the Earl of Strafford†.

My Lord,

Hampton Court, 21ſt November, 1711.

BEFORE I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's ſeveral letters, or give any anſwer to the particulars contained in them, I muſt acquaint your Excellency with what has paſſed here, in the conferences which Mr. Buys has had.

On Saturday laſt, he came to this place, and I introduced him, in the evening, to a private audience of the Queen; he ſpoke to her Majeſty in the ſtyle of the reſolution of the 21ſt, N.S. and laid a very great ſtreſs upon that mark of deference, which his maſters ſhow in giving up even their own opinion, to comply with what her Majeſty deſires of them. The Queen told him, that ſhe was extremely pleaſed to hear, that the States had at laſt repoſed that confidence in her, which ſhe had always endeavoured to deſerve of them; that they ſhould find this confidence not ill placed, and that ſhe would ſupport their intereſt to the utmoſt, in the enſuing treaty. The Queen took notice very kindly to him, of the part that ſhe believed he had acted in this whole affair; ſhe thanked him for the juſt accounts and true repreſentation, which he had ſent into Holland of what paſſes here. The Queen concluded

* Bregadier-general William Breton.
† Public letter.

by referring him for particulars to the conferences, which ſhe had appointed to be held at the cockpit.

On Monday we met twice at the Earl of Dartmouth's office, where he was told that the Queen had directed my Lords to concert and ſettle with him, firſt, the time, the place of congreſs, and the manner of inviting the allies to it; after which they would proceed to conſider the particular intereſts of the ſeveral allies; how thoſe demands ſhall be, on this occaſion, ſtated; and what it may be proper for the Queen and States jointly to inſiſt upon. The reſult of theſe conferences was, our agreeing on the form of a circular letter, copies of which, both in Latin and French, are incloſed to your Excellency; thoſe which go to the Emperor, the King of Pruſſia, the Elector of Hanover, and the Elector Palatin, have been ſent by me to their reſpective miniſters, as thoſe to the King of Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy have been given to their miniſters by the Earl of Dartmouth. The reſt of theſe letters, except that for the Duke of Mecklenburg, which is tranſmitted to Mr. Wich*, accompany this packet; and I am directed by her Majeſty to acquaint your Excellency, that it is her pleaſure, that you do either deliver them to ſuch miniſters as may be proper at the Hague, or get them ſent to the Miniſter of the States, where they have one, and the Queen has none, as in the caſe of Frankfort and Ratiſbon.

As your Excellency has given notice to France, of the reſolution of the States, ſo ſhall I do of what has followed on this ſide, and of the diſpatch of the circular letters of invitation.

The extract of Mr. Chetwynd's† letter, will, I believe, be of uſe to your

* Reſident at the Hanſe Towns.

† Reſident at Genoa; the extract is as follows:

Extract of a Letter from M. W. Chatwynd to the Earl of Dartmouth.

" My Lord, Genoa, 13th October, 1711, N.S.

" GOING on board to wait upon the King of Spain*, lying at an anchor in this road, his Majeſty was pleaſed to call me to him, and aſked me, whether I had any news that private negociations were

* The Archduke Charles, brother to the Emperor of Germany.

carryin

your Excellency, when the great regard which we ought to have to the Emperor, is thrown in your way. It is very hard, after all the Queen has done for that family, and for that Prince in particular, that his obligations to her are to be forgot, unleſs ſhe continues a war, the load of which, has already half-ruined her ſubjects, and which is become impracticable by his own fault, and by that of his brother.

There comes likewiſe incloſed, a copy of the article, ſigned by Meſnager *, which relates to the intereſt of the Duke of Savoy. I remember, that ſome time ago, I writ to your Excellency fully upon that ſubject, and ſhall therefore avoid any unneceſſary repetition here.

It is now paſt twelve o'clock, ſo that I diſpatch the meſſenger, leſt the

carrying on for a peace in England? My anſwer was, that this was the firſt ſyllable I had ever heard of any ſuch thing; adding, that if a negociation of that nature was on foot, no doubt but his Majeſty would have been informed of it by Count Gallas, not being to be imagined that the Queen would hearken to any propoſition from France, without communicating them immediately to his Majeſty's miniſter, and to others of the allies.

"The King ſaid, he was of the ſame opinion, and not willing to think otherwiſe; though he could not help ſaying, he had reaſon at the ſame time to ſuſpect what had been ſuggeſted to him on that head, purely by his ſubſidies wanting more this year than ever, and by the little care taken of late to ſupport the war in Spain. Continuing on this ſubject for ſome time, his Majeſty at laſt ended by telling me, that if he did not find things change, and more fervour in England to ſupport affairs in Spain, he ſhould be obliged the firſt to take care of himſelf, as he did not doubt, but every branch of the alliance would afterwards do; and deſired I would write this to the Queen, aſſuring her Majeſty, however, of his firmity, ſo long as ſhe would ſtand by him and aſſiſt him. Theſe are, to the beſt of my remembrance, the expreſſions the King made uſe of, and what I thought my duty to inform your Lordſhip of by the firſt occaſion, as likewiſe that this diſcourſe was the product of ſome letters the King had received that morning by a Courier from Count Gallas."

* "*Article Séparé.*

"Le Roi promet de rendre à Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, les domaines et territoires qui appartenoient à ce Prince au commencement de la préſente guerre, et que ſa Majeſté poſsède préſentement; aſſurant de plus, qu'elle conſentira qu'il ſoit encore cédé a Monſieur le Duc de Savoye telles autres places en Italie qu'on trouvera néceſſaire au ſens des traités faits entre ce Prince et ſes alliés.

"En vertu du plein pouvoir du Roi, dont nous avons fourni copie, ſignée de notre main, nous ſouſſigné, Chevalier de ſon ordre de St. Michel, député au Conſeil de Commerce, avons arrêté le préſent article préliminaire; & promettons au nom de ſa Majeſté, qu'il aura ſon effet & exécution en cas de ſignature de la paix Générale, comme s'il étoit inféré dans les autres articles préliminaires de nous arrêtés ce jourd'hui. En foi de quoi nous avons ſigné, et mis le cachet de nos armes. Fait à Londres, le vingt-ſeptième Septembre, Vieux Stile, et du nouveau le huitième Octobre, mille ſept cents onze.

(L. S.) "MESNAGER."

packet-boat, which ſtays at Harwich for him, ſhould be too long detained; at the end of the week I ſhall ſend another, and by that opportunity ſhall add, what I now omit.

I am, &c.

H. St. John.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, 23d November, 1711.

THERE has been a conference this morning, at the cock-pit, with Monſieur Buys, wherein ſeveral incidents happened, which took up the whole time, and which hindered us from going upon the ſubject for which we were immediately ſummoned.

To-morrow, at twelve, we meet again, and, I hope, we ſhall then make ſome progreſs towards knowing each others minds as to the points proper to be jointly inſiſted upon in the future negociation.

The Miniſters of King Auguſtus, and of the Elector Palatine, preſſed very hard to have circular letters of invitation addreſſed to their maſters; in the ſame form as to the other Princes and States who have entered ſpecifically into the grand alliance.

The former pretended the merit of his maſter in the war, and his quality of Vicar of the Empire; he urged, indeed, that as Elector of Saxony he had acceded, to uſe the term of art, to the aforementioned alliance, but of this he could produce no proofs, neither do we find any.

The latter not only ſet forth theſe pretenſions, but inſiſted poſitively, that his maſter had, before the King's death, been invited into the grand

* Public letter.

alliance,

alliance, and that he had entered into the ſame in form, and of this we find ſome evidence in our books.

There is an entry of a letter from the Elector Palatine to the late king, of the 22d November, 1701, wherein he recites ſuch an invitation, and accepts it; *accedo & paginæ annexæ ſubſcribo*, ſays the letter, but the original, or any copies of the annexed paper, is not to be found.

The opinion of the Lords, in concert with Mr. Buys, and to which I make no doubt but her Majeſty will agree to-morrow, at her return from Hampton Court, was, that a letter of invitation ſhould be writ to the Elector Palatine, as a member of the grand alliance; and that two others ſhould be writ, to him, and to King Auguſtus, in the quality of Vicars, but that theſe ſhould be ſimply letters of notification.

On conſideration of your Excellency's diſpatch of the 27th, my Lords were of opinion that her Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to confirm, by her orders, all that you gave as advice to Mr. Cadogan. Buys had nothing to ſay in defence either of the treaty of contributions*, or of the concealment of it from her Majeſty's ſervants.

There can be no room to doubt of the Queen's approbation of this minute of the Committee of council, ſince it is agreeable to all her declarations. Monſieur Buys was deſired to write upon the ſubject into Holland, and I think your Excellency ought to affect to preſs the Dutch, the Imperialiſts, and all the other friends of war, and enemies of peace, to exert themſelves, to prepare for the next campaign, and

* The Editor has an original *Mémoire*, ſent, in January, 1712-13, to Lord Bolingbroke by Mr. Harriſon, entitled, *Mémoire de ce que les Etats-Généraux ont tiré des Contributions & autres des Pays-Bas, depuis le Commencement de la Guerre, juſqu'à l'An* 1712; by this it appears, that the Dutch, in the conquered countries, reſerved to themſelves taxes, cuſtoms, &c. and under the name of *contributions, ſubſides, aides, droits d'entrée & de ſortir*, drew an immenſe revenue from French and Spaniſh Flanders.

to ſhow by their actions that they deſign to proceed with greater vigour than they have hitherto done; for, my Lord, it were better that any peace were made, than that Britain continued to empty the bottom of her bag for thoſe who will not retrench even ſuperfluities for themſelves.

The laſt point which was this morning in debate, Monſieur Buys ſtarted, and though he did not ſay he had inſtructions to inſiſt upon it, before he delivered the paſſports, yet he did not deny it, when the queſtion was put to him.

This propoſition was, that France ſhould be acquainted, the Queen and States inſiſt, that the Miniſters of the Duke of Anjou, and of the *ci-devant* Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, ſhall not come into the congreſs, until thoſe points which may relate to them are adjuſted; and that, farther, the Queen and the States are firmly reſolved not to ſend paſſports for the Miniſters of France, unleſs the French King do previouſly declare, that the excluſion of the before-mentioned Miniſters ſhall occaſion no delay to the progreſs of the treaty.

This minute has been taken *ad referendum*, and will be laid before the Queen to-morrow. I ſhall not fail to acquaint your Excellency by the mail of Tueſday, with her Majeſty's determination upon it; in the mean time, there can be no diſpute, but that theſe Miniſters muſt not be received until what relates to their maſters is ſettled in the congreſs, and the only difficulty ſeems to be in point of time, whether the paſſports ſhould not be ſent to France, and this declaration accompany them.

Before I conclude, I would offer it to your Excellency, to turn your thoughts how you are to lay down your character of Ambaſſador, at Utrecht, whilſt you act as Plenipotentiary in the treaty of peace. I

have

have a confuſed notion that there are precedents of this kind, if the particulars occur to me, I will communicate them to you.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

I have received your letter by Major Cecil, and ſhall be glad to have it in my power to ſerve ſo honeſt a man.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 25me Novembre, V.S. 1711.

LA lettre ci-jointe*, a été écrite à l'inſtance du Miniſtre des Etats-Généraux, qui a inſiſté de recevoir la déclaration qu'on y demande avant que d'envoyer les paſſeports pour vos plénipotentiaires. La Reine a conſenti d'autant plus facilement à faire cette démarche, parce qu'elle ne doute pas que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne ne lève d'abord la difficulté, & que par conſéquent, le congrès ne s'ouvre au jour qui a été fixé.

Il faut, Monſieur, que ceux qui ſouhaitent la paix s'entr'aident de part & d'autre, & travaillent à finir le traité aſſez à tems pour ne pas être expoſés aux événemens d'une autre campagne. Nous ferons tout ce qui dépend de nous, pour fixer les prétenſions de nos alliés, & nous eſpérons par ce moyen faciliter & abréger l'ouvrage de Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires.

Je vous ſuis extrêmement obligé de l'honneur de votre lettre du 18me de ce mois, que j'ai reçue par le Sieur Gaultier; & je vous prie

* To Torcy, of the ſame date.

d'être perſuadé qu'on ſe ſervira du mémoire* qu'il nous a remis avec beaucoup de retenue, & que le ſecret ſera inviolablement gardé.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 25me Novembre, 1711.

LES Seigneurs Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies, ayant concouru par leur réſolution du 21me de ce mois, N.S. avec ſa Majeſté, pour faciliter l'ouverture d'une négociation d'une paix bonne & générale, j'ai ordre de vous communiquer ce qui a été réſolu d'un commun concert, entre ſa Majeſté & les dits Seigneurs Etats, à cette fin :

Premièrement, Le lieu qui a paru le plus propre pour le Congrès, a été la ville d'Utrecht†.

Secondement, Le douzième de Janvier prochain, N.S. a été fixé pour l'ouverture du dit Congrès.

Troiſièmement, Il a été arrêté que les Miniſtres de la Reine, & les Seigneurs Etats s'y rendront en qualité de Miniſtres Plénipotentiaires, & qu'ils ne prendront ſur eux le caractère d'Ambaſſadeurs que le jour de la ſignature de la paix, afin d'éviter, le plus qu'il ſera poſſible, l'embarras des cérémonies, & les longueurs qui en pourroient naître.

* This *Mémoire*, which contained the conceſſions intended by France as the baſis of a general peace, will appear in the ſequel.

† Between Penſionary Heinſius and the French Miniſtry, no good underſtanding ſubſiſted: the Penſionary was Keeper of the Seals, and, conſequently, could not leave the Hague; therefore, to prevent his being a Plenipotentiary at the Congreſs, the French Miniſtry intentionally left the Hague out of the liſt of places for treating.

Quatrièmement,

Quatrièmement, La Reine, & les Seigneurs Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies, inſiſtent que les Miniſtres du Duc d'Anjou, & des ci-devant Electeurs de Bavière & Cologne, n'entreront pas au Congrès juſqu'à ce que les points qui les pourroient regarder aient été ajuſtés. Et la Reine, & les dits Seigneurs Etats ſont fermément réſolus de ne pas envoyer les paſſeports pour les Miniſtres de France, que le Roi Très Chrétien n'ait préalablement déclaré que l'abſence des Miniſtres ſuſmentionnés, ne tardera pas le progrès de la négociation.

Des lettres circulaires ont été déjà écrites par ſa Majeſté à tous les alliés qui ſont engagés dans la préſente guerre, en conformité des trois premiers articles ci-deſſus ſpécifiés; & la Reine m'ordonne de vous faire ſavoir, que d'aborde qu'elle recevra la déclaration de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, ſur le dernier de ces quatre articles, les paſſeports qui ſont préſentement ici en blanc, vous ſeront envoyés, les noms de Monſieur le Maréchal d'Uxelles, de Monſieur l'Abbé Polignac, & du Sieur Meſnager y étant inſérés, à moins que le Roi n'ait fait quelque changement à la première nomination de ſes Plénipotentiaires, dont vous m'avez donné part.

Comme non-ſeulement les Miniſtres de ſa Majeſté, mais auſſi de pluſieurs de ceux de ſes alliés, qui doivent aſſiſter au traité de paix futur ſont préſentement ici, j'ai à vous prier, Monſieur, de m'envoyer les paſſeports néceſſaires, pour qu'ils puiſſent ſe rendre en Hollande avec plus de ſureté.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 27th November, 1711.

I ACKNOWLEDGE the honour of your Excellency's letters of the 2d of December, and of the 4th, N.S.

To tell you that the Queen is extremely ſatisfied with your conduct, is no compliment, but ſtrictly the truth. In the midſt of clamour, as well as artifice, you have purſued her Majeſty's inſtructions with that ſteadineſs and vigour, which only could have produced the compliance we now meet with.

Your Excellency may depend upon my exactneſs in ſending you accounts of all that paſſes relating to the negociation. I know too well how neceſſary it is, that you ſhould have all the light, and all the aſſiſtance we can procure for you, to omit any article of this kind.

Her Majeſty, having approved of the minute of council, which was drawn on the propoſition made by Monſieur Buys, I wrote to Monſieur de Torcy, on Sunday, and a copy of my letter comes herewith incloſed.

The truth is, the caution appeared to every one here entirely vain; ſince, in common ſenſe, the Miniſters of thoſe three princes can be no parties at the treaty, until their maſters' intereſts are ſettled, and until it be agreed in what qualities they ſhall be acknowledged by the allies; ſince, if the condition of France be as bad as the advocates for war pretend, and as I incline to believe it is, we have no reaſon to imagine the French will, by artificial delays, expoſe this treaty to the events of another campaign; and ſince, from the firſt moment that there have been *pour-parlers* about the peace, it has been always underſtood and agreed that the negociation ſhould be ſingly carried on with France.

* Public Letter.

However,

However, the Queen, who is desirous in every thing, where her honour, and the interest of Britain will allow thereof, to comply with the measures of the States, and the proposals of their Ministers, thought fit to give way upon this occasion; considering farther, that the answer to my letter may return time enough for the passports to be sent from hence in less than a fortnight.

The hopes which Monsieur Buys has given to his masters concerning their barrier and commerce are very well founded. We have not yet entered into any particulars with him upon that head; to-morrow I believe we shall, and, in the mean time, I think your Excellency will do well to renew the Queen's assurances to them.

You may imagine it was some check to us, to find, that several Ministers among the States, had expressed their dislike of the Queen's proceedings, and even of their own concurrence with them; and he must play a very dangerous game, who shows all his cards to the man that bets openly on the other side. But they begin, however, now to take the sure, and, I add, the only way of obtaining the Queen's confidence. Monsieur Buys must have justice done him, his conduct here has been irreproachable, though many temptations and many snares were laid in his way.

As to the rest of our allies, they will have no reason to complain, and her Majesty commands me particularly to mention to your Excellency, the pleasure with which she received the account which your last dispatches gave of the King of Prussia's conduct, and of his answer to the extraordinary letter of the Emperor. The Queen, my Lord, expected no less from the affection of so good an ally, and from the generosity of so great a prince; and she is firmly resolved to show her sense of the obligation, by supporting the interests of his Prussian Majesty, in the course of this negociation, and by taking all opportunities

of uniting, ſtill more cloſely, the bands of alliance between the two crowns, as well during the war, as after the peace.

When we have gone over the particular intereſts of the allies with Monſieur Buys, I ſhall be able to ſpeak more clearly, and with better authority to your Excellency, than I can do at preſent, for which reaſon I avoid entering on that ſubject.

I hope, that long before this reaches you, our letters will be come to hand, with the accounts of the ſteps made here, in concert with Mr. Buys, when we firſt received the reſolution of the States, of the 21ſt of laſt month; and that, by conſequence, the Miniſters will be no more in doubt, whom your Excellency repreſents under ſo much uneaſineſs.

As to my little friend, Del Borgo, be pleaſed to let him know, that if his intelligence concerning a treaty, ſigned with Meſnager, coſts him any thing, it coſts him too much; and methinks, after ſo many ſolemn aſſurances on the Queen's part, that ſhe has made no ſeparate treaty with the enemy, it does not very well become him, or any one elſe, to ſuppoſe it.

Mr. Tilſon * takes care to ſend your Excellency a copy of what I write to Mr. Scott, concerning the affairs of the North, which is all that her Majeſty thinks can be reſolved upon at this time, and in theſe circumſtances.

We ſhall preſs on here as much as poſſible, the recruit of our troops, and the preparations for the next year, in order to which, ſeveral treaties are to be renewed. I do not foreſee any great difficulty in any, except that of Saxony, and that of Denmark. Surely, my Lord, both theſe might be made on eaſier terms, whilſt there is an expectation of a peace with France, and by conſequence of our being no longer in the

* One of the Under-ſecretaries in Lord Bolingbroke's office.

condition of receiving the law. The Queen desires your Excellency should speak with the Pensionary in this affair, and particularly tell him, that she hopes the States will agree with her, in choosing rather not to have the Saxon troops at all, than to have them on such precarious terms, and in so lamentable a state, as we had them the last summer.

I am, &c.

H. St. John.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, November 27th, 1711.

HURRIED as I am, you shall have two words in private from me.

I cannot help thinking, your answer to the Pensionary very just, and I suppose your Excellency will hear no more of that complaint; they should be less apt to dispute with the Queen, about a prerogative which they have been obliged to her for getting, and must be obliged to her for keeping.

Barlow's simplicity was very ridiculous; the fellow is, I think, strictly honest and punctual, and I have always trusted him. We are, in truth, ill provided with messengers, and it is a little absurd that they, whose only business is to attend the Secretaries of State, and to be employed by them, are under the Chamberlain's direction. The Duke of Shrewsbury has had but one vacancy in his time.

The paragraph in my public letter, relating to the King of Prussia, is calculated for your Excellency, to show his Minister, or to send to Berlin, according to her Majesty's order.

The

The Parliament is prorogued to the 7th of next month, at which time we ſhall ſit without fail.

I am, ever, &c.

To the Earl of Stafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, 30th November, 1711.

A COMMISSION is ordered to be prepared to paſs under the great ſeal, empowering your Excellency to renew ſuch treaties for troops, for the ſervice of the next year, as are neceſſary. Some of them, as particularly that with the Elector of Hanover, are matters of form, and have been yearly renewed in the ſame words; but others will, perhaps, meet with ſome difficulties, and require your Excellency's addreſs in getting them ſettled advantageouſly.

When the full power is ready, I will take care to have it diſpatched to you.

In the mean time, your Excellency will be pleaſed to turn your thoughts that way, and forward the matter as much as poſſible.

As to the renewal of the treaties for the Daniſh troops, and thoſe of King Auguſtus, that will depend on the negociations at the Hague; and your Excellency is already ſufficiently inſtructed concerning the Queen's intentions, for your conduct in that affair.

In relation to the Pruſſian troops, it is her Majeſty's pleaſure, that you ſhould conſult with the States, how we ſhall beſt ſecure the ſervice of that whole corps for another year, if we want them, without any danger of having them withdrawn, particularly in regard to the eight

* Public letter.

thouſand

thouſand men in Italy; the treaty for which, I find, has not been renewed for theſe two years paſt, but their ſervice has been continued, upon a promiſe of paying them as before, though the treaty were not made in form.

Upon this ſubject, I muſt inform your Excellency, that Monſieur Bonet* has procured a full power to himſelf to ſign a convention, for the Queen's two-thirds of the ſeventy thouſand crowns, demanded for the charge of recruiting the Italian corps; he got this power ſent to him from his court, upon an objection made by Mr. Brydges, the pay-maſter of the forces, among other expedients uſed to delay the payment of that money as long as poſſible; that he could not have his accounts paſſed, according to the rules of the exchequer, unleſs the demand he made was grounded upon ſome formal agreement between the two crowns. But I find this full power to have only a retroſpect, and to authorize him no farther than to ſign a convention for the year 1710, and for this year; which ſeems a little abſurd. However, the artifice that lies hid under this proceeding, is to get this arrear paid before they enter upon any treaty with us for the continuance of their troops in our ſervice this next year; which is juſt the thing we ought to avoid, ſince we may certainly make a new treaty much more eaſily, and upon better terms, whilſt we keep ſuch a ſum of money in our hands, than we ſhould, if we once let it go.

We hope we ſhall be able to make this treaty without any ſuch demands from the Pruſſian court, as hindered the renewing of it for theſe two laſt years, and without any other demands which may entangle us ſtill farther, and draw us into freſh expences, or other inconveniencies; and, in that caſe, I believe the Queen would be glad to have the renewal made in form, otherwiſe your Excellency will

* The Pruſſian Reſident.

pleaſe to ſpeak to the Penſionary concerning the propereſt expedient for being ſure of theſe troops; which in all likelihood will be leſs difficult, ſince at this time that the negociations of peace are going to be opened, the King of Pruſſia will ſtand ſo much in need of her Majeſty's good offices in his pretenſions.

What your Excellency mentions in your's of the 2d of December, from Monſieur Gerſdorff*, has been done already; and it is ſome time ago ſince her Majeſty wrote ſuch a letter as is deſired to the Electreſs Dowager of Saxony upon the ſubject of the danger of the young Prince Electoral's changing his religion.

The conferences continue with Monſieur Buys; but I muſt ſay upon no very good foot, in my opinion, ſince he is not empowered to agree to any thing relating to our common intereſts in the future treaty, ſince he can only ſpeak as Monſieur Buys, and expects that we ſhould ſpeak from the Queen.

In a week's time I ſhall be able to ſend your Excellency the reſult of theſe debates.

The Count de Maffei was this morning at the cockpit, with the Lords of the Council. He preſſed with great earneſtneſs that the Queen would enter into an immediate and formal engagement with his maſter, both as to his barrier againſt France, and as to his aggrandiſement on the ſide of Italy. An anſwer will in the beginning of the next week, be given him, when his inſtances have been reported to the Queen.

On the head of the barrier, there can be no difficulty; our engagements and the common intereſt exact from us that we ſhould take care of his ſecurity. His aggrandiſement is a matter of more dif-

* Saxon Envoy to the States-General.

ficult

ficult diſcuſſion, and will depend on the diſpoſition of the Spaniſh monarchy.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD, Whitehall, November 30, 1711.

THERE are ſo many things are proper or even neceſſary to be ſaid to your Excellency, which are, at the ſame time, not conveniently to be inſerted in a public diſpatch, that I am obliged to give you, almoſt every poſt, the trouble of a private letter.

I muſt obſerve, and I think your Excellency may give the hints ſometimes where you are, that they do not entirely keep up with the Queen to that character of confidence and open heartedneſs, which they recommend to our practice, as abſolutely neceſſary for the mutual advantage of both nations in this critical conjuncture of affairs. We have for many months inſinuated to the Dutch Miniſters; nay, your Excellency, before you came from Holland in the ſummer, actually and expreſsly told the Penſionary, that the Queen intended to proceed without any reſerve towards the States, that ſhe was ready to give and to receive a free communication of thoughts, and to concert in ſuch a manner that England and Holland might act as one power. What has all this produced? For ſeveral months Vryberge was here whom we could not truſt; after that, no miniſter, on their part, reſided at the Queen's court; when your Excellency came over, they refuſed to inſtruct you in any particulars, and now the Penſionary of Amſterdam is here, he neither knows the minds of his maſters on the ſubject of the

barrier, commerce, or any other head. My Lord, we are not deceive ed, we ſee through this ſlight veil. They propoſe two things to themſelves, firſt pumping our ſecret, and engaging the Queen, without diſcloſing their own, or binding themſelves. Secondly, they appear to negociate, and by this amuſement gain time, till they ſee what turn the parliament will take, and what is likely to be the effect of the cabals of their friends the Whigs: by theſe artifices they may hurt the common intereſt, but they will do themſelves no ſervice.

I find the Duke of Savoy grows cool, as to the propoſition of marriage; he would fain get the reſt of Milan, under pretence of being recompenced for the loſs of his reverſion of the Spaniſh monarchy; and he likes the fortune beſt without the wife, or elſe hopes to obtain ſomething farther as a dower with the Arch-Ducheſs. Is it impoſſible that this new turn may be taken in concert with France? I hope the King of Pruſſia will be pleaſed with the Queen's ſenſe of his proceeding. We know very well how much his conduct muſt be owing to your Excellency's good council; and prevalent influence. Mr. Breton will go to Berlin in a ſhort time; but as he is not yet declared, I deſire you to mention his name yet a while to nobody.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord, Whitehall, December 4, 1711.

AS I ſat down early this morning to begin my diſpatches, in anſwer to your Excellency's letters of the 8th and 11th, N.S. Barlow arrived and brought me thoſe of the 12th.

I muſt begin by taking notice of thoſe frequent reproaches which I

meet with from your Excellency, as if you was not truſted even in thoſe matters which belong to the negociation at this time in your hands.

I am ſorry, my Lord, that my manner of acting is ſo awkward as to make me appear reſerved, where I endeavour moſt to be frank. On the other ſide, your Excellency muſt allow me to tell you, that you very frequently over-think the point, imagine great ſecrets to lie latent where really there are none; and, by conſequence, blame your friends for not communicating what they do not know. Beſides, there are ſome things of no ſmall conſequence that eſcape me in writing, like the prorogation of the parliament. Theſe become matters of moment in Holland, and your Excellency wonders that you do not hear of them from me. For God's ſake, my Lord, lay aſide theſe jealouſies; little omiſſions would be made ſometimes by the greateſt men, if they were involved in as much buſineſs as the Queen thinks fit to truſt to me, much more may I be allowed to miſtake. The tenor of my conduct ſhall be always right; and as to your Excellency in particular, I am not conſcious to myſelf that in the leaſt article I have ever departed from the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and the moſt unlimited confidence.

You will be of opinion, I believe, when you have read my tedious relation, that the Queen's ſervants have left Buys without any reproach to make. Since he firſt ſpoke againſt the method of proceeding without ſpecific preliminaries, I do not know that he has either inſtructions or powers upon any one article; and yet whenever he has called upon my Lords, to open themſelves to him, they have done it with the utmoſt frankneſs.

I think your Excellency ſhould take the trouble of talking with the Penſionary, with Monſieur Goſlinga *, and with any others who may

* Deputy to the States-General for the province of Frieſland; he was many years a field-deputy with the army in Flanders.

be

be well intentioned, and yet impoſed upon by falſe alarms, that you ſhould ſhow them how much better it is to proceed with frankneſs, by which they will entirely gain the Queen, than to endeavour to overreach us by negociation, in which I hardly believe they will prevail. Let them remove the danger which we apprehended from the barrier-treaty by proper expedients; let them conſider with themſelves, how far they may ſafely or prudently yield in this article, and what they muſt finally inſiſt upon; the Queen is ready not only to join with her beſt endeavours, but to declare to the French, that unleſs her good allies the States are gratified in theſe demands, ſhe will think of peace no more, but will break the negociation, and renew the war.

As to the particulars which your Excellency enters into, I muſt obſerve to you, that her Majeſty's part in this whole affair is that of a mediatrice; and that it will be the addreſs of her Miniſters to make uſe of occurrences, to act *pro re natâ*, in a great meaſure, to avoid, on one hand, ſuffering our allies to break the peace by exceſſive demands, or by unreaſonable difficulties; and, on the other hand, to hinder the enemy from impoſing on us and them: for inſtance, in my own opinion, I think that if we obtain for the barrier of the States from France, beſides thoſe towns belonging to Spain which they are to have, Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Liſle, or even the firſt of theſe two laſt, together with the Chatellenies and countries belonging to them, we make a very good bargain, and ſuch an one as the Dutch ought to be contented with; at the ſame time my private opinion is, that we ought, in compliance to their deſires, to endeavour to prevail for more. The project which came ſome time ago from France is of no manner of uſe, and the knowledge of it could only have an ill effect.

The enemy muſt go a great many lengths further, and intends to do ſo; but that Court is not able to lay aſide their habits of chicane, however

however unſeaſonable. We deferred ſending any anſwer till we had proceeded with Monſieur Buys, and till we had farther lights into the pretenſions of other allies; but now I believe a memorial in reply will be drawn, and ſent to Monſieur Torcy, ſufficient to refute his reaſonings; and to ſhew them, that they muſt make larger advances towards the ſeveral parties engaged with us in the preſent war, if they expect a peace, which may remove that which has hitherto been the great ſtumbling block.

We have uſed great firmneſs towards our confederates, otherwiſe we could have expected no peace at all. We muſt exerciſe the ſame towards our enemies, otherwiſe a good peace cannot poſſibly enſue.

I ſend you the project above-mentioned; but as it has never been laid before the Cabinet Council, I muſt deſire your Excellency never to part with it out of your own cuſtody, nor to leave a poſſibility to any man living to know the contents of it.

Uſe both this private diſpatch, and the public one, as you think fit, and ſhew to the Penſionary what you judge proper.

On the ſubject of Prince Eugene, the Queen commands me to tell your Excellency, that you are to affect to ſay, that whoever comes from the Emperor will be welcome to her Majeſty, but that his Highneſs cannot come over hither without great ſpeculation.—That in this critical time, when jealouſies run ſo high, the Queen will take no ſingle meaſure except in concert with the States; for which reaſon, every thing will be tranſacted much more ſpeedily at the Hague than here.

Friday next the peace will be attacked in Parliament, indirectly; I am glad of it, for I hate a diſtant danger which hovers over my head: we muſt receive their fire, and rout them once for all.

Adieu, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 4th Dec. 1711.

AFTER having conſidered on Friday among themſelves in what manner and method to proceed with Monſieur Buys, the Lords of the Council met him on Saturday morning at another conference; where it fell to my ſhare to tell him, that ſince the end propoſed by theſe meetings and debates was to come to a right underſtanding in each others intentions, to ſettle the principal points of the future negociation of peace, and to prevent, by a previous concert between the Queen and the States, any difference which might ariſe in the courſe of the treaty, it was to be wiſhed that his inſtructions had been more particular, and his powers more ample, that we might have treated with him in the Queen's name, and have finally concluded ſeveral points which ought to be decided between us before we come to the congreſs; but, however, to do all that is poſſible to ſo good a purpoſe on our part, that my Lords of the Council had given me directions to acquaint him with ſome of the reflections which they have made, and with ſome of the opinions which they are come to, when they have had amongſt themſelves the great affair of peace under conſideration.

After this introduction, Monſieur Buys was told, that though the pretence of obtaining a barrier for the States-General be only their greater ſecurity againſt France, yet my Lords obſerved, that by the treaty between her Majeſty and his maſters, as it now ſtands, infinite prejudice may ariſe to the trade of Great Britain in the Spaniſh Netherlands: by the 15th article of this treaty, in conſequence of what is ſtipulated in the treaty of Munſter, article the 14th, her Ma-

* Public letter.

jeſty

jeſty engages that commerce ſhall not be rendered, directly or indirectly, more eaſy by the ſea-ports of Flanders than by the river of Schelde * and by the canals on the ſide of the Seven Provinces.

My Lords took notice, that here was a very great, and a very unfair omiſſion, ſince although, when the treaty of Munſter was made, in which, by the way, Britain had little or no ſhare, and as long as the neighbouring countries are in the poſſeſſion of Spain, France, or any third power, this article was, and will be, equal and reaſonable; yet the caſe becomes widely altered, when conſiderable parts of theſe provinces are be put into the hands of the Dutch. The queſtion was illuſtrated by this inſtance: a Britiſh merchant imports by Oſtend, and a Dutch merchant by the Schelde, two pieces of cloth, of the ſame value, and paying the ſame duty. They carry afterwards this cloth to Liſle, which is in the hands of the French, and there again they pay ſuch a duty as, by the tariffs of France, is eſtabliſhed. In all this, there is no partiality whatſoever: and thus far, and no farther, would the treaty of Munſter affect our commerce. But when Liſle ſhall belong to the States-General, as by the barrier-treaty it is to do, then may the Dutch merchant, who imported his cloth by the Schelde, enter the ſame, perhaps, cuſtom-free, at this town, whilſt a high duty, or even a prohibition, may be laid upon that cloth which the Britiſh merchant imported by Oſtend. Upon theſe conſiderations, and many more which were urged, my Lords told Monſieur Buys, very frankly, their opinion was, that if the States expected the Queen ſhould, in good earneſt, and with vigour, ſupport the treaty of barrier, and their demands both of France and of the Houſe of Auſtria upon that head, they ought to enter into a previous and formal engagement,

* Which river, by the 14th article of the treaty of Munſter, as alſo the canals of Sas, Swan, and other mouths of the ſea bordering thereupon, were to be kept ſhut on the ſide of the States.

that the ſubjects of great Britain ſhall trade on as free and advantageous foot to all the countries and places, which ſhall become, by virtue of any former or any future treaty, the barrier of the States-General, as they did in the time of the late King of Spain, Charles the Second, or as the ſubjects of the States-General themſelves ſhall do.

The omiſſion of this was certainly a very great defect in the treaty made by my Lord Townſhend. And it was repreſented to Monſieur Buys, that we hoped the States would never ſcruple rectifying a miſtake ſo injurious to that nation, without the blood and treaſure of which, they could have had no barrier at all.

Upon this Monſieur Buys attempted to ſay a good deal, by way of compliment, and extenuation; but being unable to anſwer the reaſons that were urged, he at laſt acquieſced; and ſaid, that on the hints which had been given him before, he had already writ for inſtructions, by which to govern himſelf in this caſe.

We proceeded next to the article of commerce; and my Lords agreed with the Envoy, that it was reaſonable her Majeſty ſhould inſiſt upon, and endeavour to obtain for the States, what is ſtipulated in their favour by the treaty of Ryſwick, the tarif of 1664, the ſuppreſſion of all poſterior tarifs, and edicts repugnant thereunto, and the exemption of fifty pence per ton; the whole to be ſo ſettled as not to be excluſive of Britain.

Our diſcourſe concerning the barrier, was divided into three parts: as to thoſe places which were demanded of France by the 22d article of the preliminaries, and which were yielded by the project ſent by Monſieur de Torcy, in January 1710*; and as to thoſe of Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, Aire, and Bouchain, which have been ſince that time conquered, my Lords made no difficulty to agree with Mon-

* Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Warneton, Commines, Warneck, Poperingen, Liſle, Condé, and Maubeuge.

ſieur Buys, that they ought to be inſiſted upon. But there was ſome diſpute on the laſt point relating to this article, my Lords thought the Queen might agree to concur with the ſtates in obtaining for them the *jus præſidii* in thoſe places, which did belong to the late king of Spain Charles the Second, at the time of his death, provided ſuch of them were excepted, as would render the trade of Britain to the Spaniſh Low-Countries precarious, and even put it into the power of the States, whenever they thought fit, to ſhut that door upon us. Monſieur Buys aſſerting that there was no colour for this exception, affecting to fear that under this pretence we might, to uſe his own expreſſion, *raſler tout le reſte*, and inſiſting that ſome particular inſtance ſhould be produced; Newport was named to him directly, and the Caſtle of Ghent and Dendermond, touched upon. The ſubſtance of what he ſaid was this: that he hoped the Queen would not, from imaginary fears, expoſe the States to a real danger; that we were under a panic terror, that in ſettling the barrier, a ſecurity againſt France had been the ſole view, and that they had never had the leaſt thought in Holland of improving their own commerce, or of prejudicing ours thereby; that it were to be wiſhed, that Oſtend had been included in their barrier, but that ſince the tide of this nation run ſtrongly againſt it, they had contented themſelves with Newport; that France might attack them hereafter by ſea, and therefore, that the laſt-named place was neceſſary for their defence; that they could not ſupport their barrier, unleſs their communication with it was ſecured to them; and that, in this reſpect alſo, the places which my Lords ſeemed to object to, were abſolutely neceſſary; that they had already, in the Elector of Bavaria*, had one fatal inſtance, what miſchief the treachery of a governor, in the Spaniſh Low Countries may bring upon them; and there-

* He had been governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and had received the appointment for life.

fore, that he thought the ſafety of Holland, and of Britain too, required that all theſe places ſhould be given up to the Dutch, without any exception.

The reply to this reaſoning was, that we could not look upon theſe fears to be imaginary, becauſe ſome things had paſſed already, which pointed towards that evil, which we apprehend; that if, even now, they cannot forbear making uſe of the barrier, which they are in poſſeſſion of, to infeſt our commerce*, we have reaſon to expect much worſe, whenever they ſhall be in the quiet poſſeſſion of it; that this might prove an eternal ball of diſſenſion between two nations, whoſe happineſs depends upon their union, and was, therefore, by early, moderate, and prudent meaſures, to be provided againſt: that it was true, the tide of the nation had run againſt putting Oſtend into the hand of the Dutch; that whenever the preſent caſe came to be known, the ſame tide would, for the ſame reaſon, run againſt the other places mentioned; and that our people would look upon themſelves to have been lulled aſleep, and impoſed upon by the ceſſion of Oſtend, and the retention of what may be equally prejudicial to them; that the panic terror which he objected to us, might, much more juſtly, be retorted on him, ſince the arguments were built on ſuch ſuppoſitions, as could hardly be made in earneſt; that thoſe arguments likewiſe proved too much, which was as great a fault as proving too little, for that by the ſame rule, Oſtend and Antwerp ought to be given to them, to prevent an invaſion of France, and all the reſt of the Spaniſh Low Countries, to prevent other Governors from doing what the Elector of Bavaria once did; that when we came to preſs the Emperor to make good the treaty of barrier to them, we ſhould have a very ill grace in making uſe of a ſuppoſition, that the

* Being in poſſeſſion of all the fortified towns in the Low Countries, they laid ſuch heavy duties on all foreign goods, and thoſe not imported in their own bottoms, as, in the caſe of Great Britain, amounted to a prohibition of all trade whatever.

perſons,

perſons, to whoſe government under him, theſe countries and towns are to be truſted, will prove a pack of traitors; that, in ſhort, Monſieur Buys would be in the right, if the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh Low Countries was to be yielded to an enemy, but that his arguments are of no force, when it is to be given to a friend. Upon the whole matter, we at laſt centered in this propoſition: that the States ought to have whatever is really eſſential to the ſecurity of their barrier againſt France, but no more; and that ſome amicable expedient ſhould be found for removing our fears, and ſettling the intereſt of Britain upon this laſt head.

Valenciennes, which is mentioned in the barrier treaty, but ſpecified neither in the preliminary articles, nor in the project of 1710, was taken notice of, and agreed to be inſiſted on, like the reſt.

When the conference had proceeded thus far, Monſieur Buys was told, that though the Queen, my Lords made no doubt, would inſiſt upon all theſe points, in behalf of her allies the States, yet they believed her Majeſty looked upon his maſters to be too reaſonable to break off the treaty, rather than not obtain the utmoſt of their demands; that it was impoſſible the ultimatum, from whence there could be no receding, ſhould be ſettled here, unleſs he was inſtructed to ſpeak upon that ſubject; that, ſooner or latter, that point ought to be concerted, and that whenever it was, he might depend on the Queen's ſhowing as much firmneſs, as the States themſelves could deſire; that we underſtood her Majeſty's opinion to be, that the beſt way of ſecuring the common intereſt in the future treaty, and of preventing that danger, which Monſieur Buys has ſo frequently repreſented, the diviſion of the allies by the artifices of the French, in the courſe of a long negociation, was to concert between the Queen's miniſters, and thoſe of the States, with a due regard and decency to the other confederates, ſuch a plan, as might amount to a ſafe and honourable peace. In which caſe, as ſoon as it

appeared proper, the French plenipotentiary who is in the whole ſecret of his court, might be told, that it would be vain to amuſe each other any longer; that on ſuch terms, the peace would be immediately concluded; and that the conferences muſt ceaſe, if they were not, without delay, and without exception, granted.

After this we proceeded to ſpeak of the intereſts of the Duke of Savoy, of the King of Portugal, of the Elector of Hanover, and of the barrier of the empire; in all which, there was no diſpute concerning what the Queen and States ought jointly to inſiſt upon.

And now, my Lord, I think we have gone farther with the Miniſter of the States, than could have been expected from us, ſince he was only empowered to hear and not to ſpeak.

I muſt not conclude this relation without obſerving to you, that Monſieur Buys did, in recapitulating what had paſſed, more than once, although he was interrupted, and ſet right, repeat *ſans quoi la Reine ne fera point la paix.*

We uſed this expreſſion, *la Reine inſiſtera deſſus*; and whenever they pleaſe, we are ready to uſe the other.

Monſieur Buys has not ſaid the leaſt ſyllable about the plan of a treaty concerted here, and put into his hands. Two ſeparate articles to that alliance might perhaps adjuſt all our difference about the barrier.

My letter is already grown to an immeaſurable ſize, for which reaſon I will ſay nothing to your Excellency upon other heads of buſineſs, but conclude by ſubſcribing myſelf,

My Lord, &c.

H. St. John.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, December 7th, 1711.

UPON what your Excellency writes in your letter of the 8th, I directed ſearch to be made in the books remaining in my office, about the ſtyle given to the Elector of Treves, and to the Duke of Wirtemberg in her Majeſty's letters to them, concerning which their Miniſters at the Hague had made their complaint to you.

I find the ſtyle to the Elector of Treves, as likewiſe to the Elector of Mentz, as Eccleſiaſtical Electors, has been conſtantly, ever ſince the time of King Charles II, *Celſiſſimo et Eminentiſſimo Principi*, and the ſame ſtyle was followed to this preſent Elector, having no precedent of any other; his ſtyle when he was Biſhop of Oſnabrug, was *Reverendiſſimo & Celſiſſimo Principi*, without the word *Sereniſſimus*, and no complaint, as I hear of, was ever made. He has now the ſtyle of Elector and Biſhop joined; and if his quality, as a younger Prince of the family of Lorrain, entitles him to any thing more than what is given to an eccleſiaſtical Elector, his miniſter will pleaſe to ſet forth his pretenſions, with the titles he receives from Princes of the ſame rank with her Majeſty, and they ſhall be conſidered.

What Monſieur Heeſpen alledged as to his maſter, the Duke of Wirtemberg, is true in that particular letter, which was his recredential in April, 1697; it is entered with the ſtyle of *Sereniſſimus*; but it does not appear how that change came to be made then, or why it was not followed; for all the letters to that Duke, both before and ſince that time, have had no other title but *Illuſtriſſimus & Celſiſſimus*, and no repreſentation has been made upon it, till the complaint lately mentioned by your Excellency.

* Public letter.

I refer

I refer myſelf to the next poſt for what I have farther to ſay, and am, with much reſpect,

My Lord, &c.

H. St. John.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, December 8th, 1711.

THE fatigue of yeſterday was ſo great, that I was not very fit, after the riſing of the Houſe, to diſpatch my letters, and beſides I was willing to ſee the Queen again to-day, before I writ to your Excellency upon a ſubject which is of ſuch unſpeakable importance.

My Lord Treaſurer's narration * informs you of what paſſed in the two

* *The Earl of Oxford, to the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

I hope your Excellency is ſo much perſuaded of my ſincere adherence to you, and that juſt value I have for your merit, that you will impute it to the continuance of my indiſpoſition, that I have not punctually anſwered every one of your letters, which are ſo clear and inſtructive, that I can never ſufficiently make my acknowledgments for them. I will now give your Excellency an account of what has paſſed here, and then make ſome few remarks upon the occurrences. As ſoon as the Queen's ſpeech was read in the Houſe of Lords, by the Lord Keeper (1), the uſual addreſs was moved, for thanks to her Majeſty for her gracious ſpeech (a copy whereof, in print, will come by this poſt); this was moved thus ſimply and plainly, to ſhow the Lords, that the Queen's ſervants did not deſire to be ſcreened by any words in an addreſs. Upon this the Earl of Nottingham, after a ſpeech of an hour long, arraigning the conduct of the war, and the allies not ſupplying their quotas, concluded with a motion, that it ſhould be an humble advice to the Queen, that no peace could be ſafe and honourable, if any part of Spain or the Weſt Indies, ſhould be allotted to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon. I muſt tell you, by the way, that Lord Nottingham had not one of his own party or family to join with him; the reaſons of his converſion are ſuch as the public talked of, but I ſhall not meddle with. No one of the Court or of the Church party, would enter into the debate about Spain and the Indies, except ſome few ſcattering words, deſiring that a day on purpoſe might be appointed for that debate, but the General (2) putting himſelf at the head of the Whigs, and his other creatures, who have promiſed to ſcreen him from the diſcoveries the Commiſſioners of Accounts have made, would not conſent to that; depending upon the money which is given for

(1) Harcourt.
(2) The Duke of Marlborough.

votes

two houſes: of the additional words propoſed in each; of the adverſe party's prevailing by two in the Upper, and of their loſing it by 126 in the Lower Houſe; of the cabals of the foreign Miniſters againſt the

votes (which is wonderful) and the abſence of the Scots Peers, whom the floods have hindered, they preſſed the queſtion, and upon the diviſion, carried it, by one vote only; when fourteen of the Queen's ſervants, who have been kept in by the indulgence ſhowed them, voted that way, and others broke their words, not without ſenſible reaſons: but this goes for nothing; the General and the foreign Miniſters have united to blow up this, which will return upon themſelves. In the mean time, the Houſe of Commons were upon the like ſubject; the ſame words and the ſame tricks there propoſed and made uſe of, but it ended in a diviſion for leaving out the additional words of Spain and the Indies, by 126; the numbers ſtood thus, viz. yeas 106, noes 232; and the Scots not come up there, beſides many of our friends ſtay in the country for Chriſtmas, but the faction had not left one behind them; this is their utmoſt effort.

"I cannot forbear telling you, that ſome of the faction did but happen to name Bothmar's memorial, when ſome of the moſt zealous for that ſucceſſion, fell upon it with the utmoſt reproach, as what was not to be borne by a free nation; and whoever adviſed that memorial, have given the ſucceſſion a terrible wound, and we muſt do our beſt to calm the ſpirits of the people upon that head. After this tedious narrative, it is fit to come to my remarks. This proceeding will oblige the Queen, without reſerve, to uſe the gentlemen of England, and thoſe who are for her prerogative, it will draw marks of diſpleaſure upon thoſe who have barefaced ſet up a ſtandard againſt her, and proffered to adviſe things which they know the States will never come into. I believe the Secretary has given your Excellency an account of all our conferences with Monſieur Buys. Two days ſince, I told him what would happen, and that it would be owing to the brigues of the General and the foreign Miniſters. He was in the Houſe of Lords all the time of the debate; after that was over, I called upon him, before I went to my own dinner: I aſked him if all had not come to paſs as I foretold? I added, that I had deſired Lord Privy Seal not to take a houſe at Utrecht; that I ſhould write the ſame to your Excellency; that ſince their intrigues had encouraged an impotent attack upon the Queen and the nation, they muſt reap the fruits of it, and make the peace by themſelves, but that they ſhould not (which I know was their aim) make one for Britain; that the attempt in the Houſe of Lords had ſerved only to ſhow their good-will; but that both Lords and Commons would reſolve on a new way to carry on the war more advantageous to the common cauſe, and more equal to us; that England would never ſubmit to have thoſe make a peace for them, who had ſo often duped them. I added, that we have ſhown our care of them, which they not liking, it was fit we ſhould not put ourſelves any more in their power; that for myſelf, I had endeavoured to keep every thing fair and eaſy during the war, but that this and their intrigues had made my moderation impracticable. I hear ſince, that Monſieur Buys is mortified to the laſt degree. I told him at parting, that I would ſee him as a good friend, but there was an end of any diſcourſe of a peace; but we muſt think of managing the war how moſt to offend France and benefit Britain.

"I have thus nakedly told your Lordſhip what has paſſed, and leave it to you to judge; but as things appear here, I cannot forbear thinking that ſome dryneſs towards them with you may have a good effect, and letting them know that the conduct here is ſuch that we cannot think them in earneſt: for after their tariff of 1664, and their barrier, is agreed here with Monſieur Buys, how we come to be inſulted is unaccountable; it is plain theſe are all tricks to get the treaty out of the Queen's hands. I have been thus plain only for your Excellency's information: I know you will only uſe it, without letting it be known whence your information is. I am, with the greateſt truth and reſpect, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c.

"OXFORD.

"I beg you will aſſure Monſieur Goſlinga's mind; and for Baron Reed (3), I will anſwer his letter next poſt."

(3) F. A. Baron van Rheede, Deputy to the States-General.

Queen, particularly of Buys and Bothmar; and of the diſtribution of money, in which the laſt of theſe was actually concerned.

Your Excellency will pleaſe, leaving out the circumſtance of money, to ſpeak of this event as produced by a trick, and which therefore will turn upon the contrivers of it, and upon the actors in it.

You will pleaſe to ſhow great dryneſs and reſerve to the Penſionary, and to the Dutch Miniſters, letting them know that the Queen thinks herſelf ill treated, and that they will ſoon hear what effects theſe meaſures will have on a mild and good temper, wrought up by repeated provocations to reſentment; that they may have the war continue if they pleaſe; but the Queen will not be forced to make it after their manner; neither will ſhe ſuffer them to make her peace, or to ſettle the intereſts of her kingdoms.

Your accounts, your Excellency will pleaſe to ſay, are ſhort, having been diſpatched in haſte; by the next poſt, you may inſinuate, that you expect farther orders.

As to Prince Eugene, and his journey hither, the Queen commands me to repeat her orders to your Excellency, that you ſhould ſay to every one, and even to him, that the other allies, and not her Majeſty, want exhortations to increaſe their efforts; and that the Queen will concert nothing upon the ſcheme of the war here; let the project be agreed abroad, and her Majeſty's reſolutions upon them will be ſoon taken, and ſoon ſignified. In ſhort, your Excellency is to diſcourage as much as poſſible, this Prince from coming over.

It is high time to put a ſtop to this foreign influence on Britiſh councils; and we muſt either emancipate ourſelves now, or be for ever ſlaves.

My Lord, I write to you without reſerve, the occaſion requires it, and my friendſhip exacts no leſs. The whole turns on the Queen's re-

ſolution*; if ſhe has vigour and firmneſs enough to aſſert her own dignity, ſhe will unite the bulk of the nation in her intereſt, and leave the faction nothing but impotent malice, wherewith to torment themſelves, but not to hurt her, or thoſe who ſerve her. It is inconceivable how much mankind is alarmed at Bothmar's memorial, and at his conduct; once more, if ſhe is true to herſelf, the ſucceſs of the Whigs in the Houſe of Lords will be their ruin and her ſalvation.

I hope ſhe will, I believe ſhe will; and by the next poſt your Excellency will know what has paſſed, for the criſis is come, and the delay cannot be longer.

In the mean time, my Lord, be aſſured that you are joined to men who have acted honeſtly, and have therefore all the aſſurance and courage which become men conſcious of merit; we are determined to ſtand and fall together, and your Excellency will in all caſes be ſatisfied that you was not deceived when you engaged with us.

I would truſt theſe letters to no conveyance but that of a meſſenger; be pleaſed to keep Barlow till you have received my Tueſday's letters, and then diſpatch him back.

I am, for ever, &c.

* Upon the change of miniſtry, the Duke of Somerſet, Maſter of the Horſe, approved of her Majeſty's meaſures, till ſhe declared her intention to call a new parliament; from that time he gradually withdrew to the oppoſition. His Ducheſs had ſucceeded the Ducheſs of Marlborough in her place of Groom of the Stole, and in a great ſhare of the Queen's favour and intimacy. It was now found neceſſary to diſmiſs them both; the Queen, with ſome difficulty, was prevailed upon to turn out the Duke, but had not reſolution to diſcard the Ducheſs.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Dec. 12th, 1711.

I KEPT the meſſenger till to-day, that I might be able to write more fully to your Excellency upon a ſubject, and at a time when you cannot fail to be under ſome uneaſineſs.

It will be agreeable to know that her Majeſty's reſolution is at laſt taken *; the particulars I am not able to inform you of, but an entire turn will be made in favour of thoſe who have obeyed and ſerved her, and in oppoſition to thoſe who have uſed her own power againſt herſelf, and upon whom her moderation had no other effect than to render them more implacable.

I take it for granted that the changes will begin at the right end, that is to ſay, at the top. This ſpirit, exerted and continued, will retrieve the Queen's reputation, which one ſet of people has made it their buſineſs to depreſs; will give her meaſures their due weight abroad, and will make her ſervants ſafe in the execution of her commands at home.

The courier, which your Excellency's letters of the 18th prepared us for, is arrived; and Mr. Hoffman, the Imperial Reſident, having yeſterday called me out of the Committee of Council, told me, that he deſired a yatch and convoy might be ordered to attend Prince Eugene, who is coming over, with letters from the Emperor to the Queen. I promiſed to lay before her Majeſty what he communicated to me; but I told him, at the ſame time, that I had already orders to ſay, that Prince Eugene was a man for whom the Queen had a very

* This does not appear to have been exactly the caſe: Swift ſays, the Miniſtry were not ſafe till the 29th, when Marlborough was turned out, and twelve new Peers were made.

great regard, and that he would be always welcome at her Court; that, however, if he came to ſettle any ſcheme about the war, his intended journey would be fruitleſs, ſince her Majeſty has determined to act herein no otherwiſe than in concert with the allies; that this concert muſt be made on the other ſide of the water, where the deficiency lay, and where the want of vigour was juſtly to be complained of; that our preparations for another campaign were going forward as uſual; that if the war, particularly in Spain, went on, it muſt for the future be a common cauſe in reality, and not in words only; and therefore till the Queen ſaw what the Emperor and Dutch, &c. were ready to do, that ſhe would not promiſe or engage for any thing. In ſhort, I ſaid ſo much to Hoffman, that he replied he underſtood me very well, and that the Prince would not be welcome to the Queen; I told him, that if the Prince had a mind to divert himſelf at London, we would do our utmoſt to entertain him; and that for my own part, I would endeavour to treat him *chère entière*, but that I muſt repeat that we ſhould not be allowed to concert or ſettle with him any project, for the reaſons above-mentioned.

Your Excellency ſees by this account, what language is uſed, and you will pleaſe to ſpeak in the ſame ſtyle; for though we are not afraid of ſeeing this Prince, nor of any efforts which the new confederacy* can make, yet it is for the Queen's, and for the public ſervice to take all poſſible meaſures towards bringing the preſent ferment to ſubſide, inſtead of allowing freſh fuel to be thrown into the flame.

Your Excellency ſees by my other letter, all that paſſed with Monſieur Buys laſt night; it was thought proper to ſhow him, how little theſe artifices would avail, and how impoſſible it is for the foreign miniſters, and a faction, whoſe only ſupport is the public diſtreſs, to run counter to the ſenſe of the nation, and the declared intention of the Queen.

* Of the Duke of Marlborough's party, with the foreign Miniſters of Vienna, Hanover, and the Hague.

All

All that you have ſaid of this Penſionary is true. For God's ſake, my Lord, ſpeak to thoſe on whom you judge it will have a good effect; tell them plainly, that they are upon a wrong ſcent; that their Miniſter here miſtakes; that we have promiſed and will perform all that they can aſk of us relating to their barrier, and to their trade; and that Mr. Buys is very unfair in his proceeding, if he has not told them as much: but that we proceed, in ſome reſpects, on a new ſcheme of politics; that we will no longer ſtruggle for impoſſibilities, nor be bantered by words; that this country comes every day more and more to its ſenſes; and that the ſingle diſpute now is, whether they will join with a faction againſt the Queen, or with the nation for her?

It is now ſeveral months ago, ſince letters of mine, to this effect, as well as of my Lord Treaſurer, have been writ, in order to be ſhown to Penſionary Heinſius and to Monſieur Buys. The latter trots on in the old path, wants ſagacity to diſcern, and reſolution to take at once the true pli; the other has more genius, and I hope better from him. Be pleaſed, my Lord, to add, that theſe repreſentations are made, and theſe pains are taken by your Excellency there, and by your fellow-ſervants here, not from any want that we have of a foreign intereſt to ſupport us. They have in Holland been courted by a faction, and they have condeſcended to the jobs of that faction; we aſk nothing of that kind from them, and it is for their ſake that we preſs them into theſe meaſures.

Mr. Buys has, I find by him, received full powers to ſign the treaty between the Queen and the States; but he mentions to me another point, which I wonder not a little at:—his maſters are, he ſays, deſirous that a private article ſhould be added, *ſub ſpe rati*, concerning thoſe terms of peace, without which we may ſtipulate not to agree with the enemy. Now, my Lord, this character, as well as the manner in which he is impowered to treat, will not allow the Queen to

enter

enter into engagements of this ſort. Beſides, the congreſs approaches, and there is not time to ſettle an ultimatum; and we muſt expect ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe objections upon that infamous treaty of barrier, before we go farther in tying ourſelves down to Holland.

I have, my Lord, in this, and in my former letters, ſpoke to your Excellency as clearly as I am capable of doing, and I ſhall be ſorry if you are not of opinion that our conduct is very direct. I do not know that we have been four months in treaty with France; I know indeed that it is nine months ſince we were applied to from thence, but the intervals of inaction have been long.

We have offered very fair to the Dutch; but, my Lord, they muſt behave themſelves to the Queen, as becomes them to do to a Princeſs who has nothing to aſk of them, and from whom they have every thing to expect.

Your Excellency's intelligence about the memorials, may be right; two indeed I have ſeen from Louis d'Aenha*, but both were in a very ſubmiſſive ſtyle; and I hope your Excellency will let the miniſter you mention know, that the nation is with the miniſtry; and that the farther this matter is preſſed, and the conduct of the allies opened, the more ſtrength we ſhall have. But enough of this, wiſe men foreſee, and take their meaſures, the weak are only taught by experience.

I am, my Lord, &c.

I begin to-morrow to prepare your inſtructions for the congreſs; I have ſolicited your allowances in the manner you deſired, and they are granted; the warrants are gone out of my hands.

* This probably relates to the Memorials of Don Lewis de Cunha, the Portugueſe Ambaſſador. There had appeared in the Poſt-boy of 10th November, a paper reflecting on the conduct of the allies, and rather ſeverel yon that of Portugal: de Cunha applied to the Secretary of State; Roper, the printer, was taken into cuſtody, and was obliged to publiſh a ſort of recantation, 4th December.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, December 12th, 1711.

THE incloſed letter from Monſieur de Torcy† arrived on Sunday laſt, and whilſt the Cabinet was ſitting on Monday, I received your Excellency's of the 18th of this month.

There can be no doubt of the Queen's ordering a yacht and convoy for Prince Eugene, which Monſieur Hoffman ſolicits. But I doubt it will be impoſſible to come to any agreement on this ſide of the water, about the next year's war.

The manner in which your Excellency reaſoned with this Prince, and the arguments you made uſe of, are approved by her Majeſty. You will pleaſe to go on to uſe the ſame language whenever the ſame occaſion offers; and we muſt hope, that our friends on your ſide of the water will be glad to have us for allies, when by our ſteadineſs to theſe meaſures they are once perſuaded that we will be no longer dupes.

As to the Count de Gallas, and the conduct which it may be proper for your Excellency to obſerve towards him, I think, on one hand, that a perſon who is ſo much under the diſpleaſure of the Queen, your miſtreſs, has no title to your intimacy; and on the other, that if he is received at the Hague, as the Emperor's Miniſter, your Excellency cannot refuſe, however coldly, to treat him as ſuch.

Upon the ſubject of the renewal of the treaty with Pruſſia, I underſtand the Queen's pleaſure to be, to pay the arrear which they de-

* Public Letter. † 15th December 1711.

mand,

mand, if ſhe can by no tolerable ſhift avoid it. But the impoſition is ſo groſs, that I believe ſhe will comply with reluctancy; and the longer your Excellency puts it off, and the better terms you can get at laſt, in conſideration of it, the more agreeably you will ſerve her Majeſty.

Del Borgo has acted like a miniſter of Savoy; that is, very prudently in adhering to your Excellency, but in putting off the houſe which he has hired at Utrecht, he would have been very ridiculous; and I cannot help thinking this affectation and grimace.

At a conference which was held laſt night, with Monſieur Buys, the anſwer received from France was communicated to him. Your Excellency will be ſurprized to hear, that although the declaration is made in terms full as ſtrong as thoſe in which it was demanded, yet this miniſter objected to it, upon account of thoſe words in the preamble to the fourth article, *ſans attendre les miniſtres du Roi d'Eſpagne, qui ne peuvent arriver que de très long-tems, n'étant pas encore partis de Madrid.*

He pretended that this was an artifice of France, and that ſome mighty miſchief was latent under it. I confeſs to you, my Lord, the reproach of chicane was turned upon him, and he was told, that provided the enemy ſubmitted to our demands, the Queen would concern herſelf very little what reaſons induced them to do ſo. He was afterwards aſked, whether he thought it yet time to deliver the paſſports; and this morning he filled them up, and put them into my hands.

The conference laſted ſome time longer, but nothing more worth your Excellency's notice occurred.

The incloſed extract of a letter which I have received from the Poſt-

maſter General*, anſwers a point which your Excellency writ to me upon, ſome time ago.

I am, &c.

H. St. John.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

Monsieur,

A Verſailles, le 15me December, 1711.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 25me du mois dernier, V.S. & j'ai rendu compte au Roi des réſolutions priſes de concert entre la Couronne d'Angleterre, & Meſſieurs les Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies pour faciliter l'ouverture des négociations de la paix; ſuivant ce que vous me marquez, Monſieur, ſa Majeſté m'a commandé de vous répondre.

Premièrement, Qu'elle accepte la Ville d'Utrecht pour le lieu de l'aſſemblée; la croyant plus propre qu'aucune autre, pour y tenir les conférences.

Secondement, Qu'il ne tiendra pas à elle, ni à ſes Plénipotentiaires, qu'ils ne ſe rendent dans cette ville aſſez à tems pour y commencer les conférences, le 12me du mois prochain; qu'ils ſont prêts à partir, et qu'ils ne ſont retenus ici que par l'attente des paſſe-ports que vous devez envoyer, et qui ſont néceſſaires pour la ſureté de leur voyage.

* *Extract of a Letter from the Poſt-maſters General; dated the 5th December*, 1711.

"By laſt night's poſt, purſuant to your letter of the 30th ult. we ſent directions to Mr. Vanderpoel, agent to the packet boats, at the Briel, to obſerve ſuch orders in relation to the diſpatch of the packet-boats from that ſide, as he ſhould from time to time receive from the Earl of Strafford, her Majeſty's Ambaſſador at the Hague; not doubting but his Lordſhip will have that due regard to the regularity of the correſpondence, as not to diſpatch a boat without a mail from the other ſide, but on extraordinary occaſions, that the intercourſe may be carried on with as little interruption as poſſible."

Troiſièmement,

Troiſièmement, Le Roi perſiſte dans la penſée qu'il convient que ſes Miniſtres Plénipotentiaires, & ceux des puiſſances intéreſſés à la guerre préſente, ne prennent point d'autre qualité pendant les conférences, & qu'ils réſervent le caractère d'ambaſſadeur, pour s'en revêtir ſeulement le jour de la ſignature de la paix, afin, comme vous le dites, d'éviter, le plus qu'il ſera poſſible, l'embarras des cérémonies, et les longueurs qui en pourroient naître.

Quatrièmement, Pour abréger ces mêmes longueurs, le Roi conſent que les conférences commencent ſans attendre les Miniſtres du Roi d'Eſpagne, qui ne peuvent arriver que de très long-tems, n'étant pas encore partis de Madrid; & ſa Majeſté promet que l'ouverture ni le progrès de la négociation ne ſouffriront aucun retardement de leur abſence. Elle convient même que les Plénipotentiaires du Roi Catholique, ſon petit-fils, auſſi-bien que ceux des Electeurs de Bavière & de Cologne, ne ſoient admis aux conférences, que lorſque les points qui regarderont ces Princes, auront été, comme vous le dites, ajuſtés,

Cette déclaration étant conforme à ce que vous demandez, Monſieur, le Roi ne doute pas que les paſſeports pour ſes Plénipotentiaires ne ſoient inceſſamment envoyés. Il n'y a point de changement à ceux que ſa Majeſté a nommés, et ce ſont Meſſieurs le Maréſchal d'Huxelles, l'Abbé de Polignac, & Meſnager, dont il faut, s'il vous plaît, que les noms ſoient inſérés dans les paſſeports. Je ne doute pas, qu'ils ne contiennent toutes les ſuretés néceſſaires pour leur ſuite, domeſtiques, équipages, hardes, papiers, et généralement tout ce qui peut leur appartenir.

Comme je ne ſais point, Monſieur, quels ſont préciſément les Miniſtres de vos alliés qui ſe trouvent préſentement à Londres, et qui doivent aſſiſter aux conférences de la paix, je vous envoie les paſſeports pour ceux que j'ai cru qui pourroient en avoir beſoin, et

je vous prie de me renvoyer ceux de ces paſſeports qui ſeront inutiles.

Je ſuis, très véritablement, Monſieur,
Votre très humble, et
Très obeiſſant ſerviteur,
DE TORCY.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

A Verſailles, le 15me Decembre, 1711.

JE réponds, Monſieur, par une autre lettre à celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, à la demande de Monſieur Buys. Quand vous ne m'auriez pas averti de la complaiſance que vous avez été obligé d'avoir pour ſes inſtances, j'en aurois jugé par les termes du 4me article; & vous m'avez accoutumé, Monſieur, à diſtinguer aiſément votre ſtyle de celui des Miniſtres Hollandois.

Ils pouvoient ſans crainte laiſſer partir les paſſeports; les Plénipotentiaires d'Eſpagne ſeront long-tems en chemin, & la négociation ſera bien avancée avant qu'ils arrivent à Paris, ſi les conférences commencent le 12me du mois prochain.

Il ne tiendra aux Plénipotentiaires du Roi qu'elles ne s'ouvrent au terms fixe. Ils ſont prêts à partir immédiatement après qu'ils auront reçu les paſſeports, & je puis vous aſſurer qu'ils n'oublieront rien pour achèver promptement l'ouvrage dont ils ſont chargés.

J'eſpère que le ſuccès répondra aux ſincères intentions du Roi, & à celles de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, que l'Europe jouira long-tems par leurs ſoins d'une paix également équitable & ſolide.

Je ſuis très parfaitement,
Monſieur, votre, &c.
DE TORCY.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, 15th Dec. 1711.

BY Barton, who arrived this morning, I had the honour to receive your Excellency's diſpatches of the 22nd of this month. I ſend the ſame meſſenger back to you, not knowing what occaſion you have of him, and being unwilling to truſt any of my letters at this time to the common conveyance.

The Committee of Council not ſitting till to-morrow night, nor the Cabinet till Monday, I can have at preſent materials but for a very ſhort letter. On Tueſday, your Excellency may expect that I ſhall fully inform you of the Queen's ſenſe, in every particular.

With this packet, you will receive the full powers, by which your Excellency is authoriſed to renew the ſeveral treaties for troops.

As to the battalions of Treves and Ottingez, I ſhall be able to ſpeak with more certainty the next time I write; only as to the latter, I can now ſay, that we ſhall have no occaſion for it another year, unleſs the Saxons, or ſome troops at preſent in the Queen's ſervice, are withdrawn, and it become by conſequence neceſſary to hire others, in order to replace them. The five battalions, which were drawn laſt Spring out of Flanders, were part of ſeven which we had in that country, over and above our quota, ſo that we are under no obligation of ſending others in their ſtead. But if her Majeſty ſhould think fit to ſupply that number, thoſe very regiments are now recruiting in Britain, and may be made uſe of for that ſervice.

The paſſports for the French Plenipotentiaries, have been put by

* Public Letter.

Monſieur

Monſieur Buys into my hands, and I have received her Majeſty's orders to diſpatch them, this evening, into France. They will probably come juſt in time, and that is all which can be expected; ſo that one great fear, which the Penſionary of Amſterdam had, is over, and we are no longer in danger of thoſe fatal conſequences, which would have fol- (according to him) if the French Miniſters could have arrived in Utrecht, ſooner than thoſe of the allies were ready.

The full powers for the Lord Privy Seal, and for your Excellency, who are the only two miniſters whom the Queen has thought fit as yet to name, were this morning ſigned. Your joint inſtructions will be ready by Tueſday. The treaties and other papers neceſſary for your information, are almoſt all got together, and ſome time in the next week, I make no doubt, but the Biſhop will ſet forward.

If Prince Eugene intends ſtill to come over, the convoy and yatch which paſſes upon this occaſion, may ſerve him.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

I had almoſt forgot to tell your Excellency, that I ſend you copies of the French and Dutch paſſports, by comparing of which, your Excellency will obſerve that the Dutch paſſport is only to come to Utrecht, whereas that of France is, *d'aller & venir*; and that ſome material words are likewiſe omitted in that of the States, by which the miniſters have power to give copies of their paſſport, which ſhall be a ſecurity to any perſon belonging to them, in coming and going. I ſend you likewiſe a copy of my letter to Monſieur de Torcy, and hope that theſe defects, if deſired, will be ſupplied.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 15me Dec. V.S. 1711.

JE ne dois pas laiſſer partir le Courier, ſans que je vous écrive deux lignes pour vous remercier, très humblement de l'honneur de votre lettre apart, & du compliment obligeant que vous me faites.

Le Sieur Gaultier ne manquera pas de vous rendre compte des nouvelles difficultés qu'on tâche de ſuſciter chez nous, pour empêcher le progrès de la négociation.

Ces difficultés s'aplaniront par les ſoins, & par la fermeté de la Reine ; & comme nous allons ouvrir les conférences dans la réſolution de part & d'autre, de ne rien oublier pour achèver promptement l'ouvrage, je veux eſpérer que nous ſerons à la fin aſſez heureux pour arriver à cette paix équitable & ſolide, qui a été depuis tant d'années le ſouhait de tous les honnêtes gens.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Dec. 15, 1711.

YOU are in the right, we are the worſt politicians, and the beſt party-men under the ſun. Thoſe who oppoſe the Queen's meaſures, know, as well as we who purſue them, that the war is become impracticable; that the end which they pretend to aim at, is chimerical; and that they ruin their country by driving on this vain, gaudy ſcheme,

which has ſo many years dazzled our eyes: but they venture this, and would ſacrifice more, if more can be ſacrificed, in order to regain dominion, which nothing can give, at leaſt ſecure in their hands, but national diſtreſs. The true, real, genuine ſtrength of Britain, belongs to other people; their power is built upon an adventitious ſtrength, created by the public neceſſity, and nurſed up by the advantage which dexterous men have taken, and which they will be able to take no longer when the war ceaſes.

Now my pen is in my hand, I cannot forbear ſaying, that I ſincerely think this the moſt important conjuncture, that any Prince has been in, ſince the time that your Excellency's anceſtor * was attacked by the faction which begun with him, and did not conclude their tragedy even with his maſter. That king ſealed the warrant of his own execution, when he gave up his ſervant, and our miſtreſs has no way of ſecuring herſelf, but exerting her power to protect her miniſters, who have reſcued her from domeſtic bondage, and are going on to relieve her from foreign oppreſſion. I will never deceive you, my Lord, I would not do it, even in the moſt pardonable, the moſt agreeable manner, by concealing real dangers, and giving falſe hopes; you may therefore, depend upon me, when I tell you that I think all ſafe, and the Queen determined †.

The only difficulty ſhe laboured under, beſides a little natural ſlowneſs, was the habit which ſhe has with the Ducheſs of Somerſet, and the apprehenſion of not finding ſomebody to fill a place ſo near her perſon, whom ſhe could like.

* Thomas Wentworth, created Earl of Strafford 1639, attainted and beheaded 1641: about the end of that year, his ſon William was reſtored to his titles, but all his honours became extinct in 1695, except the Barony of Raby, which came by limitation to this Thomas Wentworth, as heir of Sir William Wentworth, brother to Thomas, firſt Earl of Strafford.

† It appears from Swift's Diary, that Oxford ſuppoſed the Queen to be then determined to ſupport her miniſters.

I need make no apology for entering ſo minutely into theſe matters, ſince your Excellency is too much engaged in the Queen's cauſe, not to be deſirous of knowing every particular how it fares.

The Queen was much pleaſed with your Excellency's bait for Prince Eugene, and if he comes over, nothing can be, in my opinion, more proper; but upon the whole matter, it is better he ſhould ſtay where he is.

The faction would ſhow him about, and make him their tool many ways; and though I have no apprehenſions of any effort they can make, provided the Queen be true to herſelf, yet they are capable of any thing; neither tumults, nor the conſequences of them, would ſtop their meaſures, and it is our buſineſs to keep the ferment as long as we can at home, while we are carrying on ſo great a work.

Your Excellency will have ſeen by my diſpatches, what ſtyle Monſieur Buys ought to have writ to his maſters in, and nothing has paſſed with him, of which I have not given you conſtant and exact relations.

Buys has, I know, dropped, that upon condition we would yield to let the Dutch into half the advantages of trade which we are to have, he would undertake to procure a reſolution of the States, counter to that of our Houſe of Lords*; but this is a meanneſs which thoſe who have the honour to ſerve the Queen, are incapable of ſubmitting to. Let the peace be a good one for Holland, but let it be moſt advantageous for Britain, who ſuffered moſt by the war.

I hope your Excellency will be able to make our friends at Amſterdam, and in other places, concur more heartily and more openly with you; let them think for themſelves of the particulars, which will

* Upon motion, by the Earl of Nottingham, for an amendment to the addreſs, voted, that no peace could be ſafe and honourable to Great Britain, if Spain and the Weſt Indies were to be allotted to any branch of the Houſe of Bourbon.

compoſe a ſecure barrier; there is no plan which a Dutchman, who ſincerely deſires the peace, can form upon this head, into which the Queen will not very readily come. Aſſure them of this, and fear not being diſavowed; but tell them at the ſame time, that they muſt walk uprightly with the Queen.

In point of commerce, your Excellency ſees what the Queen has promiſed to inſiſt upon, and I can aſſure you, her word will be kept.

The paſſports go to-night to France; what Buys means, by ſaying the delay was occaſioned by an objection ſtarted in our Cabinet, I cannot imagine; he propoſed the ſtep, the whole council thought it unneceſſary, and at laſt agreed with him, purely out of complaiſance. You will have found this matter ſtated in former letters of mine.

For God's ſake, make no ſcruple about the number of meſſengers whom you ſend, leave always as little to hazard as is poſſible; I ſhall diſpatch another to you on Tueſday.

I have not time yet to read over the book which you are pleaſed to tranſmit; I fear, if it ſhould be worth an anſwer, that we have no one capable of doing it, whom I ſhould care to truſt*.

My good Lord, adieu,

I am, &c.

* Probably, Bolingbroke thought the book unworthy of an anſwer; his plea of having no one able to anſwer it, will ſcarce be admitted, when the reader reflects that Swift, Prior, Friend, Oldſworth, and many more were writers for the miniſtry, and Bolingbroke and Oxford occaſionally ſupplied materials.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

My Lord,

December 15th, 1711.

I BEG of you to believe, that if you have been longer without letters from me than uſual, it has been owing to no reaſon but the uncertainty whither to ſend ſafely, and the daily expectation of writing by a courier, who I thought would have carried you diſpatches from the other office*.

The ſuſpenſe which the intrigues of our confederates, and the allies here, have kept us in, has been prodigious. I hope, by perſeverance, we ſhall ſettle into ſome meaſure for peace or war, at laſt.

If you come over, I ſhall embrace you with the greateſt pleaſure, and open ſuch a ſcene to you, as will make you think, if poſſible, of ſome people worſe than you do already; if you do not come home yet, I will tranſmit to you in cypher, the cleareſt account I can of our ſecret hiſtory.

Your nephew, Mr. Mordaunt, I have had the honour to introduce to the Queen, to whom he preſented a letter from the Duke of Savoy. He is worthy of your family, I never knew a prettier youth, my beſt ſervices ſhall attend him.

I am, &c.

* Harley, in his project of an adminiſtration (publiſhed by Lord Hardwicke) mentions the expediency of gaining over the Earl of Peterborough, and others. After they had acquired his ſupport, the Miniſtry, aware of his enthuſiaſtic turn of mind, which occaſionally hurried him to act beyond his inſtructions, do not appear to have truſted him with the ſecret of affairs, and hence thoſe frequent apologies.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, Dec. 18th, 1711.

THOUGH the Committee of Council ſat extremely late this evening, I cannot neglect writing a few lines, to give you an account of a paſſage which is pretty extraordinary.

Monſieur Buys being with my Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Dartmouth, and myſelf, this morning, in order to ſign the treaty, whereof your Excellency will receive a copy, let himſelf in to ſay, that he thought we ought, in reſpect to the friendſhip between the two nations, to acquaint him with the advantages which have been ſtipulated for Great Britain; and he looked upon his country to be entitled by treaty, to ſhare them with us. He added, that there was another reaſon, why we ſhould at preſent be ſtill more inclined to comply with him, for ſince the reſolution of the Houſe of Lords, he took it for granted, it would be a hazardous point for us to give up Spain; and therefore, that we would do well to induce the States to help us out of this difficulty. I took up this harangue with ſome real, but more affected, warmth; and told him, that there was not any man in the Queen's council capable of ſo great a *lacheté*; that any thing injurious to Holland, any thing which might juſtly tend to break the good correſpondence between us, would, I am confident, be at all times readily departed from, but that we ſcorned to ſcreen ourſelves at the expence of our country; that the reſolution he mentioned, and which was in a great meaſure owing to foreign miniſters intermeddling in our affairs, might, and I believed would have an effect, which the projectors of it had not foreſeen; that if the peace was rendered impracticable, the Houſe of Commons would certainly put the war on another foot, and reduce the public expence

pence to ſuch a compaſs, as our treaties in the ſtricteſt ſenſe require, and as we are able to bear; after which the partiſans for war, muſt ſee how to ſupply the deficiency.

I found this reply had its effect upon him, and I believe the ſame language may be of uſe, on ſome occaſions, where your Excellency is.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 18th, 1711.

I HAVE only time, by this night's poſt, to tranſmit to your Excellency the incloſed copy of the treaty ſigned this morning between her Majeſty and the States-General; in which your Excellency will obſerve, that the mention of the former alliances between theſe two nations is omitted; and, indeed, ſince the Emperor and other Princes and States are to be invited to become parties thereof, it would have been abſurd to have ſtipulated a revival and confirmation of treaties, with which they have no concern.

The *brouillon* of the inſtructions for the Congreſs has been read to-night; and will on Thurſday be finally ſettled. By Friday's poſt your Excellency ſhall not fail to receive them. My Lord Privy Seal will ſet forward about that time, but whether he gets over ſoon enough or not, I judge that the Queen's intention will be that your Excellency ſhould repair to Utrecht by the 12th of January, N.S.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

* Public letter.

To

Mr. Tilſon to the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, 18th December, 1711.

MR. Secretary having finiſhed his letter to your Excellency, has ordered me to acquaint you with a point which he forgot to mention himſelf.

Your Excellency will ſee, by the incloſed extract of the journals of the Houſe of Commons, that Mr. Secretary was in the right when he aſſerted to you, and to others her Majeſty's Miniſters, the ſettlement of the quotas for the war upon making the grand alliance. That treaty mentions a peculiar ſpecification intended to be made of the ſeveral proportions; but it is feared, that by ſome very great omiſſion, ſuch a particular convention was never made in form. However, Mr. Secretary himſelf very well remembers, that the number of troops to be furniſhed by England and Holland were by the King's command communicated to a Committee of Lords and Commons by my Lord Marlborough. And your Excellency ſees by the Journal, that Mr. Vernon, then Secretary of State, laid the ſame before the Houſe of Commons†. The number there allotted to the Dutch is 102,000, by

* Public letter.

† "*Extract from the Journal of the Houſe of Commons.*

Veneris, 9 Jan. 13. Will 3. ii.

"Mr. Secretary Vernon acquainted the Houſe that he was directed by his Majeſty to lay before this Houſe the quotas agreed to be furniſhed by his Majeſty, the Emperor, and the States-General in purſuance of the treaties laid before the Houſe; and he preſented the ſame to the Houſe, and the ſame was read, and is as follows, viz.

"In relation to the quotas that are agreed to be furniſhed by his Majeſty, the Emperor, and the States General for making good their alliances, it was agreed:

"That the Emperor ſhould furniſh 90,000 men to act againſt France, conſiſting of 66,000 foot and 24,000 horſe and dragoons, not reckoning the reſt of his troops, that will remain in Hungary, or other parts of the Emperor's Hereditary countries.

"The States are to furniſh 102,000 men, conſiſting of 82,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe and dragoons.

"The quota promiſed for England is 40,000, men conſiſting of 33,000 foot and 7000 horſe and dragoons, which are to act in conjunction with the troops of the allies."

which

which only 60,000 were meant to be brought into the field; the other 42,000 being what they ſaid they were obliged to have in garriſon.

I am, with great reſpect, &c.

GEO. TILSON.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, December 21ſt, 1711.

THE Queen got cold yeſterday in the Houſe of Lords, and has a little fit of the gout, which will hinder me from diſpatching the meſſenger, as I intended to have done, by this packet. My Lord Privy Seal ſets out on Monday.

Buys will, I believe, have his laſt audience on Sunday. The addreſs of the Houſe of Commons will ſhow how far thoſe are from obtaining their aim, who thought hindering the peace was a ſure and effectual method to make us continue the war on the old foot. It is a misfortune that the enemy ſhould ſee Britain determined to contract her expences; but they muſt be blamed who have brought the Parliament to this temper, and who have made it reaſonable for the Miniſters not to oppoſe the meaſure. Inſtead of cabaling with our factions, had the allies treated with the Queen, we ſhould all have found our account better in it. I believe, however, that nothing will contribute more to determine the Dutch and the Imperialiſts to make peace than a conviction that they are going to loſe their bubbles.

Your Excellency will believe that I was ſurprized when Bonet told me to-day, that the King of Pruſſia muſt demand 100,000 crowns more *per annum* for his troops in Italy, which will bring the whole expence of the corps to 500,000 crowns a year.

The

The two Houſes will adjourn to-morrow for a fortnight, and I hope, that during the receſs, the Queen will ſettle her government. She has had experience ſufficient how eſſentially neceſſary it is to do ſo.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Dartmouth.

My Lord,

Whitehall, December 27, 1711.

THE ſubſtance of what paſſed on Monday laſt, when the Count de Maffei attended my Lords at the cock-pit, is as follows:

He repreſented, that his maſter had received from France the ſecret article made in his favour; that it was plain France endeavoured to amuſe his Royal Highneſs by an expectation of aggrandizement on the ſide of Italy, and hoped by that means to evade the ceſſion of that barrier, which is ſo eſſential to the ſafety of Savoy, of Piedmont, and of Italy itſelf. He proceeded to open the particulars of that ultimatum which his Royal Highneſs, to facilitate as much as poſſible the peace, will be contented with; it is, in ſhort, the ſame barrier which he has on all occaſions demanded, except in theſe inſtances, he is willing to recede from Mont Dauphin and Briançon, provided the latter be demoliſhed; he demands the ſurrender of the Fort de Barreau; but acquaints the Queen, at the ſame time, that he will be ſatisfied with the demolition of it; and that he hopes ſome conſideration will be had of an equivalent for Mont Meillan, which has been ſo deſtroyed by the enemy, as to leave no poſſibility of being ever made a barrier to that country.

He was deſired to draw up a memorial upon this head, and was promiſed

miſed that it ſhould be tranſmitted to her Majeſty's plenipotentiaries, to ſerve as their inſtruction. In the mean time, it was ſaid that he might aſſure his maſter, that the Queen would peremptorily inſiſt upon his barrier, according to his plan, and not depart from it.

He inſiſted again on the aggrandizement of his maſter in Italy; and urged all thoſe arguments, which your Lordſhip has, in former conferences, heard ſo often repeated, and deſired poſitive declarations in writing of her Majeſty's intentions in both caſes. As to the firſt, my Lords ſee no difficulty in your Lordſhip writing plainly and ſtrongly to him, to the purpoſe above-mentioned. As to the ſecond, all that my Lords could ſay, and all that they thought it might be adviſeable for your Lordſhip to write, was, that her Majeſty continues ſtill in the ſame diſpoſition towards his Royal Highneſs, and in the ſame ſentiments concerning his intereſt, as he has been already acquainted with, but that ſhe foreſees great difficulties in rendering any ſuch ſcheme practicable, and that ſhe thinks the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont to the Archducheſs muſt be the foundation of all future demands; that her Majeſty is ready to do her utmoſt in preſſing this forward, as well as in obtaining the money due from the Imperial Court to his Royal Highneſs; that it is impoſſible ſhe ſhould be able, before the opening of the Congreſs, to reduce her own intereſt to a certainty, but that ſhe will have the ſame concern, and inſiſt with the ſame firmneſs, for his as for her own.

Your Lordſhip will pleaſe to writ to the Count de Maffei, who expects to hear from you.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, 28th December, 1711.

I DISPATCH this courier in a boat taken on purpoſe, and with orders to be ſet on ſhore the firſt land they can reach, that he may loſe no time in delivering his diſpatches to your Lordſhip; ſince the Queen deſires the orders contained in the letter may be executed as ſoon as poſſible.

On Thurſday, Monſieur Hoffman, the Imperial Reſident, came to my office, and delivered me the following meſſage, which I took in writing as he ſpoke it. That having acquainted Prince Eugene with the anſwer given by her Majeſty to his deſire of a yatch and convoy to bring him into Britain, the Prince had ſent an expreſs to him, and had directed him to renew his application. That the Prince writes that he cannot neglect to come over, although her Majeſty be determined not to treat here, either on the operations of war, or the meaſures of peace; ſince his chief commiſſion is to renew and to confirm the friendſhip and good correſpondence between her Majeſty and the Emperor.

That the Queen and her Miniſters ſhall have all imaginable reaſon to be ſatisfied with his conduct; that he can ſtay here but few days; and finally, that he hopes that the firſt yatch and convoy may be ordered to attend him, whether they be thoſe which were appointed for the Pruſſian Miniſter, Monſieur Mareſchalch, or thoſe which are going with my Lord Privy Seal.

Upon the report which I made laſt night in Cabinet-council of this matter, her Majeſty was pleaſed to ſignify her pleaſure, that your Ex-

* Public letter.

cellency

cellency do immediately let Prince Eugene know, that ſhe has received ſuch an account of the inſtances which he has directed Monſieur Hoffman to make: your Excellency will repeat upon this occaſion the ſubſtance of what is above written; and you will add, that the Queen has expreſsly commanded you to acquaint him, that ſhe ſtill inſiſts on having the operations of the next campaign ſettled at the Hague, as what relates to peace is referred to the Congreſs at Utrecht. That when the quotas of his Imperial Majeſty, of the States-General, and of the other allies, ſhall have been concerted and aſcertained, her Majeſty's reſolution will be ſoon declared; and there can be no doubt made, even before-hand, of her being ready to perform her part. That her Majeſty thinks this the moſt important ſervice which the Prince can employ himſelf in, at this ſeaſon, for the common cauſe. That if the Prince is to make any excuſe for the conduct of the Count de Gallas, this ſtep is unneceſſary, ſince her Majeſty's reſentment went no farther than to the perſon of that gentleman; and ſince any other miniſter the Emperor ſhall pleaſe to nominate, will be very agreeable to her, according to what ſhe has already declared. That her Majeſty's friendſhip to the Emperor is very entire, and wants neither to be renewed nor confirmed.

And laſtly, your Excellency is to tell the Prince, that his name has been made uſe of on ſo many occaſions of late, to create a ferment, and to excite ſedition, that her Majeſty judges it to be neither ſafe for him, nor convenient for her, that he ſhould at this time come over; but that as ſoon as her Majeſty ſhall have ſo diſpoſed of her affairs, as to remove this objection; there is no one whom ſhe will be more glad to ſee, or receive better, than himſelf.

When your Excellency ſhall have in this manner (which you are to do with great regard to the Emperor, and great civility to the Prince, but at the ſame time with great firmneſs) declared her Majeſty's reſolution, it

is not to be ſuppoſed that this point will be any farther preſſed; and the Queen's orders are already given to my Lords of the Admiralty, that the captains of the men of war, and of the yatchs do preſume to receive no perſon on board, except ſuch as ſhall be appointed to come over, either by orders from hence, or from your Excellency.

The ſame direction is given to the Poſt-maſter General for the packet-boats.

I am, &c.

H. St. John.

Since I wrote this, I have been adviſed rather to ſend the meſſenger by the way of Harwich than Oſtend, as the beſt way, now the wind is come a little weſterly.

To the Lord Privy Seal.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, 28th December, 1711.

WE ſhare in the uneaſineſs which your Lordſhip labours under, both on the public account, and your own, by being detained n the river.

Her Majeſty is ſo earneſt, and thinks it of ſo much conſequence to her ſervice to have your Lordſhip arrive as ſoon as poſſible on the other ſide, that ſhe has commanded me to ſend this expreſs to you; and to let you know, that if by reaſon of the winds or the ice, you ſhould not be able to get into any port of Holland, it is her pleaſure that you endeavour to land at Oſtend.

* Public letter.

The

The full powers * of enabling your Lordſhip and the Earl of Strafford to make ſuch treaties between her Majeſty and the States-General, or any other of the allies, as ſhall appear to be neceſſary, in order to remove

* " Inſtructions for the Right Reverend Father in God, our right truſty and well-beloved Counſellor, John Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, our Keeper of our Privy Seal, whom we have appointed to be one of our Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of a General Peace. Given at our Court of St. James's, the twenty-third day of December, 1711, in the tenth year of our Reign.

(L. S.)
" ANNE R.

" Having received our inſtructions, and your other neceſſary diſpatches, you are, without loſs of time, to repair to the Hague. Upon your arrival at this place, you are, in conjunction with the Earl of Strafford, our Ambaſſador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary there, to repreſent to the Penſionary, and to the other Miniſters of our good friends and allies the States-General, how deſirous we are to bring the Negociations of Peace, which are to be now opened, to an happy iſſue.

" According to thoſe repeated aſſurances, which we have already given, you are again, upon this occaſion, to declare in our name, that as we have in the proſecution of this war, for the common intereſt of Europe, exerted ourſelves beyond what is required by our treaties, or what could have been expected from us, ſo we will not upon any account whatſoever, be provoked, or induced to loſe the effect of all the ſacrifices which we have made, or to conclude any peace, wherein the Allies in general, and each Confederate in particular, may not find their ample ſecurity, and their reaſonable ſatisfaction.

" You will ſay, that we aſſure ourſelves they can make no doubt of that eſpecial regard which we have for their nation, ſince by the accounts which the Sieur Buys, their Envoy-extraordinary to us, will have given them, they muſt have obſerved that we look upon their intereſts as inſeparable from our own; that our intentions were explained without reſerve to him, and that we are ready to inſiſt, in the manner which they themſelves ſhall deſire, upon their barrier, and upon thoſe advantages which they expect in trade; as well as to concert with them that ſcheme of a treaty which it may be proper to engage to each other, that we will never recede from.

" You are further to repreſent, of how great importance it is, that we ſhould enter into this Congreſs under the ties of the ſtricteſt confidence; and the miniſters of Britain and Holland ſhould entirely concur, and proceed as one man, in every inſtance throughout the courſe of theſe negociations.

" To this purpoſe it is our pleaſure that you do concert with ſuch of the miniſters of the States as ſhall be appointed to confer with you, the manner of opening the conferences, and the moſt proper method for carrying on the ſame. That you do declare yourſelf to be inſtructed when you arrive at Utrecht, on all occurrences freely to communicate your thoughts, and the meaſures which you take, to the Plenipotentiaries of the States-General, and that we hope the ſame inſtructions will be given on their part.

" Before you leave the Hague, you are to acquaint the Penſionary, and the other Miniſters, that our preparations for the next campaign are carried on with all the diſpatch and vigour which the preſent circumſtances of affairs will allow. And you are, in the warmeſt manner, to inſiſt that the ſame may be done by them; and that we may both join in preſſing his Imperial Majeſty, and the other Allies, to concur more heartily in the common cauſe, and to make greater efforts againſt the enemy, than they have hitherto done; without which, it is eaſy to foreſee, that the war muſt languiſh in ſeveral parts of it, and the terms of a ſafe and honourable peace become more difficult to be obtained.

" A. R."

" Inſtructions

remove all ground of complaint, and to confirm that good underſtanding among the confederates, which muſt be the great ſecurity of the general peace, which you are going over to treat, I tranſmit to your Lordſhip

(L. S.)

" ANNE R.

" Inſtructions for the Right Reverend Father in God, our right truſty and well-beloved Counſellor, John Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, our Keeper of our Privy Seal, and for our right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, Thomas Earl of Strafford, our Ambaſſador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, whom we have appointed to be our Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of a General Peace. Given at our Court of St. James's, the twenty-third day December, 1711, in the tenth year of our Reign.

" Upon your arrival at Utrecht, you are to begin by concerting with the miniſters of our Allies in what manner it may be moſt proper to open the conferences, and what method to obſerve in the progreſs of the Treaty. You will upon this, and upon all other occaſions, earneſtly repreſent to theſe miniſters, the great importance of appearing united; and, for that reaſon, recommend to them, that if any difference or diſpute ſhould ariſe, the ſame ſhould be accommodated amongſt yourſelves, that France may have no hold to break in upon you; but on the contrary, that whenever you meet the enemy's miniſters in the Congreſs, every opinion that is delivered, and every inſtance that is made, may be backed by the concurrent force of the whole Confederacy.

" In order to bring this great work to a ſpeedy iſſue, and to prevent as much as poſſible any advantage which the enemy might take, by a long negociation, of dividing the Allies, or of ſlackening their preparations for another campaign, you are to propoſe, that a time be fixed for the concluſion, as was done for the commencement, of theſe Conferences.

" If it ſhall be thought proper to begin by the diſpoſition of the Spaniſh monarchy, you are to inſiſt that the ſecurity and the reaſonable ſatisfaction which the Allies expect, and which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has promiſed, cannot be obtained, if Spain and the Weſt-Indies be allotted to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon. And in caſe the enemy ſhould object, as the Imperial miniſters have done, that the ſecond article of the ſeven, ſigned by the Sieur Meſnager, implies, that the Duke of Anjou ſhall continue on the Throne of Spain, you are to inſiſt that thoſe articles, as far as they extend, are indeed binding to France, but that they lay neither us nor our Allies under any poſitive obligation. That they were received only as inducements for opening of conferences, and that an agreement to take meaſures for preventing the Crowns of France and Spain from being ever united upon one head, cannot be conſtrued by any means to imply, that the latter ſhould remain to the preſent poſſeſſor; ſince, by the ſixth article of the Preliminaries made in 1709, this very point was inſiſted upon, although in the ſame Preliminaries it was agreed that the Duke of Anjou ſhould abandon the Throne of Spain. In treating therefore upon this head, you are to conſider, and ſettle, in conjunction with our Allies, the moſt effectual meaſures for preventing the Crowns of France and Spain from being ever united on one head; and the conditions which ſhall be agreed as neceſſary to this effect, you are peremptorily to inſiſt upon.

" Whether the great article of the Spaniſh Monarchy ſhall be in the firſt place adjuſted, or whether it ſhall be thought expedient to defer the conſideration thereof, you are, in the behalf of our Allies, to demand of France the following terms, with ſuch extenſions and alterations as the ſeveral parties concerned may be deſirous of, and as ſhall appear juſt and reaſonable. And for your better information and guidance, as well in reſpect to theſe articles as to others, the ſeveral Memorials and Repreſentations which we have received from divers Princes and States, concerning their intereſts in the Treaty of Peace, are herewith delivered to you.

" In the firſt place, in reſpect to the Intereſts of our good brother the Emperor, and of the Empire, you are to inſiſt that the Town and Citadel of Straſburg be reſtored to them, in the ſame condition

Lordſhip by this opportunity; ſeveral papers neceſſary for your Lordſhip's information are likewiſe ſent; and I will take care that thoſe which

condition they are at preſent, together with the Fort of Kehl, and the dependencies thereof, ſituated on both ſides of the Rhine, without the repayment of any demand of charges under any pretext whatſoever, with one hundred pieces of braſs cannon of different ſizes, and ammunition in proportion. That the ſaid Town of Straſburg be likewiſe reſtored to the rank, prerogatives, and privileges of an Imperial City, and do enjoy the ſame in ſuch manner as they were enjoyed before it was brought under the dominion of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, both in eccleſiaſtical and civil rights. And you are to demand, that the ſaid town and forts be effectually evacuated in ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as ſhall be agreed upon by you in concert with our allies.

" You are further to inſiſt, that the town of Briſac, with its territory, be reſtored to his Imperial Majeſty and the Houſe of Auſtria, with all the cannon, artillery, and ammunition that are therein, to be held and enjoyed by his ſaid Imperial Majeſty in ſuch manner as he ought to have held and enjoyed the ſame purſuant to the Treaty of Ryſwick.

" You are to endeavour to procure that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may hereafter have the poſſeſſion of Alſatia, in ſuch wiſe only as appears to be according to the literal ſenſe of the Treaty of Weſtphalia; and by virtue thereof that he be contented with the Right of Prefecture over the ten Imperial cities lying in the ſaid country of Alſatia; without extending the ſaid right to the prejudice of the prerogatives, rights, and privileges, which belong to them as to other free cities of the Empire. But that his ſaid Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may enjoy the aforeſaid right, together with the prerogatives, revenues, and domains, in like manner as he ought to have enjoyed them at the time of the concluſion of the Treaty above-mentioned.

" You are to demand, that the fortifications of the ſaid Ten Towns be put into the ſame condition they were in at the time aforeſaid; except the town of Landau, the poſſeſſion and propriety whereof you are to procure to the Emperor and the Empire, with liberty to demoliſh the fortifications of that place, if they ſhould think fit.

" You are likewiſe to inſiſt, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in purſuance of the ſaid Treaty of Weſtphalia, do cauſe to be demoliſhed, in ſuch time as ſhall be agreed on, and at his own expence, the fortreſſes which he has at preſent on the Rhine, from Baſle to Philipſburg; namely, Huningen, New Briſac, and Fort Lewis, with the works belonging to the ſaid fort on both ſides of the Rhine, without ever rebuilding the ſame.

" You are further to demand, that the Town and Fortreſs of Rhinfelt, with its dependencies, be put into the hands of our good couſin, the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, until that matter be otherwiſe ſettled.

" The clauſe inſerted in the fourth article of the Treaty of Ryſwick, relating to Religion, being contrary to the tenour of the Treaty of Weſtphalia, you are accordingly to inſiſt, that the ſame be revoked and annulled, and that the ſtate of religion in Germany be reſtored to the tenour of the Treaty of Weſtphalia aforeſaid.

" You are likewiſe to inſiſt, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty do acknowledge our good Brother, the King of Pruſſia, in that quality; and that he do promiſe not to give his ſaid Pruſſian Majeſty any diſturbance in the poſſeſſion of the Principality of Neufchâtel, and of the County of Valengin, and that he do reſtore the Principality of Orange to thoſe to whom it ſhall appear by law to appertain, and ſuch other Eſtates as did belong to our late dear Brother, King William the Third, which are now in the hands of France.

" You are alſo to demand, the acknowledging of the Electorate which has been erected in favour of the Duke of Hanover, now Elector of Brunſwick and Lunenburg.

" And if any difficulty ſhall ariſe concerning the time of acknowledging his Pruſſian Majeſty and the Elector of Hanover, the miniſters of France inſiſting not to do it until the Peace be ſigned, and the miniſters of theſe princes inſiſting to be received as the miniſters of a crowned head, and of an Elector, at the firſt opening of the Congreſs, you are in ſuch caſe to endeavour, by ſome expedient, to reconcile the diſpute. You may, in the firſt place, propoſe that the ſeveral miniſters ſhould confer and treat together without exchanging or producing their full powers, until they come

to

which remain behind may come to your hands before you arrive at Utrecht.

The

to conclude and ſign. You may, in the next place, offer that the full powers of the Pruſſian and Hanoverian miniſters be accepted, with a declaration that this ſhall be of no conſequence unleſs the general peace enſue. Thirdly, you may endeavour to terminate the difference by preſſing to have the full powers of all the miniſters put into the hands of ſuch plenipotentiaries as ſhall be agreed upon by the parties preſent.

" As to our good Brother, the King of Portugal, you are to inſiſt, that he have and enjoy all the benefits and advantages granted to him by the Treaties made between us, our allies, and his ſaid Majeſty.

" As to what relates to the particular intereſts of our good friends and allies, the States-General, you are to inſiſt, that the Moſt Chriſtian King do yield towards forming a ſufficient barrier to them, Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres, Liſle, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, and Maubeuge, as likewiſe Douay, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, and Bouchain, with their ſeveral dependencies, and the cannon, artillery, and ammunition now being in ſuch of the aboveſaid towns, as are ſtill in the hands of the French, to be garriſoned in ſuch manner as is, or ſhall be agreed on between us and the ſaid States-General, or others concerned.

" You are further to inſiſt on that head, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty do reſtore all the towns, forts, and places belonging to Spain, which he at preſent poſſeſſes, or has been in poſſeſſion of during the courſe of this war, in the Spaniſh Low Countries, together with the cannon, artillery, and ammunition, now being and remaining therein; to the end that ſuch part of them as have been, or ſhall be thought fit, may alſo be allotted for a barrier to the States-General.

" You are to uſe your utmoſt endeavours that the tarif of 1664 be granted by France to the ſaid States-General, with the ſuppreſſion of all other tarifs made ſince that time, revoking and annulling all edicts, declarations, and decrees, contrary thereunto; that the advantages of the Treaty of Ryſwick be likewiſe given to the States, and that the exemption of fifty pence per ton be allowed to all Dutch veſſels trading to the ports of France.

" You are, however, to take eſpecial care not to ſuffer theſe articles in favour of the States-General to be concluded until the Treaty of Succeſſion and Barrier be ſo explained, as to remove thoſe apprehenſions which we have as to the conſequence of it in ſome points, concerning which you are already inſtructed, and ſhall hereafter be more fully informed of our pleaſure.

" As to our good Brother, the Duke of Savoy, you are to demand, that he be put again into poſſeſſion of the Duchy of Savoy, County of Nice, and of all his hereditary countries, which have been taken from him by France during the preſent war; that he do enjoy the countries and places yielded to him by the treaties made with the Emperor, and others of the allies; and that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty do likewiſe yield to the ſaid Duke of Savoy the towns of Exiles, Feneſtrelles, and Chaumont, together with the Valley of Pragelas, and all the tract of land lying between Piemont and Mount Genevre, ſo that the ſaid mountain may hereafter ſerve as a barrier between the Kingdom of France and the Principality of Piemont.

" When the barrier of our good friends and allies ſhall be under conſideration, or at any other time, which in the courſe of this negociation ſhall to you appear moſt proper, you are to preſs the explaining, extending, and ſettling the ſixth article ſigned by the Sieur Meſnager, which relates to the demolition of Dunkirk.

" As to our own intereſts, you are to be particularly attentive to them in the whole courſe of this negociation, to make uſe of every accident which may happen, and of every occaſion which the ſeveral allies may have of our aſſiſtance, in order to promote and ſecure the ſame with each of them.

" Whereas by the Treaty of Barrier, the commerce of theſe our kingdoms to the Spaniſh Netherlands, and to ſuch places as ſhall by virtue of the ſaid Treaty accrue to the States-General, is expoſed to be loſt, or, at leaſt, to become precarious: And whereas the Sieur Buys, their Envoy-extraordinary to us, has himſelf acknowledged the reaſonableneſs of our apprehenſions, and the juſtice there is that we ſhould be ſecured againſt any prejudice which we have reaſon to fear may

The orders which I ſend this day by a courier to the Earl of Straf-ford concerning Prince Eugene, may perhaps make ſome noiſe on the other

ariſe to us from thoſe great acceſſions, which they have at the expence of the blood and treaſure of our ſubjects acquired? You are therefore at the ſame time as you uſe your endeavours both with the enemy, and ſuch of the allies as may be concerned therein, to procure to the States-General the effect of the aforeſaid treaty, to inſiſt that Newport, Dendermonde, the Caſtle of Ghent, and ſuch other places as may appear to be rather a barrier againſt us than againſt France, be either not put into the hands of the Dutch, or that ſuch expedients be found for the doing thereof, as may ſecure the ingreſs and egreſs of our ſubjects in all the Low Countries, as fully and effectually as if the ſaid barrier had not been granted to the States-General.

"The ſeventh article of the barrier-treaty, giving a power to the States-General, in caſe of an apparent attack, or of war, to put as many troops as they ſhall judge neceſſary, into all the towns, places, and forts of the Low Countries; you are to endeavour to have this article ſo explained, as to be underſtood for the future only of an attack from, or of a war with France; ſince nothing can be more unreaſonable than to leave it in the power of the States-General to make uſe of the ten provinces againſt thoſe to whom the ſovereignty of theſe provinces may belong, or againſt the Britiſh nation.

"It muſt be your farther care, that a ſpecial proviſion be made that our ſubjects may not ſuffer in their commerce by any omiſſion in the fifteenth article of the ſaid barrier-treaty; and that it be expreſsly ſtipulated, that the ſubjects of theſe our kingdoms ſhall trade as free, with the ſame advantages and privileges, and under the ſame impoſitions and no other, as they uſed to do when thoſe places were in the hands of France or Spain, or as the ſubjects of the States-General themſelves have done, or ſhall at any time hereafter do.

"Purſuant to what is before mentioned, you are to make theſe inſtances, and ſuch others as ſhall be hereafter directed upon thoſe heads, wherein the intereſt of our kingdoms, and of the dominions of the States-General may interfere, at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, that our ſatisfaction may go hand in hand with the ſettlement of their barrier.

"You are to inſiſt, that the Moſt Chriſtian King do not only in the plaineſt and ſtrongeſt terms acknowledge the ſucceſſion to the crown of theſe our kingdoms, as the ſame is limited by law to the Houſe of Hanover; but alſo, that the perſon pretending a right thereunto ſhall be immediately obliged to retire out of the dominions of France; and that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall farther promiſe and engage for himſelf, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, never to acknowledge any perſon to be king or queen of theſe realms beſides ourſelf, and ſuch as ſhall ſucceed to us by virtue of the acts of ſettlement now in force.

"You are to demand, that a treaty of commerce may be as ſoon as poſſible commenced between us and France; and that in the mean time ſuch points may be ſettled as ſhall appear neceſſary to prevent the doubts and difficulties which may otherwiſe ariſe in the further negociation of this matter.

"The joint-poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher having been the occaſion of frequent diſputes between our ſubjects and thoſe of the Moſt Chriſtian King, as well as of the effuſion of much blood, you are to demand and inſiſt, that the right to, and poſſeſſion of the ſaid iſland do for the future remain to us; and that the Moſt Chriſtian King do renounce all right, title, claim, or intereſt which he or any of his ſubjects may have, or pretend to have to or in the ſaid iſland, or any part thereof.

"As to our intereſts in the north part of America, you are to be particularly careful; and to demand, in the firſt place, the reſtitution of the Bay and Straits of Hudſon, together with ſuch further ſecurity for the trade, and recompence for the loſſes of this Company, as you ſhall be able to obtain.

"You are, in the next place, to inſiſt, that Placentia, and the whole iſland of Newfoundland, be yielded to us by the French.

"Thirdly, you are to demand, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall quit all claim or title by virtue of

other ſide; for which reaſon I incloſe a copy to you of that letter. I trouble you with no copy of the other, which I write to my Lord Straf-ford, ſince beſides ſome account of what paſſed on Saturday with Mr. Buys, and of other matters relating to the buſineſs in tranſaction at the

of any former treaty, or otherwiſe to the country called Nova Scotia, and expreſsly to Port Royal, otherwiſe Annapolis Royal, which is now in our poſſeſſion.

"You are, in the fourth place, to endeavour in the beſt manner you poſſibly can, to deſcribe and fix the bounds of the Britiſh and French ſettlements in thoſe parts.

"Beſides theſe advantages and privileges, which, by virtue of any former treaty or agreement, our ſubjects are entitled to in any part of the dominions of the Spaniſh monarchy, you are to inſiſt in the future treaty upon the following articles:

"Firſt, That Gibraltar and Port Mahon, with the iſland of Minorca, be for the future annexed to the crown of theſe realms.

"Secondly, That the contract called the Aſſiento, for furniſhing ſlaves to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, be made for the term of thirty years, with ſuch of our ſubjects as ſhall be by us nominated and appointed, who ſhall enjoy all the prerogatives, privileges, and advantages, which were yielded to the French by a contract made with them in the year 1702, or which ſhall appear neceſſary and reaſonable. Particularly you are to inſiſt, that ſome extent of ground on the River of Plate may be aſſigned, upon which our ſubjects may not only refreſh their negroes, but keep them in ſecurity until they ſhall be diſpoſed of to the Spaniards.

"Thirdly, You are to take care that a general article be inſerted, by virtue whereof, all advantages, rights, and privileges, which have been granted, or which may be hereafter granted by Spain to the ſubjects of any nation whatſoever, ſhall be in like manner granted to the ſubjects of Great Britain.

"Fourthly, In ſettling the trade of our ſubjects to the Spaniſh dominions, you are to endeavour to obtain ſuch exemptions of duties upon all goods and merchandizes of the product or manufacture of theſe kingdoms, as ſhall amount to an advantage of at leaſt fifteen per cent.

"You have herewith delivered to you ſuch propoſals and obſervations relating to our intereſts in commerce, as have been prepared and made by our commiſſioners for trade and plantations, together with the petitions and repreſentations of our Turkey and Eaſt India Companies, and of other our ſubjects, of all which, and of ſuch others as ſhall be hereafter tranſmitted to you, you are to make the beſt uſe you ſhall be able for the relief of our ſubjects, and for the improvement of commerce.

"And whereas we have directed a ſtate to be prepared of ſuch demands, as we may juſtly make, not only on account of the expences, which we have been at for our good friends and allies the States-General, but alſo on account of thoſe immenſe ſums, which we have furniſhed for the uſe of our good brother the Emperor, you are hereby required, as ſoon as this ſtate ſhall be tranſmitted to you, to inſiſt upon ſatisfaction for as much as ſhall thereby appear to be due to us.

"And whereas we think ourſelves obliged on all occaſions to exert our zeal in behalf of the Proteſtant religion and intereſt, we cannot conclude theſe inſtructions without directing you to concert with the miniſters of the States-General, and of our other Proteſtant allies, the moſt proper and effectual methods for reſtoring to their religious and civil rights the Proteſtants of France; and particularly for the immediate welfare of ſuch as may be at this time in the galleys. Our will and pleaſure in the laſt place is, that you do, from time to time, obſerve and follow ſuch further inſtructions and directions as you ſhall receive from us or one of our Principal Secretaries of State, with whom you are conſtantly to correſpond; and give us by him an account of all your proceedings in theſe important affairs, and of all other material occurrences which may come to your knowledge during the courſe of this your employment for our ſervice abroad.

"A. R."

Hague,

Hague, all which your Lordſhip is already apprized of, there is nothing very material in it.

As ſoon as your Lordſhip and the Earl of Strafford are together, my diſpatches will be addreſſed jointly to you both.

I have nothing more to add, but my ſincere wiſhes that your Lordſhip's voyage may be proſperous, and that the ſucceſs of the negociation you are concerned in may be anſwerable to thoſe honeſt intentions, and to that good conduct, with which on your part it will, I am ſure, be carried on.

I am, &c.

H. St. John.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

My Lord,

Whitehall, December 28, 1711.

THE wind coming about to the eaſtward of the north, I omitted writing to your Excellency by the poſt of Tueſday, ſince in all probability the letters of this date would come as ſoon to your hands; and ſince we might receive in the mean while, as in effect we have done, the mails expected from your ſide.

Monſieur Buys had his laſt conference with the Lords of the Council on Saturday, and on Sunday his audience of leave of the Queen.

In the conference, he was aſked if he had any thing more to propoſe; or if he could think of any article which remained neceſſary to be concerted between her Majeſty and his maſters? he immediately an-

* Public letter.

ſwered, that the capital point had hardly yet been talked of at all, and that he hoped the deſtination of Spain and the Indies might be the ſubject of conſultation at that time. He was told that my Lords could ſay nothing to him on that ſubject more than this, that the Queen intended to inſiſt that neither Spain nor the Weſt Indies ſhould be allotted to any branch of the Houſe of Bourbon; and that the inſtructions to your Excellency and to my Lord Privy Seal are drawn accordingly.

Finding he could obtain no other anſwer upon this head, Monſieur Buys mentioned the caſe of the French refugees; and propoſed that the Queen ſhould join with the States in demanding, that ſuch of them as are naturalized in any country of the allies, may have the liberty, after their naturalization, of going freely into and out of France, and of inheriting thoſe eſtates, which by the courſe of ſucceſſion, by will, or any other way, they may hereafter become entitled to. My Lords acquainted the Penſionary, that her Majeſty's zeal for the Proteſtant intereſt, and her compaſſion for thoſe unhappy people, prompted her to contribute, as far as poſſibly ſhe could, towards their relief. That her plenipotentiaries were inſtructed to this purpoſe; but that it was fit he ſhould know at the ſame time one difficulty which our miniſters would labour under in preſſing this point, and that was the caſe of her Majeſty's Popiſh ſubjects in Ireland, which the enemy, and perhaps ſome of our friends too, might retort upon us.

From hence, in order to cloſe the conferences in the method at firſt deſigned, my Lords deſcended with Monſieur Buys into the conſideration of the ſtate of the war. It is needleſs to trouble your Excellency with a long detail of the objections and complaints made on our ſide, and of the anſwers and excuſes made on his. Your Excellency has had ſo many occaſions to debate this matter, that you are ſufficiently apprized of the particulars. The concluſion of the whole was, that Monſieur

ſieur Buys affirmed, the States had already gone, in proportion to their ſtrength, farther than even Britain has; and therefore that it is highly unreaſonable to complain of them, or to expect that their efforts, either by ſea or land, ſhould be greater than uſual. That the Houſe of Auſtria, and the Princes of the empire, had been ſhamefully deficient, he very readily agreed; but could propoſe no remedy for this diſtemper more effectual than circular letters and pathetical exhortations, which, by the fatal experience of many years, we have found too weak to work on German conſtitutions.

I hope he is gone over ſatisfied with the uſage which he received here; and ſince he is likely to have a conſiderable ſhare in the buſineſs to be treated at Utrecht, it is for the Queen's ſervice that he ſhould be ſo.

He came over inſtructed and empowered by halves. The ferment, which had been created by the joint efforts of the faction here, and of that in Holland, confounded him; and thinking to take this advantage of negotiating well for Holland, at the expence of Britain, he has negociated ill for both, and ill for the common cauſe. We parted in terms of the greateſt civility; and her Majeſty's preſent to him was a thouſand pounds, which is double the value of what is ever given here to an Envoy-extraordinary.

I come now, to anſwer your Excellency's letters of the 25th and 29th of December, and of the 1ſt of January; the conduct of the Landgrave of Heſſe, is very laudable, and I believe, your Excellency will think proper to take occaſion of expreſſing how ſenſibly he has obliged the Queen, and of forwarding with the States the payment of his arrears*.

I hope, that the confidence amongſt the allies is not ſo broken, as

* For troops in the pay of Great Britain and the States-General.

your

your Excellency ſays they ſeem to agree at the Hague; but, my Lord, what a condition had that conduct brought us to, by which it was become impracticable to continue the war in the ſame method, without ruining Britain; or to change that method, or to propoſe a treaty of peace, without diſobliging that alliance.

There is a ſtate of the war, both with reſpect to obligations and performances, preparing upon an addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, which will ſet the matter your Excellency deſires to be informed of in the fulleſt light, and which you ſhall be ſure to receive as ſoon as it is ready.

My Lord Dartmouth, in whoſe province Mr. Manning now is, has already writ by her Majeſty's order, that he ſhould accept the reparation which the Republic of the Griſons propoſe to make him *; but after that, he is to return home, and I do not know, if the Queen has yet determined to ſend any one in his room.

All I can ſay, as to what paſſed between your Excellency and Monſieur Clingraff †, is, that I remember Monſieur Bothmar, aſked me ſoon after his arrival here, whether he might renew with the Duke of Marlborough the uſual treaty, in the ſame terms as formerly, *mutatis mutandis?* My anſwer was, that I knew nothing of the Queen's having revoked the full powers, formerly given to his Grace, and therefore, that I ſuppoſed till her Majeſty ſhould think fit to order it othewiſe, the ſame method was to be obſerved; from that time to this, I have neither thought nor heard of the matter.

* Manning was Envoy to the Griſons, and eſpouſed, purſuant to his inſtructions, the cauſe of Monſieur Maſner, a native of Coire, who had been unjuſtly uſed at the inſtigation of French influence; he was at laſt ſo contemptuouſly treated, and ſo little regard was paid to his ſtation (that of repreſentative of the Queen) that his remonſtrances were neglected, and in the end, an attack was made, while on a journey, upon his life, from which he eſcaped only by throwing himſelf down a precipice.

† The Hanoverian Secretary at the Hague.

The Queen approves of what your Excellency propoſes concerning the battalion of Treves.

You will pleaſe to let the Miniſters of Muſcovy know, that we expect other diſpatches from Mr. Whitworth, as well as to hear the ſentiments of the Emperor, and of the States, upon the Czar's propoſition; after which, her Majeſty's anſwer will be given. Gaining of time, is undoubtedly right in this caſe, for our intereſt, as I perceive by Mr. Whitworth, the Czar ſeems to think it wrong for his.

The uncertainty, which your Excellency mentions Prince Eugene to have been in, concerning his journey hither, was owing, without doubt, to the firſt anſwer which I gave to Monſieur Hoffman, and has produced this ſecond application, her Majeſty's reſolutions upon which, are contained in my other letter.

The conference which I find your Excellency had with the Imperial and Dutch Miniſters, and of which, you give an account in your diſpatch of the firſt of January, is very remarkable. The Queen approves your Excellency's conduct in it; and I think nothing can be added to what you repreſented, neither ſhall I ſay any more upon that ſubject, till I ſend you the ſtate of the war abovementioned.

The orders I have to communicate to your Excellency, concerning the Pruſſian and Saxon troops, are theſe: As to ſuch of the former, as his Pruſſian Majeſty has thought fit, without the conſent of the Queen and the States, during the winter to recall, her Majeſty's approves of the reſolution taken in Holland, and directs your Excellency to ſpeak accordingly. The treaty for the eleven Pruſſian battalions, which ſerve in Italy, you will endeavour to renew; and the Queen will, on this condition, pay the arrear claimed of the two-thirds of 70,000 crowns *per annum*, for 1710 and 1711; but ſhe will not engage ſingly to ſtand to this

new

new bargain, made at firſt without any authority from her, and therefore inſiſts to know before-hand, what the Emperor and the Dutch do. Much leſs may your Excellency believe her Majeſty will agree to the new demand, made by Bonét, of 100,000 crowns *per annum* more for the ſame body.

The treatment which her Majeſty received the laſt year, from King Auguſtus, has made her take a reaſonable warning, and therefore you are upon this head to purſue your former orders. The Queen inclines to think the condition of the Saxon troops ſuch, that it will be impoſſible to have the entire corps recruited; in conſideration of which, and of the other points mentioned in your Excellency's diſpatch, you are at liberty to take only a part of theſe troops, in concurrence with the States, for the next campaign.

We have plunged ourſelves already too deep in Northern affairs, and the event has ſhown, that all our meaſures have tended to bring that upon us, which we thought to avoid by them. Your Excellency will, therefore, take care that the Queen may not by any means renew that guarantee, or ſtipulate any thing concerning it.

Monſieur Roſenkrantz * has informed the Queen, that his maſter has thought fit to depart from his demand of an additional ſubſidy, and that he therefore hopes, there will be no farther delay in concluding the treaty with him, which, if her Majeſty pleaſes not to obſtruct, he thinks the States-General inclined to finiſh. I am directed to let him know, that this matter is in your Excellency's hands; that by the Queen's order, I communicate to you the King of Denmark's offer; and that it is her Majeſty's intention, that your Excellency ſhould facilitate the ſettling of the treaty, in conjunction with the miniſters of the States.

* Daniſh Envoy.

I am to wiſh your Excellency a happy new year, and many of them, full of honour, and uninterrupted ſatisfaction, which I do from the bottom of my heart, and ſubſcribe myſelf,

My Lord, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.*

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, January 1ſt, 1711-12.

I AM to begin this diſpatch, by wiſhing your Lordſhips a happy new year; and, in order to render it ſuch to all theſe parts of the world, ſucceſs in the great negociation, which you are entering upon.

I am willing to hope, that this meſſenger will find your Lordſhips at Utrecht, ſince the miniſters of the Queen, who appointed the Congreſs, ſhould naturally ſet to the reſt of the allies the example of going to it; ſince a little ſhare of ſincerity and good-will, muſt have rendered your preliminary buſineſs at the Hague ſhort; ſince the miniſters of the States, ſome time ago, ſeemed to apprehend an evil conſequence might ariſe, if the French were on the ſpot too long before us; and ſince not only the ſeaſon of the year, but a multitude of other conſiderations, make it very important to haſten on the conferences, that we may ſee in time what we have to truſt to, either from friends or enemies.

Since your Lordſhip's inſtructions were ſigned by her Majeſty, it has been obſerved, that the Elector Palatine, and the four aſſociated Circles, are not ſpecifically mentioned in them. As to the former, I know little or nothing which your Lordſhips have to inſiſt upon in his behalf,

* Public letter.

except the preſervation of his rank in the Electoral College, and the diſmemberment of the Upper Palatinate made in his favour.

Upon theſe two heads, your Lordſhips are already ſufficiently apprized of her Majeſty's intentions, and may be farther authoriſed to treat by additional inſtructions, if they ſhall be thought neceſſary. As to the four aſſociated circles, I ſuppoſe, their ſafety and our union with them, are beſt provided for by obtaining a barrier for the Empire, which is laid down at large in her Majeſty's inſtructions, and by perfecting the treaty which the Count de Rechteren* negociated; and which you, my Lord Strafford, have upon ſome occaſions, received orders to promote.

A packet which I ſent ſome days ſince to Graveſend, and which, I was very glad to find at the return of the meſſenger, did not come to your hands, my Lord Privy Seal, is by this opportunity tranſmitted to your Lordſhips; beſides the papers contained in it, there are ſome others now ſent. The firſt is a memorial drawn by the Count Maffei †, after a conference which he had with the Lords, by her Majeſty's order, containing ſuch a plan of a barrier for Savoy and Piedmont, as his Royal Higneſs judges to be the leaſt that is neceſſary for his ſecurity. Your Lordſhips know ſo well, how truly ſolicitous the Queen is to procure all poſſible ſatisfaction to this Prince, and of how great moment it is to the future repoſe of Europe, that he be put in a condition of defending himſelf againſt any neighbour, who may hereafter attack him, that I need ſay nothing to your Lordſhips more, than that her Majeſty would have you let the Miniſters of his Royal Highneſs know, in what manner you are inſtructed to act for him, and that you would pleaſe to concert with them the beſt meaſures for obtaining his demands.

* Amelot Count de Rechteren, a deputy of the province of Overyſſel to the States-General, had been Envoy to many of the Courts of Europe, and was a Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Utrecht.

† The Letter and Memoire of Maffei, dated 24th December, 1711.

If they ſhould preſs, as the Count Maffei has done here, to be aſſured of ſome aggrandizement in all events on the ſide of Italy, your Lordſhips will pleaſe to ſpeak in the ſame language, as the Earl of Dartmouth has by the Queen's command writ, that her Majeſty continues ſtill in the ſame diſpoſition towards his Royal Highneſs, and in the ſame ſentiments concerning his intereſts, as he has been already acquainted with; but that ſhe foreſees great difficulties in rendering any ſuch ſcheme practicable; and that ſhe thinks the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont to the Archdutcheſs muſt be the foundation of all future demands; that her Majeſty is ready to do her utmoſt in preſſing this forward, as well as in obtaining the money due from the Imperial Court to his Royal Highneſs, and in advancing his intereſt in every other reſpect. That it is impoſſible ſhe ſhould be able to reduce her own before the opening of the Congreſs to a certainty, but that ſhe will have the ſame firmneſs for one as for the other; and that the perfect concert which your Lordſhips hope will be eſtabliſhed between the miniſters of his Royal Highneſs, and yourſelves, will enable you to take hold of, and to improve opportunities which may ariſe in the courſe of the negociation, and which cannot be at this diſtance foreſeen.

Before I leave this ſubject, I muſt beg leave to mention two things which occur to me in writing. The firſt is, that I perceive, by the Count de Maffei, the French very artificially endeavour to amuſe his Royal Highneſs by great expectations of grandeur on the ſide of Italy, and at the expence of others, in order to make him ſink in his demands of ſecurity on the ſide of France, which muſt be procured by conceſſions from them. The other is, that when your Lordſhips treat for the barrier of Savoy and Piedmont, you may draw a very good argument from the manner in which the French carried on the war in thoſe countries. They were not contented with conquering their ſtrong places, but they

demoliſhed them all, as if even in this war they meditated another, and were reſolved to have their way into Italy always open.

Another paper which I ſend to your Lordſhips is the copy of a letter writ by the Duke of Lorrain to her Majeſty*. The Queen is very much inclined to aſſiſt the Prince in his pretenſions; but ſhe does not ſee that he is very well founded in demanding to be received as a party to this treaty, who is no member of the grand alliance, nor any party in the war. The equivalent for the Montferrat he has a very juſt right to demand of the Emperor; and as the Queen is engaged by her guaranty of the treaty made with the Duke of Savoy, ſo it is her intention to aſſiſt him in the procuring of it.

The Duke of Hamilton and Colonel Douglas have both made their humble applications to her Majeſty, the one for the reſtitution of his duchy of Chatelheraut, the other to be reſtored to an eſtate which he claims as belonging to him in Alſatia; the book of the former, and the petition and memorial † of the latter, are herewith ſent to your Lordſhips. An

* *Le Duc de Lorraine à ſa Majeſté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.*

" MADAME,

" JE me ſuis déjà donné l'honneur d'implorer la protection de votre Majeſté, dès les premiers avis que j'ai reçu du renouement de la paix, parce que c'eſt uniquement ſur ſon puiſſant appui que je fonde mes eſpérances pour la réuſſite de mes juſtes prétenſions; mais puiſqu'il a plu depuis à votre Majeſté de régler le jour & le lieu pour le congrès, je prends la liberté de recourir de nouveau à ſes bontés, pour la ſupplier très humblement de conſerver dans cette importante occaſion, les généreuſes intentions qu'elle a toujours fait paroître en faveur de mes intérêts. Et comme j'ai tout lieu d'eſpérer que mes Plénipotentiaires ſeront admis aux conférences, de même que les autres miniſtres, par la raiſon que mes griefs ont été occaſionés par la préſent guerre, que parce que les intérêts des Princes qui s'y trouvent engagés doivent être ajuſtés pendant cette négociation, ſuivant les articles que votre Majeſté a fait communiquer à ſes hauts alliés tout nouvellement; ainſi je la ſupplie très humblement d'ordonner dès à préſent à ſes miniſtres de ſoutenir les miens pendant le tems des conférences, & de les y faire aſſiſter par ſon autorité royale, afin qu'ils puiſſent obſerver mes intérêts & les porter ſous ſa protection royale à une heureuſe iſſue. La confiance très reſpectueuſe que j'ai aux bontés de votre Majeſté, me fait eſpérer qu'elle ajoutera cette grâce à toutes les précédentes dont elle m'a comblé, & qu'elle daignera être perſuadée de l'attachement inviolable, & du très profond reſpect avec lequel j'aurai l'honneur d'être toute ma vie, Madame, de votre Majeſté,

" Le très humble & très obeiſſant couſin & ſerviteur,

" Luneville, 20 Dec. 1711. " LEOPOLD."

† " *To the Queen's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

" The humble petition of Colonel Charles Douglas.

" Humbly ſheweth,

" That your Majeſty's petitioner and father did always ſerve honeſtly and faithfully in the army, both in your Majeſty's reign, and in that of your royal predeceſſor, by which means they were

ſeveral

An expreſs which I received this morning brought me a letter from Monſieur de Torcy, in anſwer to that which I writ to him, when by her Majeſty's orders, I ſent the paſſes for the French Plenipotentiaries.

That

ſeveral times forfeited of their eſtate and pretenſions in France, the truth whereof may appear by a memorial given to the King of France, by the Earl of Mancheſter, by the late King's ſpecial command; which memorial was ſome years ago given to your Majeſty, and is now lying by with ſome of your Majeſty's papers; as alſo a recommendation of the Parliament of Scotland, in 1703, whereby the Parliament addreſſed your Majeſty, to provide for Sir William Douglas, and his family, as having had an eſtate forfeited for the nation's cauſe; and now that all your Majeſty's ſubjects are, in all appearance, near reaping the advantage of a good and honourable peace:

"May it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty, to allow your petitioner, in all humility, to beg your Majeſty's royal aſſiſtance and protection, to recover what eſtate he and his father have wanted theſe many years, for being zealous to your Majeſty's ſervice and government, by giving ſuch directions to your Plenipotentiaries, for the reſtitution of the ſaid eſtate, ſeized and forfeited in the manner aforeſaid, but more particularly for the reſtitution of two villages in Alſace; a memorial whereof is hereunto annexed. And your Majeſty's petitioner ſhall ever pray, &c.

"Mémoire pour leurs Excellences les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, au ſujet des terres & dépendances des villages de Dankelfiteim & Kitleſheim reſſort de Haguenau, en Alſace, qui appartiennent de droit à Monſieur Douglas, par le droit de ſon père, & de ſon grand-père, Monſieur de Batilly.

"(1) Que feu Monſieur de Batilly, grand-père de Monſieur Douglas, jouit pendant plus de trente années conſécutives des villages & dépendances de Dankelſheim & Kitleſheim, en vertu de la conceſſion à lui fait, par Monſieur R. C. Oxenſtiern, Général & Plénipotentiaire de la Couronne de Suède, au nom de la Reine Chriſtine, ſelon le pouvoir qu'elle lui en avoit donné, pour ſatisfaire aux ſommes d'argent avancées par le Sieur de Batilly pour l'entretien de ſon régiment, pour ſatisfaction de ſes gages, & enfin pour récompence des ſervices qu'il avoit rendu au Roi Guſtave Adolphe, père de la dite Reine.

"(2) Que l'Alſace a été cédée à la France par un traité de paix, à la charge d'exécuter & entretenir ce que la Couronne de Suède y avoit fait & réglé pendant que la dite Alſace étoit ſous ſa domination, & qu'ainſi le Roi Louis XIII, avoit bien voulu confirmer le don de la Couronne de Suède en faveur de Monſieur de Batilly, par des lettres-patentes du 19 Septembre, 1635, qui portent défenſe à toute ſorte de perſonnes, de quelle qualité qu'elles puiſſent être, de le troubler dans la poſſeſſion des dits villages, à lui donnés par la Couronne de Suède, en payment de ſes ſervices; & que pour le plus favorablement traiter & gratifier, il les prenoit, lui & ſes ſujets, avec tous leurs biens & familles, ſous ſa protection & ſauvegarde ſpéciale, afin que par ce moyen il peût jouir des dits villages avec plus de ſureté, & être garanti des violences & autres empêchemens qu'on lui pourroit cauſer.

"(3) Que le préſent Roi, en 1648, à parlement, confirme Monſieur de Batilly dans la poſſeſſion des dits villages, ce qui paroît par une ſauvegarde du 14me Mars, 1648, qui fait défenſe de loger, ni ſouffrir être logés, aucun gens de guerre dans les dits villages appartenans à Monſieur Antoine de Batilly, Maréſchal-de-camp dans ſes armées, & Gouverneur de la ville & château de Neufchâteau, ni ſouffrir qu'on lève aucunes contributions des dits villages, en conſidération des récommendables ſervices qu'il avoit rendu non-ſeulement à la Couronne, mais auſſi à ſes alliés & confédérés; voulant dire, de la Couronne de Suède de qui il tenoit les dits villages.

"(4) Que l'on peut remarquer par un jugement du 22me Février, 1655, rendu par ſon Alteſſe, Monſieur Prince Henri de Lorraine, alors Grand Prévôt de la prévôté & province de Haguenau, que feu Monſieur de Batilly a rendu la foi & hommage à ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne entre les mains du dit Prince, & qui ordonne que le Sieur de Batilly ſoit reconnu & reſpecté par les ſujets & habitans de Dankelſheim & Kitleſheim, comme un Seigneur des dits villages.

"(5) Que

That the Dutch miniſters are upon this occaſion, to be ſimply Commiſſaries, and that they are to have no full powers, is, I take it for granted, a miſtake.

I ſend

" (5) Que pour empêcher les différens qui auroient pu ſurvenir entre les habitans des dits villages & leur Seigneur, Monſieur de Batilly, à l'égard des droits, Monſieur le Prince de Loraine a fait une ordonnance du dit Février, 1655, de ce que l'une & l'autre des parties devoient obſerver de part & d'autre.

" (6) Que Monſieur le Duc de Montauſier qui ſuccéda au Prince de Loraine avoit continué Monſieur de Batilly dans la poſſeſſion des deux dits villages, & dans les mêmes droits qu'avoit fait avant lui Monſieur le Prince de Loraine, ce qui prouve aſſez la légitime poſſeſſion du Sieur de Batilly.

" (7) Que Monſieur le Duc Mazarin, étant en faveur, & gouverneur d'Alſace, avoit réuni au domaine du Grand Baillage de Haguenau, pluſieurs villages, entr'autres, Dankelſheim, Kittleſheim, & Minferſheim, tous de la même mouvance & dépendance, & cela ſous l'expoſé qu'ils avoient été aliénés du domaine du Grand Baillage; mais que le Baron de Vanghen ayant remontré en cour, que lui et ſes prédéceſſeurs avoit joui librement et paiſiblement du revenu du domain utile du village de Minferſheim en vertu de la conceſſion que l'Archiduc Leopold avoit fait à ſon oncle George Théodoric de Vanghen, de la même manière que la couronne de Suède avoit cédé et donné au Sieur de Batilly Dankelſheim et Kitleſheim, que le Roi avoit bien voulu reconnoître le droit du Baron de Vanghen par des lettres-patentes du 19me Février, 1672, par leſquelles il le confirme de nouveau dans la poſſeſſion et jouiſſance du domaine utile de Minferſheim; lequel village, dans les mêmes patentes, eſt dit être de la même mouvance et dépendance que Dankelſheim et Kitleſheim, ce qui fait voir que les dits villages avoient été mal réunis au domaine, par Monſieur le Duc Mazarin, ſous un faux expoſé du dit Duc.

" (8) Que Monſieur de Batilly eſt mort paiſiblement chez lui, et n'a jamais été accuſé d'aucun crime, que d'être Proteſtant, qui lui fît perdre dans un jour 20,000 écus de rente, qu'il avoit de ſes emplois, plutôt que de changer de religion; mais, pour cela, il n'avoit pas moins de droit pour devoir rentrer dans la poſſeſſion de ces villages, auſſi-bien que le Baron de Vanghen, dans celui de Minferſheim, qui étoit de la même mouvance et dépendance que les ſiens.

" (9) Que Monſieur de Batilly étant dégoûté de la cour par le procédé ci-deſſus mentionné, réſolut de n'y jamais retourner, non pas même pour ſoliciter ſes villages; mais ayant ſa fille mariée au Chevalier Douglas, il lui donna ces deux villages, avec les arrérages des rentes dûes, au lieu du quart dans la ſeigneurie de Montoi, qu'il étoit obligé de lui donner par le contract de mariage de ſa fille. Ainſi ces deux villages, avec leurs dépendances, furent acceptés par le Chevalier Douglas, au lieu de dot avec ſa femme, comme il paroît par un acte paſſé à Metz, par devant Notaires, le 16me Janvier, 1675.

" (10) Que Monſieur Douglas eſt le ſeul héritier du Chevalier Douglas, de ſa mère défuncte, et de Monſieur de Batilly, ſon grand-père.

" Que ſi on objectoit la préſcription:

" (1.) On répond que la préſcription n'a pas lieu dans un cas d'uſurpation.

" (2.) Que Monſieur le Chevalier Douglas, a donné un placet au Roi, en l'an 1675, faiſant voir ſon droit, & l'uſurpation du Duc Mazarin, auquel placet il fut répondu ambigument.

" (3.) Que le Roi Guillaume, d'heureuſe mémoire, fit demander au Roi Très Chrétien à la dernière paix, les dits villages, par my Lord Mancheſter, ſon Ambaſſadeur en France, pour être rendus au Chevalier Douglas, & que ſelon ce qui fût répondu à l'Ambaſſadeur, Monſieur Douglas auroit été inceſſamment remis en poſſeſſion des dits villages, ſi la guerre n'étoit ſurvenue dans cette entrefaite.

" Si l'on objectoit que Monſieur le Duc Mazarin, eſt en poſſeſſion des dits villages, en vertu des lettres-patentes qu'il a du Roi, & que cette poſſeſſion eſt bonne:

" (1) On répond à cela que c'étoit une uſurpation de Monſieur le Duc Mazarin, d'avoir obtenu des lettres-patentes du Roi ſous un faux expoſé, comme on le peut remarquer par le procès du Baron

de

I ſend Barlow with this diſpatch, ſo that your Lordſhips have three of the Queen's meſſengers now with you. The letters can come ſafely by no other conveyance, and I hope you will pleaſe conſtantly to uſe it. I will take care that there may be always ſome meſſengers on your ſide.

I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

Du Comte de Maffei.

MONSIEUR,

A Londres, ce 24me Décembre, 1711.

JE me donne l'honneur de vous envoyer le ci-joint Mémoire*, qui eſt l'ultimatum de la Barrière que ſa Majeſté & ſon Conſeil ont trouvé juſte & raiſonnable d'obtenir de la France pour la ſureté des états

de Vanghen, & par les lettres-patentes que le dit Baron obtenoit du Roi, pour le remettre en poſſeſſion de ſon village de Minferſhein, dont il avoit été dépoſſédé par le Duc Mazarin pour des pareilles raiſons que Monſieur de Batilly étoit des ſiens.

" (2.) Dans toutes les lettres-patentes il y a une clauſe qui dit *ſauf le droit d'autrui*, Ainſi le Roi ne donne par ces lettres-patentes que ce qui eſt à lui, & enfin telles lettres-patentes que Monſieur le Duc Mazarin ait pu obtenir du Roi, ſous un faux expoſé, ne peuvent être valables au préjudice du droit de Monſieur de Batilly.

" (1.) On remarquera que les deux villages ont été réunis par Monſieur le Duc Mazarin au domaine du grand Baillage qui appartient au Roi en propre.

" (2.) Que le Duc Mazarin ne poſsède ces deux villages que comme prévôt de Haguenau, & Gouverneur d'Alſace ſa vie durante, ou à la volonté du Roi.

" (3.) Que le Roi, à la mort du Duc Mazarin, ou devant, peut donner ſon domaine ou aucune partie d'icelui, à qui il lui plaira.

" Et d'autant plus que les dits villages de Dankelſheim & Kitleſheim, paroiſſent avoir été mal réunies aux domaines du grand Baillage ſous un faux expoſé du Duc Mazarin, on eſpère, que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne ne ſuffrira pas que par ſon autorité, les dits villages ſoient détenus plus long-tems par le Duc Mazarin, qui n'a nul droit que par uſurpation, au préjudice de Monſieur Douglas, à qui ils appartiennent de droit: Et qu'ainſi ſa Majeſté trouvera bon, de donner des ordres néceſſaires pour que Monſieur Douglas, ſoit inceſſamment remis en poſſeſſion des villages de Dankelſheim & Kitleſheim, comme auſſi de tout ce qui lui peut légitimement appartenir en France."

* " Mémoire du Comte Maffei, Envoye-extraordinaire de ſon Alteſſe Royale de Savoye, auprès de ſa Majeſté Britannique, à Monſieur de St. Jean, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de ſa Majeſté, pour ſervir d'inſtruction aux Miniſtres Plénipotentiaires de la Reine, au Congrès d'Utrecht; pour obtenir de la France, par un ultimatum, la Barrière ci-deſſous ſpécifiée,,

états de ſon Alteſſe Royale, comme les Seigneurs s'en ſont expliqués dans la conférence qu'ils m'ont donnée ce matin, ce que vous ſavez mieux que moi ; je ne doute pas que ſa Majeſté n'aie la bonté de donner ſes ordres en cette conformité à ſes Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht, & qu'elle ne veuille bien en donner des aſſurances poſitives à ſon Alteſſe Royale par la réponſe de laquelle elle l'honorera.

A l'égard du point de l'aggrandiſement, je me promets que ſa Majeſté continuera dans les mêmes ſentimens de vouloir le procurer de tout ſon pouvoir à ſon Alteſſe Royale, comme elle a eu la bonté de le lui faire eſpérer, et qu'elle donnera de même ſes ordres à ſes Plénipotentiaires, pour concerter & donner les mains à tous les expédiens &

cifiée, laquelle ſa Majeſté & ſon Conſeil ont convenu être juſte & raiſonnable d'obtenir pour la ſureté des Etats de ſon Alteſſe Royale, & comme une de ces conditions *ſine qua non*.

POUR LE PIEMONT.

" Que le Roi Très Chrétien cède à ſon Alteſſe Royale les Forts d'Exilles & de Feneſtrelles avec les Vallées de Pragelas, d'Oulx, de Sezane, Exilles, & Château Dauphin, & généralement tout ce qui eſt dès la hauteur des Alpes depuis la Morianne à la Vallée de Barcelonnette, prenant cette Barrière par le Col de la Roüe, les Echelles, le Mont Genèvre, le Col de l'Agnel, & autres Alpes & aux pendantes du côté du Piémont, entre leſquelles les dites Vallées ſe trouvent ; prenant la ſommet des dites Alpes, les plaines, & terres ſur les dites Alpes à diviſer par moitié entre la France, & ſon Alteſſe Royale, pour être les dits Monts, Forts, Vallées, & lieux cédés, tenus, & poſſédés pleinement, & à perpétuité par ſa dite Alteſſe Royale & ſes ſucceſſeurs en toute propriété & ſouveraineté comme des choſes leur appartenantes en propre.

" Que pour la ſureté de cette barrière, le Roi de France faſſe démolir toutes les fortifications de Briançon, ſans qu'elles puiſſent jamais plus être rétablies, & c'eſt ſur cette ſeule condition que ſon Alteſſe Royale ſe départ de la demande qu'elle faiſoit de la ceſſion de Briançon & de Mont Dauphin.

POUR LA SAVOYE.

" Que la France cède Barreau, démoli, avec les terres qui ſont entre le dit Barreau & Monmeillan, d'un côté de la rivière d'Iſère, & de l'autre côté Gonſelin, avec les autres terres juſqu'à la Rochette, & au Col de Vaugiani, donnant un dédommagement en argent, de la démolition de Monmeillan, pour le rebâtir, ou bien qu'elle cède Barreau fortifié.

" Que toutes les terres, lieux, & villages que la France ſe fit céder par le traité de Lion, qui ſe trouvent au delà du Rhône du côté de Savoye, ſoient cédé à ſon Alteſſe Royale, avec l'uſage commun du Rhône, entre le Roi Très Chrétien & ſon Alteſſe Royale, depuis Genève juſqu'à St. Genis d'Aoſte.

" Les villages que la France ſe réſerva du côté de Savoye, par le dit traité, & deſquels on demande préſentement la ceſſion, ſont ſept : Aire, Chancy, Auully, Pont d'Aſlot, Seyſſel, Chanuz, & Pierre Chaſdel.

POUR LE COMTE DE NICE.

" Que Monaco ſoit cédé à ſon Alteſſe Royale en dédommagement des démolitions du Château de Nice, & autres forts de cette comté, comme auſſi pour la ſureté de cette province qui ſe trouve ouverte du côté de Son Alteſſe Royale & enfermée par cette place d'un côté, & par celle d'Antibes de l'autre.

" Et que ſon Alteſſe Royale, aie le libre exerciſe de ſa ſouveraineté, ſur les terres de Menton & Rovabruna, comme l'ont eu autrefois ſes ancêtres, & comme exige la juſtice des raiſons inconteſtables que ſon Alteſſe Royale a ſur ces deux terres.

" LE COMTE MAFFEI."

moyens, qui pourront être propres dans le cours de la négociation, à parvenir plus aiſément à la juſte fin que ſa Majeſté s'eſt propoſée là-deſſus pour mieux aſſurer la paix qu'on fera, & maintenir l'équilibre, à quoi la ſituation des états de ſon Alteſſe Royale aggrandie & unie indiſſolublement à l'Angleterre par les mêmes intérêts, & par reconnoiſſance, peut donner beaucoup d'influence.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, January 1ſt, 1711.

I WISH your Excellency a long courſe of happy years; nature will allow you time, your fortune will afford you ſome ingredients, and your good underſtanding more; but nothing can complete the bleſſing except that peace, and the conſequences of it, which you are labouring to advance.

Not hearing of Prince Eugene, I conclude the wind ſtopped him firſt, as the orders which Hayward brings your Excellency will for good and all; to ſay the truth, ſhould he come at this time, he would be expoſed to receive ſome mortification. The faction, under the pretence of doing him honour, would make uſe of him to ſerve their purpoſes; and theſe ſteps would as certainly raiſe a ferment on the other ſide.

If the meaſures of our junto and their allies have been diſconcerted, from the reaſons which your Excellency mentions, they are more ſo here, and will be more ſo on your ſide, by two reſolutions which the Queen has taken and executed almoſt at once:—I mean the increaſe of twelve to the Houſe of Peers, and the diſmiſſion of the Duke of Marlborough from all his employments. To-morrow the

Houſe of Lords meets, and the Queen will, by meſſage, order them to adjourn till the day on which the Commons are to ſit; after that, ſhe may perhaps prorogue the Parliament for a day or two; but whether ſhe does this or not, ſhe will ſpeak again to both Houſes; and I hope we ſhall begin this ſeſſion in a better manner than the Queen's lenity ſuffered us to do the laſt. Your Excellency ſees that we have taken our ground, and made our diſpoſition for attacking in the Houſe of Commons; the ſame muſt be done above ſtairs; and there theſe heroes, like their predeceſſor, Bully Dawſon, will put up their ſwords as ſoon as the enemy draws his.

I cannot account for what your Excellency mentions concerning the knowledge which they have in Holland of the French memorial; it is ſo very wild, that we have not ſo much as laid it before the Cabinet: Buys, indeed, often preſſed for the particulars of what we had writ, and of what Monſieur de Torcy had anſwered, but he was as often bantered, and inſenſibly led into another ſubject. Mr. Duyvenvoorde's intelligence I am alſo at a loſs to underſtand. The public letters which I receive from your Excellency are never read except in Cabinet, the private never even there, unleſs now and then a paſſage be neceſſary for the information of the Lords. But, my Lord, the Dutch in general, like the reſt of our allies, are out of humour; and therefore every particular man ſuſpects, gueſſes, invents, torments himſelf, and plagues all that converſe with him. It is not, indeed, to be wondered at, for the ſcheme of politics at preſent in vogue here, does not tally ſo well as the former with the wiſhes of the confederates. They had nothing to do before but to buy, or, ſome way or other, to engage two or three men, and this rich, fruitful province was their own: we have at laſt thought fit to ſet up for independency.

Nothing will ſo much convince the Dutch of the neceſſity of making peace, as ſeeing plainly that Britain will alter her meaſures of waging

wars; your Excellency will therefore do well to whiſper that often into their ears; and if they object, the evil conſequence which the knowledge of this muſt have with the enemy, the reply is obvious—We are ſenſible of it, and ſorry for it; but they are only to blame who force to this neceſſity a Princeſs, to whoſe friendſhip they owe not only the ſalvation, but the grandeur of their republic; and who chooſe rather to lean on the broken reed of a routed faction, than to ſtand on the ſolid baſis which an entire confidence in her would eſtabliſh.

I begin by this opportunity my joint correſpondence with your Excellency and the Biſhop, in ſuch matters as are to be tranſacted by you jointly.

Before I conclude, I muſt tell you, that I find the Emperor begins to *ſiler doux*; his anſwers to the Queen's letter, which Mr. Watkins, whoſe manner of executing his commiſſion has given great ſatisfaction to her Majeſty, tranſmitted to us, is in very modeſt terms.

Open the conferences, let the enemy underſtand they muſt help themſelves and you; let our allies underſtand, that they ſhall neither inſult nor miſlead us; and I hope we ſhall be able to co-operate with you from hence.

Adieu. I am, my dear Lord, &c.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

My Lord,

Whitehall, January 2d, 1711-12.

HAVING been obliged to keep the meſſenger till this morning, I gain a moment's time to write a few words apart to your Lordſhip.

My public diſpatches contain the letter in form which I received from Monſieur de Torcy, in this I ſend your Lordſhip a copy of the

private one writ to me by that Miniſter. The turn of it is remarkable, and only for Lord Strafford and yourſelf. Mr. Watkins is, I ſuppoſe by this time, returned from executing a commiſſion which her Majeſty gave him to the Emperor; your Lordſhip muſt allow me to deſire that you would pleaſe to uſe him with ſome tenderneſs; you will find his capacity and experience in buſineſs very great. I know no man who has a finer pen, and I would truſt my honour to his integrity.

No man living is with more reſpect, my Lord, &c. than

H. St. J.

To Mr. Watkins.

SIR,

Whitehall, Jan. 2d, 1711.

BESIDES a letter of form, give me leave to write you one of friendſhip, and to begin by aſſuring you that the illneſs which you have, by the hardſhip of your journey, contracted, very ſenſibly affects me.

I perceive, as well by what you writ to me as by what Mr. Drummond told me you had writ to him, that you are uneaſy in your ſtation of Secretary of the Queen in Holland. I can account for ſome cauſes of your chagrin very eaſily, but I can as eaſily foreſee that the arrival of my Lord Privy Seal will remove them. The holy black Swede * knows your merit, and will, for his own ſake as well as yours, endeavour to reconcile you to the province you are at preſent in; beſides, ſhould you inſiſt to be removed juſt at the time when the conferences open, and when the Duke, your old maſter, is by her Majeſty diſ-

* The Biſhop had been thirty-two years reſident in Sweden.

miſſed,

miſſed, the true reaſon of this meaſure would be known to few, and variety of fictitious ones would be given and believed by the world. My advice therefore is, and it comes from a heart ſincerely affectionate to you, that you repair to Utrecht, and that you enter upon the buſineſs of your employment.

My Lord Treaſurer fully intends to provide for you here, that after ſo many years labour abroad, you may ſit down under an Engliſh fig-tree.

In every letter I muſt thank you for the good-nature you ſhow to my brother. I wiſh he may make the proper uſe of the opportunity which he has, and lay in a ſtore of knowledge in the right ſeaſon for it.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Cadogan.*

SIR,

Whitehall, Jan. 4, 1711.

THE Duke of Marlborough having ſent me your letter of the 5th of January, N.S. together with the project incloſed in it, I have laid the whole before her Majeſty; who commands me to write to you, that it is her pleaſure that you do encourage and promote, as much as poſſible, the execution of the deſign of ruining the navigation on the Sambre, which you have formed, which has been approved in Holland, and which the Earl of Albemarle is authorized to undertake.

Thus much the Queen thought neceſſary to be writ immediately to you; her Majeſty's farther directions you may expect by the poſt of Tueſday.

I am, &c.

* The Duke of Marlborough was diſmiſſed from his poſt of Commander in Chief at home and abroad, on the 31ſt of December, and, until a ſucceſſor was appointed, Cadogan was Commander of the forces in Flanders.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur d' Hervaert.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 4me Janvier, 1711-12.

J'AI été, je vous l'avoue, un peu inquiet ſur le ſujet de la lettre que je vous écrivis il y a quelque tems, & qui a fait tant de bruit en Hollande; mais je vous ai rendu juſtice, & je n'ai jamais cru que vous euſſiez eu le moindre mauvais deſſein en la montrant; ainſi, Monſieur, ne parlons plus, s'il vous plaît, de ce contretems.

Voici les conférences ouvertes, & je ne doute pas qu'il n'y aient beaucoup de gens qui déployeront tout leur ſavoir-faire pour les rompre; mais pourvu que les François veuillent achéter la paix à un prix raiſonnable, j'eſpère que nous viendrons à bon port.

Je ſais qu'il n'eſt pas néceſſaire, que je vous exhorte à travailler à détruire ces fauſſes idées que les factieux chez nous, & leurs alliés chez vous, tâchent de ſemer. Vous ſouhaitez la paix par un principe de Chriſtianiſme, auſſi-bien que de politique, & vous êtes aſſez habile pour voir de quelle ſource ſont venus toutes les oppoſitions qu'on a fait aux méſures de la Reine.

Le Prince Eugene a été depuis quelque jours ſur nos côtes; je ne ſais ſi le vent contraire le laiſſera mettre pied à terre; mais je crains fort que la diſgrace du Duc de Marlborough, rendra inutile une grande partie de ſes inſtructions*.

Je vous ſouhaite une bonne & heureuſe année, & je ſuis,

De tout mon cœur, votre, &c.

* Eugene was certainly ſent over to favour the ſchemes of Marlborough's party: though informed that his oſtenſible errand, that of ſettling the proportion of troops for the next campaign, would not be diſcuſſed here, he perſiſted in coming over: the conſequence was, that he accelerated the diſgrace of his friend and companion in arms; and though he attempted to proceed upon buſineſs with the Miniſters, they evaded it.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, January 8th, 1711.

THE meſſenger diſpatched to your Lordſhip, this evening, from the other office, gives me that opportunity which I have waited now ſeveral weeks in expectation of.

If I could envy any happineſs which you enjoy, it ſhould be that of being at this time ſo far from home, nearer the ſun, and at a diſtance from faction.

The ferment runs higher than ever I remember it to have done. Our ſtock of ill-humour has been ſufficient to enable us to ſpare ſome for our allies, and they have in this, though in no other inſtance, kept touch with us, and made us returns of the ſame kind.

I will give your Lordſhip a full ſtate of our caſe. I write only to yourſelf, not as a miniſter, but as a friend.

Some months ago, the French found means of applying to the Queen, and of deſiring her aſſiſtance to ſet on foot a negociation of peace. The firſt anſwer to this overture was, that they would do well to endeavour to renew the treaty, where it broke of. Your Lordſhip knows enough of the danger which the ſervants of the Crown expoſe themſelves to, in this country, when they undertake almoſt any thing out of the common road, and will not, therefore, be ſurprized if the firſt thought, which aroſe in their minds, was that of their private ſafety.

The enemy abſolutely refuſed to begin to treat with the Dutch, and renewed their addreſſes to the Queen, who received from them ſome general propoſitions, which were immediately ſent into Holland.

After this, Prior went into France, and Meſnager came over hither.

The

The whole intent of this negociation, was to try how far we could bring the enemy to offer and engage, without expecting any thing reciprocal from us. For, my Lord, after all the clamour which has been raiſed, the Queen is under no tie nor obligation to France, whatever France may be to her.

At laſt the general articles which you have ſeen, were received, to ſerve as inducements to the confederates to open the congreſs, and as propoſitions which contained in them all that ever was, or that ever could be demanded.

The Queen exacted from France an engagement on ſeveral heads, relating to the intereſt of Britain, which is only to take effect in caſe a peace ſucceeds; and ſhe declared, both to her friends and to her enemy, that this peace ſhould never ſucceed, unleſs her allies had all reaſonable ſatisfaction in their ſeveral pretenſions.

On this foot, what injuſtice was done? What ill conſequence could follow?

If thoſe who are to get all by the war, and who have hitherto done nothing, had been ſo alarmed at the proſpect of a peace, as really, and in fact, to have altered their meaſures, and have prepared for greater efforts; we might, in this caſe, have broke off the treaty, and have purſued the great ſyſtem of gaining, by force of arms, Spain and the Weſt Indies.

If we found ſuch an alteration not to be hoped for, if we found that our allies perſiſted to make us the bubbles of the war, we might however, have been ſecure of not being the dupes of the peace; the Queen might have acted the part of mediatrice, have ſatisfied all the confederates but one, and have procured the greateſt advantages to Britain.

Theſe, my Lord, I take to be the principles on which the Queen built; but the faction, whoſe violence you know, as well as the moderation of our Court, began to roar againſt any treaty without ſpecific

preliminaries, to ſuppoſe Spain and the Indies yielded to the Duke of Anjou; to excite the Emperor, the Dutch, and others, to join with them, and to promiſe by this union to defeat the Queen's meaſures.

Thus was our weakneſs expoſed to the enemy, thus were our friends encouraged to hope that they ſhould be able to conſtrain us to continue the war upon the old foot, thus were the Dutch (who, by the way, if this negociation was broke, would give up Spain for a town more in their barrier, to-morrow) brought to inſiſt that they ſhall have their ſeparate advantages, but that this poor iſland ſhall reap none unleſs in common with them. What will be the iſſue of the treaty, God knows! but I ſee too plainly, that we are to expect no means of rendering the war practicable. The Miniſters of Holland declare themſelves incapable of doing more, and inſtead of excuſing their deficiencies, value themſelves upon their efforts. Prince Eugene is juſt arrived here, but we know already, by the propoſals which he made in Holland, the ſum of what he has to offer, and it amounts not to an augmentation of 10,000 men. In ſhort, if the Queen attempts to go on upon the preſent ſcheme of expence, we are bankrupts; and if ſhe retrenches here, I am ſure the war muſt languiſh, and a beaten enemy triumph.

I make no ſcruple of giving this account to your Lordſhip thus plainly, becauſe I know you not to be diſcouraged by difficulties. We muſt all join and endeavour to ſave our country from ruin. No Prince can be of greater uſe in this conjuncture than the Duke of Savoy, with whom your Lordſhip is to continue ſome time; and I hope that he will be ſatisfied with what has been ſaid to his Miniſters, both here and in Holland. The Queen will inſiſt, to the laſt extremity, upon that barrier againſt France, which he has himſelf chalked out. His aggrandizement on the ſide of Italy, is a much more difficult point to

treat, ſince that cannot be obtained but at the expence of the Houſe of Auſtria, with whom we have meaſures to keep.

The marriage of the Duke of Piedmont, to the eldeſt Archdutcheſs, muſt lead the way to all other meaſures on this head; the ſatisfaction for debts owing to his Royal Highneſs, will afford another reaſon; and ſeveral handles will, by one event or other, be given in the courſe of the negociation, which the Queen's Miniſters will be ſure to take hold of, in concert with thoſe of his Royal Highneſs. In ſhort, the Queen cannot reduce her own intereſts to an abſolute certainty, before the opening of the conferences, but ſhe will be as vigilant, as firm, for the Duke of Savoy, as for herſelf.

My letter is grown to an exorbitant length, it is time that I ſhould releaſe your Lordſhip, and conclude, with the moſt ſincere aſſurances of being, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

P.S. I had forgot to ſay, that your Lordſhip will receive a letter of mine, writ at the time when the Queen thought your Lordſhip coming this way; in which caſe, you was to have come over to take your ſhare in our domeſtic ſtrife*. The uncertain going and coming of letters, has occaſioned this variety of orders. You will now be ſettled for ſome time, and I hope your health will be entirely reſtored.

* This was moſt likely at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, when the oppoſition carried every thing in their favour in the Houſe of Lords.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Jan. 8th, 1711.

NATURALLY the game we are now playing ſhould be eaſy; when both ſides are in want of peace, both ſides ſhould be reaſonable; but it is rendered difficult by the unnatural proceedings of this faction, which encourages our allies to impoſe upon us, and which heartens our enemy, by ſhowing the weakneſs of a divided people.

Prince Eugene is here, and had on Sunday his firſt audience of the Queen. His compliment I could not hear, though I was in the cloſet, but the Queen's anſwer was in the words incloſed*. No doubt the diſcarding the Duke of Marlborough broke the meaſures which he came to act upon; and if the Queen will be ſo juſt to herſelf, and to thoſe ſervants who have ventured all for her, as to go on, there will ſoon be a full period put to theſe ſeditious ſtruggles at home, and to thoſe ungrateful returns which ſhe meets with from abroad†.

I hope

* Said to be, that the Queen was ſorry the ſtate of her health would not permit her to ſpeak with his Highneſs as often as otherwiſe ſhe would be glad to do; but that ſhe had ordered theſe two gentlemen then preſent (Oxford and St. John) to receive his propoſals and confer with him.

† The ſubſtance of two different accounts, ſent by prince Eugene to the Court of Vienna, and to Count Zinzindorf, at the Hague, January 29th and February 1ſt, N.S. 1711-12. (Delivered by my Lord Preſident, and read at the Committee of Council, March 20th, 1711-12.)

"He acquainted the Court at Vienna, that he thought the preſent Miniſtry deſigned to ridicule him and his maſter, as their procraſtinations do then, which made him liſten to the propoſals that his brother-general and Godolphin made to him, in the name of the party; namely, that they would firmly adhere to his Imperial Majeſty, in caſe they could be at the helm once more; but that this cannot be effected without the removal of the Triumvirate. To which Baron Bothmar ſaid, that the compaſſing thereof, without offending the populace, would be *hic labor, hoc opus*: whereunto Marlborough and Godolphin replied, that rather than it ſhould fail, they ſhould be De-Wited, but that Bothmar's anſwering this would be the only way to provoke the populace, Prince Eugene thereupon ſaid, that there might be a medium found, whereby to avoid that danger, which would be to do it *à la négligence*, and in a frolicſome manner. Wherewith the junto being made acquainted, it was by them reſolved, that Prince Eugene ſhould print a memorial to the purpoſe following: viz. that the Queen ſhould be put in mind how ſhe had promiſed, at her acceſſion to the throne, that ſhe would continue the alliance made by King William, and never make a peace with-

I hope to be able by Friday, to ſend you ſome news of other changes.—As to your own intereſt, which upon my word, I will at all times to the utmoſt of my power promote, your Excellency may depend on the Queen's providing for you here ſuitably to your rank, and to thoſe great ſervices you have done her. Whether ſhe intends any

out the reſtitution of the monarchy of Spain and the Weſt Indies to the Houſe of Auſtria; and that it was at her preſſing inſtances, that the late Emperor Leopold made his ſon, the Archduke (who is now the preſent emperor) King of Spain; and that upon the reiterated promiſes and aſſurances which the Queen made him, the Houſe of Auſtria had been induced to contribute more than it was well able, towards the carrying on the war, and that he had drained his hereditary countries, in order to the ſeconding her Majeſty in ſupporting the common cauſe; and how, upon finding her Majeſty hitherto ſincere, he looked on her intereſt and his own to be inſeparable, and that the ſame reaſons which prevailed with her Majeſty to enter into the war, held good ſtill, to induce her to continue it, until the end ſhould be obtained for which it was commenced; and that her Majeſty's intereſt being entirely cemented with that of her allies, he doth hope, that the giving his advice at this critical juncture, will not be taken as if he cenſured her actions; and that ſhe will remember both the advice of the late Emperor, Leopold, to King James, which he rejected, but afterwards repented when it was too late; as likewiſe the advice of the late Emperor Joſeph to herſelf, on his conceiving that her changing the late Miniſtry (they being all of them men of public ſpirit) might prejudice the common cauſe. To all which the ſaid Prince Eugene replied, that though what had been offered was popular enough, yet he would concert nothing without the approbation of his maſter, and the advice of Count Zinzindorf and of Penſionary Heinſius, to whom he then thought it proper to communicate it; which, accordingly, he did, and received the following anſwer thereunto, from the aforeſaid Count, viz. that he had acquainted Penſionary Heinſius therewith, who was of opinion, that though it was very plauſible, yet that his doing it would rather influence the Queen's Miniſters to puſh on the peace; and that, therefore, it would be more proper either to get it inſerted in Baron Bothmar's memorial (the better to pleaſe the people) or to reſerve it till a more ſeaſonable time.

"Prince Eugene did, withal, acquaint Count Zinzindorf, how that finding the Engliſh to be full of projects, he had therefore made bold to propoſe one to the junto, which was that they ſhould imitate Maître Lewis, in what he did by his emiſſaries at Prague, in the year 1689, which Baron Bothmar having approved, he imparted it to the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, who likewiſe approved very well of it, and did withal ſay, that the deſtruction of a few worthleſs fellows, now at the helm, ought not to ſtand in competition with the common cauſe, and that we muſt not loſe the advantages of ſo many ſignal victories, and the benefit of ten years ſucceſsful war. Yea, Bothmar ſaid, ſmiling, that it were better that all at the helm were blown up in the air, than that that ſhould ſuffer; adding, that in caſe this project ſhould take, though it might not prolong the war, yet it might be a mean of procuring a better peace for the allies; however, Count Zinzindorf wrote to Prince Eugene, that, in his opinion, it would not be proper for him to ſtay here to ſee the execution of it.

"Since the two former letters were written, whereof I have been giving a brief account, the ſaid Prince Eugene did, this very March (before his departure hence) ſend two expreſſes more to the forementioned Count Zinzindorf, in one whereof he took the liberty to tell him, that neither would the Queen, nor durſt her Miniſters, come into a ſeparate peace; and that it was, therefore, the buſineſs of thoſe who were her foreign allies, to make and propoſe ſuch demands to the King of France, as he could neither, with his own honour, nor in juſtice to his people, comply with.

"In the other, he deſired the aforeſaid Count, to entreat of the preſent Emperor that he would offer ſecurity out of his hereditary eſtates for the loan of money; and how thereupon endeavours would be uſed here with the Bank of Engiand, for his being furniſhed with ſuch ſums as ſhould be needful in order to the further carrying on of the war (1)".

(1) Theſe accounts are copied literally from the originals, in poſſeſſion of the Editor.

thing of this kind now, or at your return to Britain, I cannot tell, but I will try to know.

My Lord Rivers, having been forced in the beginning of the war out of the ſervice, the Queen has long determined to give him a regiment, which, by making the Duke of Northumberland ſucceed the Duke of Ormond, ſhe had an opportunity of doing.—I am unable to ſay any more to you at this time, than that

I am, with the utmoſt, &c.

A Son Alteſſe Royale le Duc de Savoye.

MONSEIGNEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 8me Jan. 1712.

J'AI reçu la lettre qu'il a plu à votre Alteſſe Royale de m'écrire du 18me du mois d'Octobre, avec tout le reſpect & toute la reconnoiſſance qui eſt due à un grand Prince, qui daigne accepter des ſervices d'auſſi peu d'importance que les miens.

Le Comte Maffei n'aura pas manqué de communiquer à votre Alteſſe Royale les inſtructions que ſa Majeſté à donné à ſes Plénipotentiaires, & j'oſe l'aſſurer que les intérêts de la Bretagne même ne peuvent pas être ſoutenus par la Reine, avec plus de fermeté que le ſeront ceux de votre Alteſſe Royale tant à Utrecht, que par tout ailleurs. Je prie Dieu qu'il donne à votre Alteſſe Royale une longue ſuite d'heureuſes années.

Je ſuis, & je ſerai toute ma vie, avec un profond reſpect de votre Alteſſe Royale,

Le très humble, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, Jan. 12th, 1712.

YOUR private letters are as agreeable to me, as ſo many material circumſtances in the tranſaction of buſineſs muſt render them to a man who needs and who deſires the ampleſt informations, or as ſo many marks of your confidence and friendſhip, muſt render them to a man who honours you without a compliment, and who loves you without affectation.

I make no queſtion of the confidence in which your Excellency and the Privy Seal will live together, nor of that zeal which you will jointly exert in ſo good a cauſe.

I believe you will now hear the Queen goes on to take ſuch vigorous meaſures, as can alone ſupport her government, protect her ſervants, and ſave her kingdoms.

I am here interrupted, and muſt defer till Tueſday ſaying ſomething to you, which has lately occurred to my thoughts, in reflecting upon our preſent ſituation.

I am, &c.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

Monsieur,

A Verſailles, le 5me Jan. 1712.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 15me du mois dernier, V.S. avec les paſſeports d'Hollande que vous m'avez adreſſés, pour Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires du Roi. Comme l'intention de ſa Majeſté eſt d'avancer autant qu'il dépend d'elle l'ouverture des conférences, & la concluſion de la paix, qui doit en être le fruit,

fruit, elle n'a pas héſité à ſe contenter de ces paſſeports, quoique dans une forme plus reſtreinte que ceux que je vous ai envoyé par ſes ordres.

J'eſpère, Monſieur, qu'on ne ſuſcitera nul accident capable de retarder l'arrivée de Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht; & comme vous avez envoyé des ordres particuliers à Monſieur le Comte de Strafford ſur ce ſujet, Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires du Roi s'addreſſeront à lui, s'il eſt néceſſaire qu'il agiſſe pour lever les difficultés qu'on pourroit former.

On apprend par les lettres d'Hollande, que chaque province doit nommer ſon Plénipotentiaire à la paix, que la ſeule province d'Hollande a nommé Meſſieurs Buys & Vanderduſſen * pour aſſiſter aux conférences en qualité de Commiſſaires, & non de Plénipotentiaires. Comme la première démarche à faire, en ouvrant une pareille aſſemblée eſt de faire voir, & de ſe communiquer les pouvoirs des miniſtres qui la compoſent, il ſeroit impoſſible de traiter avec ceux qui n'auroient aucun pouvoir de traiter de la part de leurs maîtres. Je ſuis perſuadé, Monſieur, que la Province d'Hollande ne voudra pas s'expoſer a cet inconvénient; je crois cependant que vous aurez jugé néceſſaire d'en avertir Monſieur le Comte de Strafford, afin de prévenir une nouvelle difficulté dans un tems où l'on ne devroit ſonger de tous côtés qu'à faire ceſſer celles qui s'oppoſent au rétabliſſement du repos public.

Je ſuis, très parfaitement,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

* Penſionary of Gonda, or Tergow; it will be recollected, that theſe two had the chief management of the conferences at Gertruydenburg, in 1709.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Verſailles, le 5me Jan. 1712.

JE vois, Monſieur, avec beaucoup de plaiſir, par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire de votre main, que vous êtes perſuadé que la fermeté de la Reine aplanira toutes les difficultés qu'une cabale ennemie ſuſcite chez vous, à la concluſion de la paix. Je vous avoue que ſes mouvemens, le ſuccès qu'ils paroiſſent avoir quelquefois, & les méſures priſes dans les pays étrangers, alarment ceux qui ne peuvent connoître parfaitement l'intérieur de l'Angleterre, & qui jugent de la nation ſur de fauſſes apparances*.

Vous me raſſurez entièrement, Monſieur, ſur les bruits qui ſe répandent; car je crois que vous trouverez bon que je m'intéreſſe ſenſiblement à tout ce qui vous regarde, vous & vos amis, & que, ſur ce fondement, je ſois inquiet pendant que vos ennemis ſeront en place. Comme vous ſavez mieux que perſonne juſqu'à quand il convient de laiſſer entre leurs mains le pouvoir de mal faire, & de ſe venger, je me renfermerai, ſans vous donner aucun conſeil, à vous aſſurer que les Plénipotentiaires du Roi partent bien inſtruits des intentions de ſa Majeſté, & qu'ils ſont autoriſés de manière à terminer bientôt la négociation.

J'eſpère donc qu'elle aura un prompt & heureux ſuccès, & que Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne travailleront de leur part à écarter toutes les difficultés qui pourroient arrêter la concluſion de ce grand ouvrage.

Je ſuis, très parfaitement,
Monſieur, votre, &c.
DE TORCY.

* This is a private letter. Torcy had a party againſt him, and was as anxious for a peace as Oxford or St. John.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 12me Janv. V.S. 1711.

JE réponds à l'honneur de votre lettre du 5me de ce mois.

Les ordres de la Reine, que j'ai envoyés à Monſieur le Comte de Strafford, ont eu leur effet, & vous aurez vu que ce miniſtre a pris toutes les méſures néceſſaires pour prévenir aucun incident capable de retarder l'arrivée de Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaries à Utrecht.

Si les miniſtres Hollandois devoient aſſiſter aux conférences en qualité ſeulement de Commiſſaires, & non de Plénipotentiaires, comme le bruit a couru, & comme vous l'avez cru, il n'y auroit peut-être nulle réplique à l'objection que vous faites; mais je vois, Monſieur, par toutes mes lettres, auſſi-bien que par celle que les Etats-Généraux ont écrit à la Reine, le 29me du mois paſſé, que le Sieur Buys & ſes collégues ſont nommés Plénipotentiaires au congrès qui ſe doit tenir à Utrecht.

Je ſuis, très parfaitement,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Monſieur de Torcy.*

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 12me Janvier, V.S. 1711.

JE ſuis très ſenſible, de toutes vos honnêtetés, & de la part que vous prenez dans ce qui nous regarde, par rapport aux intrigues de nos factieux.

* This is a private letter.

Il eſt conſtant que les difficultés qu'on nous oppoſe ſont grandes; mais la réſolution de la Reine, ſecondée par les facilités que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne peut fournir, en viendra, je ne doute pas, à la fin à bout.

Nos lettres d'Utrecht du 19me de ce mois, N.S. marquent l'arrivée de Meſſieurs vos Plénipotentiaires: j'eſpère qu'ils ne partiront de cette ville qu'après avoir ſigné la paix.

Le Prince Eugene de Savoye a été depuis quelque jours ici; ſon ſéjour ne ſera pas long, & ſes repréſentations n'auront pas l'effet qu'on s'eſt promis à la cour de l'Empereur.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To Mr. Watkins.

SIR,

Whitehall, January 18th, 1711-12.

I AVOIDED writing to you till this night, becauſe I was unwilling to truſt my letter to any other conveyance than that of a meſſenger, having not only ſomething to ſay relating to yourſelf, but likewiſe ſomething which relates to the ſervice, to communicate to you.

Almoſt as ſoon as this comes to your hands, Monſieur d'Elorme will arrive at Utrecht. He is Reſident to King Auguſtus, at our Court, and is ordered to the Congreſs, to what purpoſe, or under what character, I do not know. He is a vain and a lying Gaſcon, but wants no ſagacity. I have made uſe of him, whilſt he has been here, to diſcover ſeveral things of moment, and though he mingles a great deal of his own invention among the accounts which he gives, yet, upon the whole, he is a ſpy of the firſt claſs. I preſented him this morning with

with 300l. by the Queen's command, and he has promiſed me, during his continuance at Utrecht, to penetrate as far as he is able into the intrigues of the Germans, and others with whom he can have any opportunity of correſpondence, and to inform you of what ſhall come to his knowledge. Nobody can have any ſuſpicion of his being employed by me, and you will eaſily manage your ways of meeting him ſo as to occaſion no umbrage among the Miniſters where you are.

I have reaſon to think that King Auguſtus, among that variety of meaſures which his own genius, as well as the Count Flemming's*, put him upon, has lately purſued that of linking himſelf cloſely with the Imperial Court. An Archduchеſs may, probably, be the lure, though ſhe be to be purchaſed at the expence of his ſon's religion†. Suppoſing this to be the caſe, the Saxon Miniſters will, at leaſt, *à la ſourdine*, cooperate with thoſe of Vienna. D'Elorme may be of conſiderable ſervice if this ſhould happen.

I have promiſed to truſt no one beſides yourſelf, with the ſecret; and he has promiſed me to converſe openly with you, and to write to me under your cover; the name I ſhall direct to him by, is that of the Sieur Daniel.

I have another man, of a lower form, but whom I know to be ſubtle and bold. He ſhall be ſoon at Utrecht, and ſhall bring you a letter from me. This fellow is a veteran, and as high as his converſation can reach, will be extremely uſeful.

And now, good Judge, let me aſk you, whether you believe that my ſituation in the world is perfectly as I could wiſh it; whether you imagine that I meet with no ſhock from my ſuperiors, no perverſeneſs from my equals, no impertinence from my inferiors? If you fancy me, or any one elſe, in ſuch a ſtate of bliſs, you are wide from the mark.

* The King of Poland's Miniſter at Berlin.
† Auguſtus himſelf, upon aſſuming the ſovereignty of Poland, embraced the religion of Rome.

I desire you to do for a while, no more than what I have done, ever since I trod the stage of public business; bear with the hardness of the temper you complain of, and the prejudice will soon decay, or if it does not, the true reason of your leaving the post which you are in, will be manifest to the world, and no false, no malicious turn can be then given to your removal.

I use this liberty, because I persuade myself you are convinced of the true value which I have for your merit, and that you will believe I judge in your case as I should do in my own.

We have struggled this winter through inconceivable difficulties, in opposition to a powerful faction at home, to all our allies, and even the successor himself abroad; and, I may say, we have combated an habit of thinking falsely, which men have been used to for twenty years.

If we finish our work, as I do not fear but we shall, the success must be ascribed to the unshaken firmness of the Queen's servants, and to the loyalty of the church interest, which even ill usage could not alienate.

I beg the continuance of your countenance to my brother; pray give my service, and let him know that I shall soon supply him with some money, which, I hope, he will spend like a man of sense.

The measures which the House of Commons seems determined to take, of putting the war upon such a foot as is reasonable and supportable, will, I believe, facilitate your negociations, at least the allies will become more pliable.

Adieu, Sir, I am, &c.

Do you know that our John Drummond* is to succeed Sweet†?

* To whom many letters in this collection are addressed.

† Sweet was Pay-master or Commissary of the forces in Flanders, and was involved in Marlborough's dismissal and disgrace.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, January 18th, 1711.

MY public letter contains nothing, but I have ſome materials for a private diſpatch, which it may be proper to inform you of; and, by you, my Lord Privy Seal. I expected that eaſineſs which the French Miniſters have ſhown, and am perſuaded that ſmall matters will not retard the concluſion of the great work.

When I came this morning into the Houſe of Commons, they were conſidering the addreſs drawn in anſwer to the Queen's meſſage, and ſome of the Whigs had propoſed to add to thoſe words, where notice is taken of the ſatisfaction to be procured the allies according to their ſeveral treaties, theſe that follow:—*Particularly with relation to Spain and the Weſt Indies.* The addition was oppoſed by ſome of our friends, and would have been rejected by a great majority, but being the very words uſed by the Queen in her meſſage, contrived with caution, and expreſſing no more than the grand alliance expreſſes, which is a foundation we affect to ſtand upon, I thought it better to let it paſs.

I have two reaſons for mentioning this to your Excellency: firſt, to ſhow what a temper the Houſe of Commons is in, and how little the warrior-party know of this nation; ſecondly, to prepare you to anſwer any falſe colour which may be given from hence, as if the Whigs had inſerted theſe words by their ſtrength, or as if theſe words imported the ſame as thoſe which we rejected in the beginning of the ſeſſion.

Maffei cannot yet proceed, the wind continuing eaſterly. When he does come, I am humbly of opinion, that yourſelf and Lord Privy Seal ſhould take with him, and with the other Miniſters of Savoy,

an air of great confidence: France will give the barrier, and the other point, your Lordſhip will, as well as the circumſtances of affairs and the Queen's ſituation will allow, which is all that can be expected; on the other hand, they will be good inſtruments in your hands, upon many occaſions.

The Ducheſs of Somerſet, I look upon to be actually diſmiſſed, although the Queen has not yet declared it; we ſhall, I believe, at laſt, come to a ſettlement. You will agree, I am ſure, it is high time that we ſhould.

The Prince Eugene has put into my hands the heads of what he pretends he is ſent hither to negociate. I have drawn a large anſwer to every one, which will be approved, I believe, on Sunday; and, by conſequence, ſent to you, as well as communicated to him, by Tueſday*. He will find that he had better have taken your word, and that you

* "En réponſe au Mémoire du Prince Eugene de Savoye, du 7me Février, V.S. (18me, N.S.) j'ai eu l'honneur de faire ſavoir au dit Prince, par ordre exprès de la Reine, entre autres choſes, que ſa Majeſté ne pouvoit pas répondre de l'effort qu'elle ſeroit en état de faire cette année en Eſpagne, juſqu'à ce qu'elle vît quels ſubſides lui ſeroient accordés par ſon parlement pour cet effet. Et qu'elle donneroit communication à la Chambre Baſſe de la propoſition qui lui a été faite de la part de l'Empereur, par laquelle ſa Majeſté Impériale entreprend de fournir trente mille hommes, des quarante qui ſont jugés néceſſaires pour former l'armée de Catalogne, & de payer un million des quatre millions d'écus, qui ſuffiront, ſelon le compte que ſa Majeſté Impériale a fait faire, pour tous les frais de cette guerre.

"En conformité à cette réponſe on a déjà donné part à la Chambre de l'offre ſuſdit; & l'on doit eſpérer que l'effet de cette communication s'enſuivra en peu de jours. Sa Majeſté ſe croit pourtant obligée de remarquer, que juſques-ici elle ne voit pas que les Etats-Généraux entrent dans aucun concert pour leur quote part de cette dépenſe, ou prennent aucunes méſures pour faire un plus grand effort qu'ils n'ont fait juſques-ici en Catalogne, quoique la Reine ait déclaré depuis pluſieurs mois, qu'elle prétendoit que le plan de cette guerre ſe feroit de concert avec ſes alliés, & que les Etats-Généraux entroient pour leur quote part dans toutes les dépenſes néceſſaires. La Reine avoit cru que les repréſentations de ſa Majeſté Impériale auroient été d'un aſſez grand poids auprès des Etats-Généraux principalement dans la conjoncture préſente, pour les porter à prendre la réſolution de faire une choſe ſi juſte & ſi eſſentielle à la continuation de la guerre. La Reine eſpère qu'on ne s'excuſera plus, en Hollande ni ailleurs, d'entrer dans des dépenſes auxquelles on n'eſt pas engagé par des traités, puiſqu'il eſt notoire à tout le monde que ſa Majeſté n'a été ſous aucune obligation, que celle que lui impoſoient ſa généroſité & ſon zèle pour la cauſe commune, de contribuer le plus grande partie de ſes ſommes immenſes qu'elle a fournies pendant tant d'années au ſoutien de la guerre.

"C'eſt avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction que ſa Majeſté entend l'heureux ſuccès des armes des alliés en Eſpagne communiqué dans le Mémoire du Prince Eugene du 21e Février, V.S. (3me Mars, N.S.); la Reine ne doute point que l'arrivée en Italie des recrues pour l'armée, d'Eſpagne, que la marche du corps de 23,780 hommes, & que la vigueur que ſa Majeſté Impériale fait paroître dans tous ſes préparatifs pour l'ouverture de la campagne, ne faſſent ſonger ſérieuſement aux ennemis qu'il eſt tems

you know more of Britain and of your Miſtreſs than thoſe who adviſed him.

The Houſe of Commons will, next week, have laid before them a deduction of the ſtate of the war, from the beginning of it to the preſent year. Upon this we intend to go into a committee of the whole Houſe, upon the ſtate of the nation. I leave your Lordſhip to judge what reſolutions may be expected from thoſe debates, where the Court will be at the head of the country intereſt, and where ſuch ſcandalous impoſitions upon the nation will be brought to light.

It is not hard to ſee that ſuch a meaſure will give ſpirit to the enemy, and put our allies, in the demands which they have to make, under ſome diſadvantage. But whoſe door is the blame to be laid at? if, in defiance to the Queen, they have joined with a faction; if they have refuſed even to treat of peace; and if they have endeavoured to force us to continue, like a ſubject province, a ſcheme of war, deſtructive and ruinous to the kingdom, let them anſwer to the conſequence of what neceſſity, not choice, obliges us to.

The Duke of Marlborough's friends may be as induſtrious as they pleaſe on your ſide of the water, and on ours too, but he has ſunk himſelf beyond redemption; and although our people have too much ſenſe to give into a parliamentary proſecution of him, yet he will be rendered accountable for great ſums, and be left to the Queen's mercy.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

tems de faire la paix & ne contribuent par conſéquent à procurer une heureuſe fin à la préſente négociation.

" Sur l'état des affaires en Eſpagne, & particulièrement ſur le ſujet de l'ordre que le Duc d'Argyle, ſelon les avis mentionnés par le Prince Eugene dans ſon Mémoire du 23me Fevrier, V.S. (5me Mars, N.S.) a donné au paveur de la Reine, il eſt impoſſible de répondre avec fondement juſques à l'arrivée du dit Duc d'Argyle, qui vient rendre compte à la Reine de l'état de tout ce qui regarde la guerre d'Eſpagne, & qui eſt attendu au premier moment.

" Fait à Whitehall, ce 29me Fev. 1711-12. " H. St. JEAN."

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, January 27th, 1711.

THE meſſenger is juſt going, and I intend, by Barlow, to write very fully to Lord Privy Seal and yourſelf, on ſome matters which are not very proper for the public diſpatch; but, however, will now mention to your Lordſhip, that I find by a letter which Monſieur de Torcy has writ to me, as well as by one which he writ to my Lord Treaſurer, that the backwardneſs of the allies, and the appearances of ſome things here, give the Court of France apprehenſions leſt the negociations ſhould break, which they think it is not their intereſt that it ſhould; and I am ſure it is not ours. They deſire that your Lordſhip and your colleague may have directions underhand, to concert freely with their Miniſters.

On this occaſion, I ſhould advertiſe you, if I have not already done it, that d'Huxelles and Meſnager had much rather that this negociation ſhould have been in the hands of the States, than of the Queen; but Polignac, who is entirely in Monſieur de Torcy's intereſt and confidence, is of another kidney.

What paſſed on Thurſday, in the Houſe of Commons, will, I hope, ſhow people abroad, as well as at home, that no merit, no grandeur, no riches, can excuſe or ſave any one, who ſets himſelf up in oppoſition to the Queen. The whole debate was ſo managed, as to ſhow evidently to what the Duke was to aſcribe his fall.

The ſtate of the war will be conſidered next week, in the Houſe of Commons.

I am ſorry the Dutch are not likely to find, until they have ſuf-

fered

fered by the contrary opinion, that the queen has more intereſt in Britain than the junto.

Adieu, my dear Lord, &c.

I deſire to aſſure my Lord Privy Seal, of my moſt humble ſervice, and will not fail to write by Barlow to him.

De Monſieur le Baron de Bothmar *.

MONSIEUR,

JE viens d'apprendre que le traité conclu entre la Reine & les Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies, pour la barrière de ceux-ci aux Pays-Bas Eſpagnols a été mis aujourd'hui devant la Chambre des Communes.

L'Electeur

* La réponſe donnée de la part de ſon Alteſſe Electorale de Brunſwic-Lunebourg, à Monſieur le Comte de Rivers, à Göhrde, 7me Novembre, 1711.

" Son Alteſſe Electorale reçoit avec une extrême reconnoiſſance, la confidance que ſa Majeſté a la bonté de lui faire, de ce qui s'eſt paſſé par rapport à la grande affaire de la paix générale.

" Elle n'eſt pas moins ſenſible à la communication qu'elle a bien voulu lui faire, des inſtructions du Comte de Strafford, leſquelles ſeront menagées comme on le deſire.

" Son Alteſſe Electorale a encore une nouvelle obligation à ſa Majeſté, de ce qu'elle a bien voulu lui faire ces communications par une perſonne de la qualité & du mérite du Comte de Rivers, qui a toujours été ami particulier de ſa maiſon. C'eſt avec une extrême ſatisfaction que ſon Alteſſe Electorale, remarque dans les inſtructions du Comte de Strafford, que l'intention de ſa Majeſté eſt, de ne rien faire par rapport à la paix générale, que conjointement & de concert avec les Etats-Généraux ; ſa Majeſté inſiſtant dans les dites inſtructions *ſur l'abſolue néceſſité qu'il y a d'entretenir une bonne harmonie entre les deux nations, d'où dépend en grande partie, leur mutuelle ſureté & la balance de l'Europe.*

" La préſente guerre a fait voir ce que peuvent les deux nations, quand elles ſont bien unies ; mais les efforts de la nation Britannique dans cette guerre ont été ſi grands, & ſon rôle a été ſi beau & ſi noble, en un mot ſi digne de la nation & de la grande Reine (1) qui la gouverne, qu'il n'y a aucun ſujet de douter, qu'au traité futur de la paix, tous les Alliés ne concourent unanimement à obtenir pour la Grande Bretagne les conditions & les avantages qu'elle pourra prétendre de la France ; & il paroît que ce moyen eſt plus ſolide & plus ſûr pour parvenir à ce but, que ſi on y travailloit par une négociation ſéparée qui pourroit laiſſer aux autres alliés quelque ſujet de défiance.

" Il eſt certain que l'intérêt commun des alliés demande, qu'ils ſoyent auſſi unis au traité futur de la paix, qu'ils l'ont été pendant la guerre, puiſque c'eſt l'unique moyen de ſe garantir des intrigues, dont la France a accoutumé de ſe ſervir ſi utilement dans ces ſortes d'aſſemblées, pour

(1) This word not in the copy given in by Monſieur Bothmar. BOLINGBROKE.

L'Electeur mon maître conſidérant que celui qui prétend lui diſputer le droit qui lui a été donné, & à ſa ſéreniſſime famille, en la perſonne de Madame l'Electrice ſa mère, de ſuccéder à la couronne de la Grande Bretagne au défaut des enfans de la Reine, jouit d'un appui étranger auſſi puiſſant que celui du Roi de France, ne ſauroit regarder qu'avec une extrême reconnoiſſance, une marque auſſi réelle que celui que ſa Majeſté a bien voulu donner de l'honneur de ſon amitié pour lui & pour ſa ſéreniſſime famille, par le ſoin qu'elle a priſe de ſtipuler, par le ſuſdit traité, la garantie des Etats-Généraux de la ſucceſſion Proteſtante,

mettre la diviſion parmi les alliés, & que toute la ſureté de ceux-ci pour l'avenir dépend de la garantie mutuelle qu'ils ſe donneront de ce qui aura été réglé par le dit traité.

" Pour ce qui eſt du lieu d'aſſemblée, on a ſujet d'être ſurpris que dans l'état triomphant où ſont les affaires des alliés, le Roi de France prétend le leur préſcrire, & qu'il commence à cet égard à parler en maître; ſon Alteſſe Electorale ne doute point, que la Reine ne déſapprouve ce procédé hautain, & qu'elle ne reconnoiſſe qu'il eſt juſte de convenir avec les alliés du lieu où la paix ſe devra traiter.

" A l'égard des avis qu'on a eu, que la cour Impériale voudroit commencer avec la France une négociation ſecrète, au préjudice des intérêts de la Grande Bretagne, ſon Alteſſe Electorale prend la liberté d'aſſurer la Reine que cette cour-là n'a pas une telle penſée, les circonſtances où elle ſe trouve, & les reſtitutions qu'elle prétend de la France étant telles, qu'il n'eſt pas poſſible que la dite cour ſe ſépare du reſte des alliés, & moins encore de la Reine que d'aucun autre, on peut s'attendre, au contraire, que le nouvel Empereur fera contre l'ennemi commun de beaucoup plus grands efforts qu'on n'a fait ci-devant. My Lord Rivers eſt prié de remercier très humblement ſa Majeſté, du ſoin qu'elle a eu la bonté de prendre des intérêts de la Maiſon Electorale dans le premier article des préliminaires propoſés par la France, & de ce qu'elle veut bien auſſi procurer à ſon Alteſſe Electorale de la part de cette Couronne la récognition de ſon Electorat (2), ſur quoi ſon Alteſſe Electorale ſouhaite que les miniſtres de ſa Majeſté (lorſqu'il ſera queſtion de régler ce dernier article) prennent ſoin d'omettre le mot de *neuvième*, puiſque cela feroit tort à ſon rang, ſon Electorat n'étant plus le neuvième; de ſorte que la Reine eſt priée de faire ſtipuler que la France *reconnoiſſe l'Electorat de ſon Alteſſe Electorale de Bronſvic, avec toutes les dignités, offices, & prérogatives, qui y ſont annexées.*

" A l'égard de ce qui s'eſt paſſé en Ecoſſe, touchant la médaille du Prétendant, ſon Alteſſe Electorale ſe remet à la prudence de la Reine, ſur ce qu'il y aura à faire pour prévenir les ſuites & l'exemple d'une affaire qui a été ſi publique.

" Son Alteſſe Electorale eſt fort obligée à la Reine des démarches qu'elle a bien voulu faire auprès du Roi de Danemarc, pour le détourner du deſſein d'envoyer des troupes dans le pais de Brémen, & elle prie ſa Majeſté de vouloir continuer ſes ſoins à cet égard, lorſque la conjoncture paroîtra le demander; ſon Alteſſe Electorale eſt fort ſenſible à la bonté avec laquelle la Reine a donné les mains au retour de quelques-uns de ſes régiments dans ſes états pendant cet hiver. Elle n'en fera venir que le moins qu'il ſera poſſible, pour ne pas abuſer à cet égard des bontés de ſa Majeſté: et elle les renverra au plutôt, comprenant bien l'importance dont il eſt, que l'armée ſoit prête de bonne heure à entrer en campagne. Son Alteſſe Electorale ordonne au Baron de Bothmar de retourner en diligence à la cour de la Reine: elle eſpère que ſa Majeſté, & ſes miniſtres voudront bien l'écouter favorablement, ſon voyage & ſes inſtructions n'ayant pour but, que de faire voir de plus à la Reine, combien elle a de vénération pour ſa perſonne, & de reconnoiſſance pour ſes bontés.

Fait au Göhrde; 7me Novembre, 1711."

(2) The Imperial College acknowledged the Electorate in 1703.

pour

pour l'aſſurer d'autant plus fortement de ce droit, contre ceux qui voudroient s'y oppoſer.

Comme je vous connois, Monſieur, auſſi zélé pour ce droit qu'affectionné à ſon Alteſſe Electorale, je prends la liberté de m'addreſſer à vous, pour vous prier de dériger les choſes d'une manière que la garantie ſtipulée dans ce traité de barrière en faveur de la ſucceſſion Proteſtante ne ſouffre aucune atteinte par ſa dite communication au Parlement*.

J'aurai l'honneur de vous en parler de bouche, lorſque vos autres occupations vous permettront de m'accorder un moment pour cela.—Je ſuis, avec beaucoup de reſpect,

Monſieur, votre très humble, &c.

Arlington Street,
29me Janvier, 1711-12.

Le B. de BOTHMAR.

A Monſieur le Baron de Bothmar.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 2me Février, 1711-12.

COMME la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 29me du mois paſſé roule ſur un ſujet auſſi important que celui de la ſucceſſion de la Séréniſſime Maiſon d'Hanovre, j'ai cru qu'il étoit de mon devoir d'en donner communication à la Reine, c'eſt ce que je viens de faire, & c'eſt par ſon ordre que je vous envoye la réponſe ſuivante.

La recherche de tout ce qui a été ou peut devenir préjudiciable à l'intérêt de la nation, eſt un privilége de la Chambre des Communes, tellement reconnu que les Souverains mêmes ne prétendent pas empêcher de telles perquiſitions; c'eſt pourquoi, Monſieur, vous me permêtrez de vous dire qu'il eſt néceſſaire que vous ne vous commettiez pas légérement dans une affaire ſi délicate, & principalement lorſque vous

* It is difficult to account for this expreſſion of Bothmar. As Envoy of that Prince who was to ſucceed to the throne of Britain, he muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſtudied the nature of our conſtitution; and we are unwilling to imagine that he meant to inſult the Queen and her Miniſtry.

ne pouvez pas avoir des ordres précis & particuliers de ſon Alteſſe Electorale votre maître.

Vous me faites beaucoup de juſtice en me regardant comme un homme affectionné à ſon Alteſſe Electorale, & zélé pour ſon droit; mais vous me faites trop d'honneur quand vous me croyez capable de diriger les choſes d'une manière ou d'autre dans la Chambre des Communes. Le ſeul moyen dont je pourrois me ſervir pour cet effet, ſeroit de leur communiquer la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire, & c'eſt ce que je ferai ſi vous le ſouhaitez de moi.

Je dois ajouter que les bonnes inclinations de la Reine, de ſon Parlement, & du peuple en général, forment la meilleure garantie pour aſſurer la ſucceſſion Proteſtante, & après toutes les preuves qui ont été données, tant par ſa Majeſté que par les deux Chambres, de leurs intentions ſincères de ſoutenir le droit de la ſéréniſſime famille, il ſemble un peu étrange que l'examen du Traité de Barrière, qui touche de ſi près à une branche des plus conſidérables de notre commerce, puiſſe donner de la jalouſie.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, February 6th, 1711-12.

HAVING no public buſineſs to write to you upon, I take this opportunity of returning you my humble thanks for the private letter which you did me the honour to write me. I have ſpoke to Mr. Breton about the propoſition of taking Mr. Cæſar as his chaplain to Berlin, to which he is enough inclined; but, as he tells me, this gentleman is willing to go only for ſix months in the whole, and expects 150l. for his ſervice.

Mr.

Mr. Harley * is directed by the Queen to ſtop at Utrecht for ſome days. He will by word of mouth explain more fully to your Lordſhip than it is fit, or indeed poſſible, to do by letter, the preſent ſituation of our home affairs, and inform you of her Majeſty's ſentiments concerning the ſteps which my Lord Strafford and your Lordſhip are now to take in order to move thoſe waters, which the influence of the Dutch and German councils endeavour to ſtagnate.

I believe I told your Lordſhip or the Earl of Strafford, once before, that Monſieur de Polignac is really moſt in the ſecret of his Court, though great care is taken to hide any appearance of this diſtinction on the Mareſchal's† account.

We are under great impatience to hear by your next letters, what effect the laſt which you received from this ſide have had.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, February 6th, 1711-12.

I HAVE no matter to trouble you upon by this poſt in an office-letter; the ſeveral points which I thought to have ſpoke to, and concerning which I gave you expectation of her Majeſty's inſtructions, Mr. Harley will much better open and confer with your Lordſhip and my Lord Privy Seal upon, when he paſſes through Utrecht, which the Queen has directed him to do; and he will, with Sir James Wiſhart, ſet out from hence on Friday next.

Your Lordſhip will receive, with theſe letters, ſome of the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons relating to the ſtate of the war, which

* Thomas Harley, firſt Couſin and Secretary to Lord Oxford. † D'Uxelles.

has

has been laid before them in all its parts*. Theſe are the effects of the perverſeneſs of our friends, the Dutch. Would they have been perſuaded that we were determined to have a reaſonable peace, or a practicable war for Britain, had they not ſuffered themſelves to be flattered by the faction, that thoſe who had been dupes, ſhould continue ſuch to the end of the chapter, we might have avoided ſhowing to the enemy our nakedneſs.

To-morrow we go into a Committee of the whole Houſe; on Friday the laſt reſolutions will be reported, and ſome others taken, which are to contain the uſe which the Houſe propoſes to have made of the precedent enquiry; the whole will go by a repreſentation to the Queen.

I thought it might be of uſe, or at leaſt of entertainment to your Lordſhip, and have therefore ſent you a copy of a letter which Bothmar took a fancy to write me the other day, together with one of the anſwer which I gave him. Surely there never was a more unhappy meaſure than that which the Court of Hanover has been induced to take; the beſt friends of that family are ſo far from excuſing this conduct to others, that they are alarmed at it themſelves.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Watkins.

SIR,

Whitehall, February 7th, 1711-12.

THE perſon who gives you this letter goes by the name of Mezière†. He will be ſome time at Utrecht; and whilſt he is there the Count Maffei will own and protect him. He may very probably arrive at the knowledge of facts and circumſtances, which will be of

* This ſtatement ſhows evidently that Britain contributed her due proportion, and that the reſt of the allies had been more or leſs deficient.

† This probably is the veteran mentioned in the laſt letter to Watkins.

uſe to you and to her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries. When he writes to me, I have ordered him to put the letter into your hands.

You will pleaſe not to take any public notice of him, and to uſe him kindly when he waits upon you in private.

I am, &c.

To the Lords Privy Seal and Strafford.

My Lords,

Whitehall, February 16th, 1711.

THOUGH I have a great deal more to ſay, in order to explain clearly to your Lordſhips the preſent ſituation of the Queen's domeſtic affairs, and the meaſures which ſhe propoſes your Lordſhips ſhould purſue towards effecting your great work, under all the difficulties that are thrown in the way, than can be contained in the compaſs of a reaſonable letter; yet I ſhould, by this meſſenger, have entered into all that detail, had not the reſolution been taken of finally inſtructing Mr. Harley on Monday, in the view of diſpatching him on Tueſday.

It were to be wiſhed that this gentleman could have been ſooner ſent both to Utrecht and to Hanover; but the hurry which we have been for ſome time in, is inexpreſſible, and he was too uſeful to be ſpared till the Houſe of Commons was perfectly ſecured to the Queen's intereſt, and to the meaſures of peace. I think I may ſay that they are abſolutely ſo now; and that, provided the French will concert a ſcheme which is reaſonable in itſelf, and what her Majeſty, after a ſucceſsful war, can juſtify with honour the acceptance of, there is no room to doubt but your Lordſhip's ſervices will meet with the applauſe of your country;

country; and any ſanction will be given to all our proceedings which ſhall be thought proper.

The French will ſee that there is a poſſibility of reviving the love of war in our people, by the indignation which has been expreſſed at the plan given in at Utrecht. Their excuſe for making it ſo ſcanty is, that the allies chicane with them, and *agiſſent dans un eſprit de négociation*, to uſe the very words of a letter of the Abbé de Polignac, which I have ſeen; now, if they will try the other method, they certainly may get the better of theſe allies, and by the weight of Britain, conſtrain them to ſubmit to equal terms of peace. Your Lordſhips will have this matter fully opened to you by Mr. Harley; and, in the mean time, the Queen thinks proper that your Lordſhips ſhould let the French Miniſters know, that the whole event turns upon their manner of proceeding; her Majeſty has gone farther than could be expected from her in promoting a peace; if they will now offer fairly, it muſt be made in ſpite of all the artifices employed to elude it. This you will pleaſe privately to throw out to them, and to add, that you expect in a day or two, farther inſtructions upon this head.

I hope my Lord Privy Seal is perfectly recovered, and am,

My Lords, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, February 19, 1711-12.

YOU wonder, with reaſon, at Bothmar's folly; I am ſorry to tell you that his maſter ſeems very much dipped in the ſame ſentiments, and that the Queen, but two days ago, received a letter from him, in anſwer to her circular of invitation, wherein he gives a kind of ſanc-

tion

tion to all the impertinence which his Envoy has committed, and is ready to be guilty of.

The minutes of the Queen's directions, which are given to Mr. Harley*, to help his memory in opening her views to your Lordſhips and

* " *Inſtructions to Mr. Harley.*

" AT THE HAGUE.

" Show the Penſionary, that nothing has happened here which has not been long ago foretold to him, and to the other Miniſters of the States.

" Mention Bothmar, Gallas, and Buys.

" Say to him, that if even now the States-General will enter into a cloſe union with the Queen, explain the treaty of barrier, in ſuch a manner as to ſecure Britain from the ill conſequences apprehended from it, and to go hand in hand with us in the conferences at Utrecht, we may obtain for the whole alliance a ſafe and advantageous peace; but that if this meaſure is not taken by them, the Queen muſt ſave her own country, and join with ſuch of the allies as will join with her.

" With regard to the war, ſay, that the conduct of the allies, and their oppoſition to the Queen, as well by private intrigues carried on among her own ſubjects, as by open remonſtrances, have naturally made the Houſe of Commons take the matter out of the hands of the Miniſters; and therefore, that he (the Penſionary) muſt for the future, reckon upon the Queen's part of the war no otherwiſe than according to what the Houſe of Commons has done, and is likely to do.

" Touch the buſineſs of the barrier very ſlightly, and avoid entering into any detail upon that ſubject, unleſs the Penſionary himſelf ſhould give occaſion for it. In this caſe, ſpeak in the ſame ſtyle and the ſame effect as Secretary St. John has writ to the Earl of Strafford; and as the Houſe of Commons ſhall have voted, if their reſolutions come in time to your hands.

" If in diſcourſing with the Penſionary, you ſhall find the ſame inclinations ſtill in him, as have hitherto diſcovered themſelves in all the Miniſters of the States-General, you ſhall let him underſtand, that in caſe the preſent treaty is broken off, the Queen will think it reaſonable to inſiſt that ſome cautionary places be put into her hands, as pledges that no other negociation ſhall be renewed by the States-General, without her Majeſty's participation.

" AT UTRECHT.

" Confer with the Lord Privy Seal, and the Earl of Strafford; acquaint them how uneaſy the French grow at the dilatory methods of proceeding, and how impoſſible they judge it will be to bring this treaty to a timely and good iſſue, unleſs ſome new meaſure be taken to carry the ſame forward. That Monſieur de Torcy repreſents the only way of effecting this to be, the eſtabliſhment of a private, but entire correſpondence betwixt the Plenipotentiaries of the Queen and of his maſter. That in this caſe the French will open themſelves, and go as far as poſſible in concerting ſuch a plan as may be reaſonable for the ſettlement of Europe.

" Upon this overture, acquaint the Queen's Miniſters, that they are to find ſome way of inſinuating privately to the Abbé de Polignac, that her Majeſty has gone greater lengths, all the circumſtances of her affairs conſidered, than could have been expected from her, in advancing the peace; that the whole event now turns upon the reaſonableneſs of the propoſitions which France has to offer; that they have received orders to ſpeak confidently with him upon that head, to concert with him what ought juſtly to ſatisfy the ſeveral allies, and to do their utmoſt to have it received. Let them inſinuate to this abbot, and to the other French Miniſters, that the parliament and the nation are now brought to a temper of ſincerely deſiring peace; that this good diſpoſition is principally owing to an opinion that the Queen has certain aſſurances that France will give juſt ſatisfaction to all the allies; that if in this opinion our people ſhould be unfortunately diſappointed, there is reaſon to fear that they may return to the ſame eagerneſs for the proſecution of the war as they have formerly ſhowed.

" AT HANOVER.

" After having delivered the Queen's letters, and made the uſual compliments upon that occaſion, take the firſt proper opportunity of ſpeaking to the Elector in private. Begin where the Earl Rivers

and my Lord Privy Seal, will ſhow you that we apprehend very clearly the ſituation which you are in; and I hope that the management which you will have with the French, may produce ſuch a ſcheme as we ſhall be able to make the Queen and Parliament declare for, after which I concern myſelf very little what pli our good friends the Imperialiſts and Hollanders take.

Mr. Harley is ſo fully in the ſecret, that what he ſays will be ten times more diſtinct than any thing I can write, and your Lordſhips will both pleaſe to regard what he ſhall have the honour to ſay to you, as much as if I had that of writing it.

I am apt to believe, that I might on this occaſion have been ſent directly to France, had not the Queen's affairs been thought to want me here; ſuch a commiſſion would be attended with ſome riſk, but I confeſs I ſhould have undertaken it with pleaſure. Gaultier is to go; he takes with him a letter which the Queen has written, in anſwer to one ſhe received lately from the King of France; he will be inſtructed to ſpeak to Monſieur de Torcy our ſenſe, as you will hear it from Mr. Harley, and afterwards he will proceed, I believe, to Utrecht,

left off; and infinuate to him, that though her Majeſty has thought herſelf juſtly provoked by the conduct of his Miniſter here, yet ſuch is her affection to the Elector, and ſuch her concern for the intereſts of his family, that, inſtead of giving the leaſt mark of reſentment, ſhe has choſe to ſend you to him, fully inſtructed to open her deſigns, and to ſhow him the real intereſt of Britain, in the preſent conjuncture. Proceed to give him a true account of what has paſſed here, expoſe to him the weakneſs of thoſe with whom his miniſter conſults, and under whoſe direction he acts. Show him how much weaker this faction muſt ſtill become when a peace is concluded, and when the natural ſtrength of the nation, diſencumbered from the burden of the war, ſhall be at liberty to exert itſelf. Convince him that his intereſt in the ſucceſſion is ſacrificed to that of a party; that he has hitherto been the friend of both ſides; that theſe meaſures tend to ſet him at the head of one in oppoſition to the other; make him obſerve the difference between this and his former conduct.

"If theſe repreſentations find due ingreſſion, endeavour to make his Electoral Highneſs ſenſible that the part which Mr. Bothmar has acted, renders it impoſſible for him to have any ſhare of the Queen's confidence, or to live in friendſhip with above one ſet of people.

"When you go from Utrecht to Hanover, you are to take along with you one of the Queen's Meſſengers, whom you will find attending the Plenipotentiaries: and as ſoon as you can make any judgment of the ſucceſs of your journey, you are to ſend this meſſenger home with your letters, and not to truſt them to the poſt."

where

where at leaſt he will, in theſe reſpects, be of uſe; that he has, from firſt to laſt, been in the whole ſecret of every tranſaction relating to the peace; and that his own fortune cannot fail of being made if the preſent treaty ſucceeds.

I am endeavouring to turn matters ſo as to remove Mr. Watkins, and to place Mr. Harriſon where your Lordſhip is ſo good as to conſent that he ſhould be: by the next poſt I hope to ſpeak with certainty upon this head.

The caſe of Brigadier Walef is very hard; the Queen thought ſo, and, by my Lord Orrery, intereſted herſelf extremely for him. She had at that time the mortification to find little regard paid to her repreſentations by the Dutch, and would not willingly expoſe herſelf to a ſecond refuſal; but I am empowered to ſay, that if your Lordſhip can by any means obtain for him the juſtice which he aſks, it will be very grateful to her Majeſty. After this, it would be impertinent to add that I ſhould look upon the favour as done to myſelf.

I have ſeen lately ſome inſtances of Mr. Weſtcombe's zeal for the Queen's ſervice, and I ſhall very readily ſerve him in the affair which your Lordſhip mentions.

As to your purchaſe of Lord Portland's troop, I will not be unmindful, but I ſhall be of opinion, that you deſerve as well as he that his price ſhould be beat down lower.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, February 23, 1711-12.

I SEND you incloſed the additional minutes of inſtruction *, on which you are to confer with the Queen's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, together with ſome other papers. I now know of nothing which you

* "*Additional Inſtructions to Mr. Harley, at Utrecht.*

"My Lords the Queen's Plenipotentiaries may compound with the Dutch upon the Barrier Treaty, in the following manner:

"That they keep no garriſon in Nieuport, in the time of peace; that the caſtle of Ghent, and the town of Dendermonde, remain in their hands; but, in this caſe, beſides the ſecurities for the Britiſh trade, mentioned in the project of emendations to the barrier treaty, the Queen thinks it reaſonable to demand that Oſtend be given up to her Majeſty as a cautionary town.

"My Lords the Plenipotentiaries ſeem, in ſome of their letters, to think that the reaſon why the States General are ſo tenacious of that part of the 15th article of the barrier treaty, which ſtipulates the equality of trade, is, becauſe they imagine that France has yielded to the Queen, beſides the aſſiento, many other great advantages in commerce: her Majeſty therefore, that ſhe may go as far as poſſible in quieting the minds of the Dutch, and that ſhe may leave them without any colour of excuſe, if they perſiſt in their oppoſition to her, allows my Lords to make this open and fair declaration to them, that ſhe will inſiſt to have the aſſiento granted to her ſubjects, and to keep Port Mahon and Gibraltar. That from theſe three points, no extremity ſhall ever oblige her to depart; and that, provided the States-General will agree with her upon theſe heads, her Majeſty does then promiſe that ſhe will join with them in reducing the trade to Spain, and to all the Spaniſh dominions, both in Europe and elſewhere, in every other reſpect, to the conditions under which it was carried on before the death of King Charles the Second.

"In order to prevent the ill conſequences which muſt attend a long negociation, her Majeſty would have my Lords the Plenipotentiaries, either by themſelves, or by ſome agent, whoſe negociating will be liable to leſs obſervation, propoſe to the French miniſters, to concert in confidence with them that plan, upon which, as their ultimatum, they may be willing to conclude the peace. It is thought that the pretence of ſettling the Britiſh intereſts in commerce, will give my Lords the Plenipotentiaries a very natural opportunity of confering with thoſe of France. My Lords may let them underſtand, that this propoſition is at leaſt as advantageous to their Maſter, as to the Queen, ſince although this ſcheme, when it is formed, may not anſwer all the ambitious views which ſome members of the grand alliance have, nor come up to the affected demands which will be made, purely to render the treaty impracticable: yet if it amount to a real ſecurity, and a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the ſeveral Princes and States engaged with us, if it be what her Majeſty ought to expect, and can juſtify, the Queen will declare for peace upon the terms of it, and there is no reaſon to doubt but the greateſt part of the confederates will do the ſame.

"The following articles contain her Majeſty's ſenſe on the principal points of the ſcheme of peace:

"The enemy ſeems to grant the Dutch what they aſk for their trade, with a reſervation of ſix Species in the Tarif of 1664. It is to be endeavoured that this Tarif may be obtained for Holland without any exception. But if it cannot be obtained, my Lords are without breaking to proceed to the barrier, and in that caſe, only to preſs that the French ſhould name what thoſe Species are which they deſign to reſerve out of the Tarif.

"It is to be obſerved, that the French aim at two equivalents, one for Dunkirk, and another for thoſe places which they yield, in order to compoſe the barrier. My Lords are to avoid this diſtinction,

you can be in want of from me, except a letter from the Queen to the Electoral Princeſs. Her Majeſty is now writing of it, and as ſoon as it

diſtinction, and to treat for the equivalent in the lump; Aire, Bethune, St. Venant, Bouchain, Douay, her Majeſty thinks might be reſtored to France. If the enemy inſiſt on Liſle and Tournay, the Queen will rather depart from the former than the latter.

" It has been inſinuated here, that to preſerve Tournay as well as Liſle, the French would go very far in other conceſſions.

" The two articles in the general inſtructions concerning Straſburgh and Briſac, are to be inſiſted upon.

" As to the two articles which relate to the government of Alſace, purſuant to the literal ſenſe of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and to the fortifications of the ten Imperial cities, theſe are to be brought as near as may be to the taſte of the Dutch, and of our German allies, but my Lords are to avoid breaking upon that. The reddition of Landau, as it is expreſſed in the general inſtructions, to be inſiſted upon.

" In the article for the demolition, purſuant to the treaty of Weſtphalia, of the fortreſſes between Baſle and Philipſburg, the ſame rule is to be obſerved, as in the article relating to Alſace, and the ten Imperial cities.

" The Queen's obligation by treaty, as well as by the rules of good policy, require that the barrier of the Portugueſe be ſecured; their intereſts in the Weſt-Indies, are to be taken care of likewiſe, and it is hoped the French will not be over difficult upon this head.

" As to the Duke of Savoy, it is certain that the French are inclined to give him ſatisfaction, and the Queen muſt therefore not loſe any part of the merit of procuring it for him. My Lords are, purſuant to the ſeveral inſtructions which they have received, to confer confidently with his Miniſters, to take all opportunities of promoting his intereſts, and to inſiſt, with the greateſt firmneſs, on every article of his barrier. As to his aggrandizement, let his Miniſters, as well as thoſe of France, feel that her Majeſty cannot directly or formally ſtipulate any thing, but will be willing to connive.

" As to the immediate retreat of the Pretender out of the dominions of France, my Lords muſt let the French Miniſters know that the Queen expects it, and that it will extremely contribute to the eaſe of her meaſures at home.

" Her Majeſty ſuppoſes there will be no difficulty, on the part of the confederates, in admitting the late Elector of Bavaria to be reſtored to a ninth electorate, and to thoſe countries which he was in poſſeſſion of before the war, except ſuch parts thereof as have been diſmembered in favour of the Elector Palatine.

" Cologne, the Queen takes for granted, it will likewiſe be reſtored; and ſhe thinks theſe two brothers, who, in the beginning of the war, did ſo much miſchief, and put us into ſo great danger, and whoſe countries have, ſince that time, been conquered by the confederates, will, by this ſcheme, become greater gainers at the peace than they had reaſon to expect to be.

" Naples, Sicily, and the other iſlands in the Mediterranean, except Minorca, the poſſeſſion of which muſt remain to the Queen, ſhould go to the Houſe of Auſtria; but her Majeſty wiſhes, that, in penning this article, the word unalienably might be inſerted, or ſome other general expreſſion uſed, to hinder a ceſſion of any port in thoſe parts to the Dutch, which our having of Port Mahon may prompt them to think of, and which, in this honey-moon of affection, the Imperialiſts are likely enough to grant. The places on the Tuſcan coaſt ſhould go with Naples, Sicily, and the Iſlands.

" An expedient, on that article, by virtue of which the moſt effectual meaſures are to be taken to prevent the union of the two crowns of France and Spain, will prove a point of the greateſt difficulty, and it is of the utmoſt conſequence. None can be offered which will not be liable to ſeveral objections; but, beſides that mentioned in the laſt diſpatch from my Lords Plenipotentiaries of the 26th February, her Majeſty thinks that it might be propoſed that the entail of the Spaniſh crown ſhould be expreſsly ſettled in the treaty, that the caſe of Philip or his children coming to have

it is ready I will not fail to ſend it after you; you give me leave to add, that, according to my weak judgment, the ſucceſs of your journey to Utrecht, depends entirely on your ſpeedy arrival there.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

P.S. The firſt paper of minutes I put into your hands at my Lord Treaſurer's, and therefore ſend you no duplicate.

have a right to the crown of France, ſhould be declared to be, in all reſpects, the ſame as the caſe of the extinction of that branch; that the next ſucceſſor in either of theſe caſes, ſhould be named in the treaty. That, if it is practicable, the ſtates of Spain themſelves may be made parties to this agreement."

"*Additional Minutes of Inſtruction for Mr. Harley, at Utrecht.*

"Beſides the points already mentioned, it has been thought proper to add theſe which follow: upon the news of the death of the Dauphin, and the nearer approach of that caſe, where the ſame perſon may have a title to the two crowns of France and Spain: that the entail of the crown of France be ſettled, after the preſent Dauphin and his children, on the Duke of Orleans and his children, and ſo on to the reſt of the family of Bourbon, excluſive of Philip and his iſſue.

"That Philip make a formal renunciation for himſelf, and for his iſſue, of all right to the crown of France; and that the cortes, or the ſtates of Spain, may be, ſome way or other, as ſhall be found moſt practicable, made parties to the excluſion of the reſt of the Houſe of Bourbon, and to the farther ſettlement of the crown of Spain, in ſuch other family as ſhall be agreed upon.

"The Queen's inclination would carry her to prefer the Houſe of Savoy, in this caſe, to any other; but this ſpecific declaration is not to be made without caution, and a reaſonable aſſurance of ſucceſs.

"Theſe conditions occur at preſent; if any thing elſe can be hereafter thought of, no doubt ought to be made but it will be agreed upon, ſince Monſieur de Torcy ſo often repeats his maſter's opinion concerning the abſolute neceſſity of preventing the union of the two monarchies, which he judges would be prejudicial to both, as well as dangerous to the reſt of Europe.

"Particular care is, in all events, to be taken of the Catalans, Arragonians, Valencians, and of whoever elſe has declared on our ſide, in Spain, during the war; this article is juſt in itſelf, extremely honourable for the Queen to inſiſt upon, and cannot well admit of much difficulty on the part of the French."

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

My Lords,

Whitehall, Feb. 23d, 1711-12.

HAVING now entirely finiſhed Mr. Harley's diſpatches, as I could have done ſome days ago, had it been to any purpoſe, I hope no farther time will be loſt in his ſetting forward; and I conclude my part of the work by writing this letter to your Lordſhips, which my indiſpoſition obliges me to do by another hand than my own.

It is ſo very apparent from the conduct of the Imperialiſts and of the Dutch, that they will venture all to break this negociation, and to force from the Queen the benefit which ſhe expects by it, that her Majeſty has taken the reſolution of doing what can alone extricate her out of this great emergency. She ſends Mr. Harley to your Lordſhips fully informed of the circumſtances of our domeſtic affairs, and fully inſtructed in her Majeſty's ſenſe how far the enemy muſt comply, in order to form ſuch a general plan of peace as the Queen will approve, and as we can obtain the concurrence of both Houſes to.

By the lights which your Lordſhips will better receive from his mouth, than you can from my letter, you will pleaſe to confer with the Miniſters of France, letting them know, that if they will agree on a reaſonable ſcheme for it, they have it now in their power at once to finiſh the general peace. All things are ſo well diſpoſed here, that, let the next offer which they ſhall make meet with what reception it will in the Congreſs, Britain will declare for it, provided it amounts to what in prudence and honour we can juſtify.

The Queen ſuppoſes, that the anſwer which the French Miniſters are to make to the demands of the allies, preſented I ſuppoſe this

very day, will be the reſult of their conferences with your Lordſhips. In this caſe, her Majeſty thinks it will be expedient to have ſuch a day appointed for the delivery of the French anſwer (if poſſible) as to allow time to your Lordſhips to receive her Majeſty's opinion and farther orders upon it.

I pray God the French may not upon this occaſion act *dans un eſprit de négociation*, which they have blamed in others; if they prove as reaſonable in generals, as they have been in particulars, her Majeſty will lay the project of peace before both Houſes of Parliament, and we ſhall have one debate for the whole; the concluſion of which, in this caſe, will infallibly be, advice to her Majeſty to make the peace. Thus, my Lords, would our great work be accompliſhed with honour to our Miſtreſs, with ſafety to ourſelves, with entire ſatisfaction to moſt of our allies, and with reaſonable ſatisfaction to all of them.

I cannot help thinking that the Queen might have contributed extremely to ſmooth your way at Utrecht, if ſhe had, in this critical point of time, ſent ſome man to the Court of France, who might have been thought in the full ſecret of his own; I offered the Queen to go, but I believe the meaſure is thought a little too bold, and inſtead thereof the Sieur Gaultier will be ſent from hence to Monſieur de Torcy, and from him to Utrecht. I ſhall add no more; but the contents of this letter ſhow it is not deſigned as a public diſpatch, but as a private inſtruction to your Lordſhips.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur de Cambiague.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 29 Février, V.S. 1711-12.

JE vous prie d'être perſuadé que Monſieur de St. Jean, & le Secrétaire d'Etat de ce nom, ne ſont qu'une même perſonne ; vous avez vu par ma conduite, il y a quatre ans, que les grandes charges ne me tiennent fort au cœur, ne croyez donc pas qu'elles ſoient capables de me faire changer des ſentimens à l'égard de mes amis.

J'ai entendu beaucoup de bien de Monſieur Forreſter, mais il ſuffit que vous le recommandez, pour que je tâche de lui être utile.

Mon frère s'eſt trouvé, hereuſement pour lui, chez un de mes amis à Amſterdam, lorſqu'il eſt tombé malade de la petite vérole. Il eſt préſentement à Utrecht, où pourvu qu'il faſſe un bon uſage de la ſituation avantageuſe dans laquelle il ſe trouve, il pourra faire du progrès dans la connoiſſance des affaires publiques, & ſe rendre de bonne heure utile à ſa patrie. La paix, parmi pluſieurs autres avantages qu'elle nous apporte ; ne pourra pas manquer de faire hauſſer les actions de tous les fonds. Je ſuis fort aiſe que vous vous trouvez engagé dans la compagnie de la Mer du Sud, & je ne doute nullement que vous ne faſſiez un gain très conſidérable ſur vos débentures.

Le pauvre Monſieur Calandrini eſt encore à Paris, à ce que je vois, ſollicitant le payement de ce qui lui eſt dû. J'ai déjà fait, & je continuerai à faire des inſtances pour lui, auprès les Miniſtres François. Je me flatte même qu'il y en a quelques-uns qui ſeront portés à lui rendre ſervice. On ne peut pas être avec une plus véritable eſtime.

Monſieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To Mr. Scott.

SIR,

Whitehall, Feb. 29th, 1711-12.

I SHOULD, by a private letter, have ſooner given you ſatisfaction as to the contents of your's of the 19th of January laſt, had my time allowed of it. In other countries, a Secretary of State who diſpatches the buſineſs of his province, diſpatches all that belongs to him; in Britain it is very much otherwiſe; and creating or keeping together the ſtrength which is to ſupport you, leaves you, during the winter months, very little leiſure for the affairs of that employment, in the execution of which you labour to be ſupported.

Mr. Mackenzie* gave himſelf, in my opinion, a very ridiculous air when, immediately after your audience, he aſked one of the King. He could have no buſineſs to ſpeak upon, and if he had any, he might, and he ought, to have conſulted with you before-hand. I know nothing of the man more than that my Lord Stair left him in thoſe parts; and when I came into the northern buſineſs, I found him prying and diligent, which made me willing to leave him the pretence of being her Majeſty's Secretary, that I might, when opportunity offered, remove him with that character to ſome other place. I have her Majeſty's leave to ſend him to Ratiſbon; but if he is in any meaſures with our faction at home, and particularly, if he has correſpondence with thoſe who labour the breaking this negociation off, he muſt by no means be thought of: I therefore deſire you, that you will be very clear and frank upon this head, wherein the Queen's ſervice is materially concerned,

* The predeceſſor of Mr. Scott, though not in the office of Miniſter, but Secretary at the Court of King Auguſtus.

and, till I hear from you, I will defer ſending him or any one elſe to Ratiſbon.

The meaſures which have been purſued, are not only right in themſelves, but your accounts from hence will have ſhown you, that the Houſe of Commons have given their ſanction to them by carrying on the ſame. In ſhort, Sir, we will either have this peace, or a proportionable war; you know how impoſſible the latter is, and you will therefore, I believe, concur with me, that the firſt ought to follow, and indeed muſt neceſſarily do ſo.

I have this moment received your letters of the 22d and 27th of this month, N.S. which it will not be poſſible for me to ſay any thing upon till next poſt; only this, have no apprehenſions of going too far in the affair you write about; there is nothing which the Queen has more at heart, and you can make no ſtep in it, which becomes her miniſter, in which you need fear a diſavowal.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur Meſnager.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 4me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'AI reçu votre lettre du 15me de ce mois, & le Sieur Gaultier n'aura pas manqué de vous informer, que je lui ai fait rendre celle qui lui étoit addreſſée.

Je me ſens fort honoré de l'amitié que vous me témoignez; je vous prie de me la conſerver, & d'être perſuadé que de mon côté, je tâcherai dans toutes les occaſions, de vous montrer qu'on ne peut pas être plus parfaitement que je le ſuis, Monſieur, &c.

P. S. Le paſſeport que le Sieur Gaultier m'a demandé de votre part, a été d'abord expédié.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, March the 4th, 1711-12.

I FIND your Lordſhips, in the private letter of the 5th of this month, which you honoured me with by Couchman, under ſome impatience for the arrival of Mr. Harley; and I am very far from wondering at you for it, ſince in your preſent ſituation you run riſk of having the game taken out of your hands by others, and are in no ſort able to play it on yourſelves.

This evil circumſtance will now be very ſoon cured; Mr. Harley goes away to-morrow, and your Lordſhips will be much better informed of the Queen's intentions by what he will have the honour to ſay to you, than you could poſſibly have been by ten reams of written inſtructions.

Gaultier goes to France to-morrow, and will, I hope, ſoon arrive at Utrecht, with ſuch orders to the Miniſters of France as may enable them to come up, in the project of peace, to what your Lordſhips will expect. I have given him letters of recommendation to your Lordſhips; and I hope he will have, as I verily think he will deſerve, your countenance.

I received yeſterday morning a letter from Monſieur de Torcy, dated on Thurſday laſt, with the news of the death of the third Dauphin within the year, and with freſh aſſurances that the King perſiſts in his firm reſolution of concurring in effectual meaſures to prevent the union of the two crowns. Mr. Harley will open the beſt expedient which the Queen thinks of to your Lordſhips; I ſhall only ſay, the deaths of the father and eldeſt ſon, which only leave a child of two years old be-

tween Philip and the crown of France, make it abſolutely neceſſary to have this matter ſettled without loſs of time.

The acknowledgment of the Queen muſt be made with a good grace; and I believe the French, in their next offers, will expreſs themſelves as your Lordſhips ſhall pleaſe to dictate. There is another point which it is now high time to inſiſt upon an immediate compliance with: I mean, the ſending the Pretender out of France. Your Lordſhips know, that in the barrier-treaty there is an article to this purpoſe; and in ſome of our debates in Parliament, notice has been taken of it as a neglect, that he was not removed previouſly to any entrance upon a treaty. Gaultier is inſtructed to let Monſieur de Torcy know, that the Queen expects no time ſhould be loſt herein; and her Majeſty thinks it proper that your Lordſhips ſhould ſpeak to the ſame effect to the Miniſters of France at Utrecht.

I ſend your Lordſhips a copy of the repreſentation, delivered this day to her Majeſty, by the Houſe of Commons, which being a piece likely to make much noiſe in the world, and to have great influence on foreign as well as domeſtic affairs, I thought your Lordſhips would be curious to ſee it as ſoon as poſſible. The purport of the Queen's anſwer was, "This repreſentation is another inſtance of the dutiful affection to my ſervice, and concern for the intereſt of our country, which this Houſe of Commons has always ſhown; I will take care to give ſuch orders as may effectually anſwer what you deſire in every particular."

Her Majeſty commands me to let you, my Lord Strafford, know, that ſhe has directed Mr. Harley to make a compliment to the Penſionary, as it has been uſual, and that ſhe would have your Lordſhips take ſome opportunity of introducing him to this miniſter; naturally, he ſhould have paſſed through the Hague, and have taken that opportunity, but your Lordſhip not being there, he is ordered to proceed firſt to Utrecht.

The

The Cabinet Council which ſits on Thurſday, will furniſh me with matter for the packet of Friday.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Harriſon.

SIR,

Whitehall, March 4th, 1711-12.

I WAS extremely pleaſed to hear that my Lords the Plenipotentiaries were deſirous to have you ſucceed Mr. Watkins, in caſe of his removal. Nothing could ſuit my inclination more than this opportunity of advancing you, which they have given me; and I make no doubt but you will go on to preſerve, by the ſame means which you have acquired, their Lordſhips' good opinion and favour.

I am, &c.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

A Marli, le 31me Janvier, 1712.

JE vois, Monſieur, que la confiance ne s'établit pas auſſi intièrement qu'il ſeroit à deſirer entre Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires du Roi & ceux de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, à Utrecht. Comme nous avons tous le même but, de parvenir promptement à la paix, je crois que vous jugerez à propos d'envoyer à Monſieur l'Evêque de Briſtol, & à Monſieur le Comte de Strafford des inſtructions plus préciſes, ſur la manière dont ils doivent concerter leurs démarches avec les Plénipotentiaires du Roi.

Il eſt très certain que ſa Majeſté eſt très diſpoſée à contribuer de ſon côté à la prompte concluſion du traité, & lorſque l'Angleterre concourera

rera de ſa part, ce ſera vainement que les ennemis de la paix s'oppoſeront au rétabliſſement de la tranquillité générale.

Je vous ſupplie de croire que je ſuis, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

A Verſailles, le 8me Février, 1712.

RIEN ne pouvoit me faire plus de plaiſir, Monſieur, que de voir, par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, l'inutilité de toutes les démarches faites pour traverſer la paix. Je ſuis perſuadé que le retour de Monſieur le Prince Eugene en Hollande achévera de déſabuſer ceux qui eſpéroient encore que ſa préſence & ſa réputation ébranloient les ſages réſolutions de la Reine, et l'on doit, ce me ſemble, compter qu'elles auront bientôt un heureux effet, puiſque le Roi veut auſſi, de ſa part, contribuer, de tout ſon pouvoir, à la concluſion d'un ouvrage auſſi néceſſaire au bien général de l'Europe.

Je ſouhaite, Monſieur, que ſa perfection me donne plus d'occaſions de vous aſſurer qu'on ne peut être plus véritablement que je ſuis,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

A Verſailles, le 10me Mars, 1712.

DEPUIS, la mort de Monſeigneur le Dauphin *, le Prince ſon fils aîné† vient de mourir, & le ſeul qui reſte aujourd'hui Dauphin n'a que deux ans. Voilà, Monſieur, un nouveau ſujet d'alarmes, & un prétexte à ceux qui ne veulent pas la paix, de faire craindre l'union des deux couronnes de France & d'Eſpagne ſur la tête d'un même Prince, le Roi Catholique n'étant précédé que par un enfant.

Cette union ſeroit cependant, auſſi mauvaiſe pour la France & pour l'Eſpagne, que dangereux pour le reſte de l'Europe ; ainſi le Roi perſiſte conſtamment dans la ferme réſolution de prendre toutes les meſures néceſſaires pour l'empêcher, & ſa Majeſté m'a commandé de vous le faire ſavoir, afin d'en aſſurer la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

J'eſpère, Monſieur, que les malheurs arrivés depuis peu de tems, à la France, n'empêcheront pas un bien ſi grand que l'eſt celui de la paix, & que vous aurez l'honneur de conduire à ſa perfection un ouvrage où vous avez autant de part.

Je ſuis, &c.

DE TORCY.

* The Duke of Burgundy, married to Maria Adelaide of Savoy: ſhe died the 22d, and he the 28th February.

† The Duke of Britany, died the 8th March.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur de Torcy.

De Whitehall, ce 4me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'AUROIS honte, Monſieur, d'avoir différé ſi long-tems à répondre à l'honneur de vos lettres, ſi je ne croyois pouvoir alléguer en ma juſtification une raiſon qui eſt bonne, & que vous ne déſapprouverez pas.

En un mot, j'ai voulu vous écrire avec certitude, & pour cet effet il faloit attendre juſqu'à ce que les Miniſtres de l'Empereur, & de la république d'Hollande, euſſent montré plus ouvertement leur jeu; juſqu'à ce que les diſpoſitions néceſſaires étoient faites parmi nos peuples; & enfin juſqu'à ce que la Reine avoit priſe la ſeule réſolution qui puiſſe nous conduire, en peu de tems, à une paix bonne & ſolide.

J'ai préſentement la ſatisfaction de vous dire, Monſieur, que cette réſolution eſt priſe, & que Monſieur Harley partira ce ſoir ou demain avec les dernières inſtructions de ſa Majeſté à Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires.

Vous trouverez bon, s'il vous plaît, que je me remette au Sieur Gaultier pour vous expliquer plus en détail le ſujet de la commiſſion de ce gentilhomme, & que la Reine eſpère que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne fera pour coopérer avec elle, & pour éluder les artifices de ceux qui ſouhaitent la continuation de la guerre.

J'avoir hier deſſein à vous écrire quand j'ai reçu votre dernière du 10me de ce mois, N.S. La Reine eſt très ſenſiblement touchée des malheurs qui viennent d'arriver à la France, & bien loin de vouloir que ces coups de ciel retardent le progrès de notre grand ouvrage, ſa Majeſté va redoubler ſes efforts, & faire en ſorte qu'il ne tiendra qu'à ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne de conclure la paix en moins de ſemaines que ſes Plénipotentiaires ont déjà paſſés à Utrecht.

La Reine me commande, Monſieur, de vous faire ſavoir qu'elle ne doute point de la ferme réſolution du Roi, de prendre toutes les méſures néceſſaires pour empêcher l'union des deux couronnes ſur la tête d'un même prince, & afin d'ôter tout prétexte à ceux qui ne veulent pas la paix, & de mettre en repos les eſprits de ceux qui la ſouhaitent, ſa Majeſté croit que ſans perdre du tems il faudra d'être d'accord ſur cet article; le Sieur Gaultier vous communiquera ce qu'on a penſé ſur ce ſujet ici*. Je ne puis point finir ma lettre ſans rendre à celui qui aura l'honneur de vous la préſenter le témoignage qu'il a merité par ſa conduite. Il a bien ſervi le Roi ſon maître, & en même-tems il s'eſt acquis l'eſtime de tous ceux qui ont eu à faire avec lui.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Monſieur

* *Mémoire, ſent by Monſieur Gaultier, March 5th, 1711-12.*

" 4me Mars, 1711-12.

" Depuis le commencement des pour-parlers de la paix entre la Grande Bretagne & la France, on a toujours établi cette maxime, qu'il ne faloit pas, s'il étoit poſſible, s'expoſer aux événemens de la campagne; la Reine continue dans ce ſentiment, & a pris toutes les méſures néceſſaires de ſon côté pour conduire bientôt à une heureuſe fin de la négociation d'Utrecht.

" Par ce qui s'eſt paſſé depuis quelque tems ici, on aura pu remarquer les bonnes inclinations qu'on a trouvé le moyen d'inſpirer à la Chambre des Communes, qui ſelon la conſtitution de ce gouvernement, doit être regardé principalement dans les affaires de guerre ou de paix. Il ne ſera pas difficile de faire le même pli à l'autre Chambre. Après quoi l'on peut s'aſſurer de la concurrence de la Reine & de toute la nation Britannique, pourvû que le projet pour la paix générale contienne cette ſatiſfaction raiſonnable & cette ſureté réelle, pour tous les alliés, qu'on eſt en droit de s'attendre.

" Monſieur de Harley partira demain pour Utrecht. Il eſt pleinement inſtruit des intentions de la Reine ſur tous les points eſſentiels qui peuvent être diſcutés dans la négociation; & il porte leurs derniers ordres à Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires. Ces Miniſtres ſont authoriſes d'entrer dans une étroite confiance avec ceux de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, & de tâcher de concert avec eux, de former un plan pour le rétabliſſement du repos de l'Europe.

" La Reine eſpère qu'on répondra à cette marque de ſon deſir ſincère de faire tout ce qui dépend d'elle pour terminer ce grand ouvrage, en donnant des Inſtructions à Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires de France d'éviter toutes les longeurs, & d'accorder d'abord les points que les alliés peuvent démander avec juſtice, & pour leſquels la Reine peut ſe déclarer avec honneur.

" Le traité de commerce ſervira de prétexte pour couvrir cette négociation ſecrète, & le projet qui ſera formé entre les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine & ceux du Roi Très Chrétien, peut être préſenté aux alliés dans le congrès général par ces derniers, comme l'ultimatum qu'ils ont ordre d'offrir.

" La Reine a été très ſenſiblement touchée des malheurs arrivés depuis peu de tems à la France. Elle ne doute pas que la mort de ces Princes ne ſerve de prétexte à ceux qui ſouhaitent la continuation

A Monſieur d'Allegre *.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 4me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'AI reçu par le canal de Monſieur Molo, la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire.

Pendant le ſéjour que vous fites dans ce pays j'ai conçu pour vous ces ſentimens d'eſtime que votre mérite exige de tous qui ont l'honneur de vous connoître. Je vous ai dès alors promis que je tâcherois dans toutes les occaſions de vous rendre ſervice, & je vous tiens préſentement parole. La Reine conſente à votre échange, & le courier qui partira Vendredi prochain, portera votre acte de liberté à Utrecht.

On eſt peut-être convenu de votre échange autre fois avec Monſieur le Duc de Marlborough, mais la Reine n'y avoit pas conſenti.

Je ſouhaite comme vous, Monſieur, le prompt rétabliſſement du repos de l'Europe, & nous devons eſpérer que la négociation qui a été depuis quelque tems entamée, aura un heureux ſuccès.

Je ſuis, &c.

ation de la guerre, mais elle croit que le moyen le plus ſûr pour rendre leurs efforts inutiles, ſera de convenir ſans perte de tems des méſures néceſſaires pour empêcher l'union des deux Couronnes. A cette fin, la Reine croit qu'on pourroit propoſer que le Prince qui eſt en poſſeſſion de la Couronne d'Eſpagne fit une renonciation formelle pour lui & pour ſes enfans de celle de France, & que le cours de la ſucceſſion de toutes les deux fût déclaré & établi dans le traité de la paix. Il ſeroit même à ſouhaiter que les cortés ou états d'Eſpagne puſſent d'une manière ou d'autre concourir à cette acte.

" Voici les premières idées qu'on a eu ſur ce ſujet; ſi dans la ſuite on pourra ſonger à quelque expédient plus ſolide & plus efficace, la Reine ne douté point que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne ne ſoit prête à y conſentir, puiſqu'elle enviſage cette union comme mauvaiſe pour la France & pour l'Eſpagne, auſſi-bien que dangereuſe pour le reſte de l'Europe.

* The Marquis d'Allegre, Lieutenant-general in the French ſervice; taken priſoner at the forcing the French lines in 1705. Application was made in 1708, for his exchange, but without effect. In this war, Marlborough and Eugene divided their priſoners after a victory; Allegre fell to the ſhare of the latter, and was detained in Holland.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, March the 7th, 1711-12.

THE conduct of the court of Hanover, is a melancholy for thoſe to write upon, who wiſh well to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

The Elector had till this winter, behaved himſelf ſo that the Whig and Tory equally courted him, and had equal expectations from him: He has now placed himſelf at the head of a party, and that too (whatever he is made to believe) by great degrees the leaſt at this time, and, whenever we ſhall have got rid of our war, likely to be ſtill weaker; the landed intereſt will then riſe, and the monied intereſt, which is the great ſupport of Whiggiſm, muſt of courſe decline. There is ſomething unaccountable in this matter, the Elector will be one time or other undeceived, I pray God it may be ſoon.

The Queen ſurely leaves nothing undone which is in her power to bring him to a right notion of the true ſtate of Britain, and of his own intereſt. My Lord Rivers went firſt to him, and opened, with the greateſt confidence imaginable, all the views which her Majeſty had, the grounds of her proceedings, and in a word, the whole ſecret of her adminiſtration; the return made, to this mark of friendſhip, was ſending his miniſter hither, to aſſociate with the ſervants which the Queen thought fit to diſgrace, to join in open defiance to her meaſures, and even to appeal to the nation in oppoſition to their Sovereign. Theſe affronts and indignities, our good Miſtreſs is however willing to overlook, and once more try whether the film can be taken off from the Elector's eyes, and whether he will give ear to that true and diſintereſted repreſentation of things, which, in her Majeſty's name, Mr. Harley is intruſted to lay before him. I own to you, with my uſual frankneſs, that I ſuſpect they have been made to believe at

Hanover, as I know the whigs have inſinuated to their party here, that the Queen's life is very precarious, and that ſhe cannot laſt many months. But, thank heaven, there is as little reaſon for this, as for moſt of their other propoſitions, and her Majeſty is I hope at this hour, a better life than the Elector himſelf.

Your Excellency will certainly do well to let Count Sinzendorf know, that the Queen's miniſters deſpiſe this correſpondence with Gazetteers *, ſo much in faſhion of late, yet that her Majeſty underſtands the indecency and diſreſpect which is ſhewn to her, in printing memorials and other papers preſented to her, and will in a proper time, ſhow her reſentment of this proceeding. The politicians thought, by theſe appeals, to gain the people in oppoſition to the Queen; let them have recourſe to the repreſentation of the Houſe of Commons, and they will there ſee how well they have ſucceeded.

Your taſk at Utrecht, has indeed, been of a moſt difficult nature. I hope you are now coming to ſmoother ground. I have inſtructed Gaultier to make Monſieur de Torcy ſenſible, that this is the critical time for them to make peace; that the Queen is far from deſiring it ſhould be retarded on account of the misfortunes which have lately happened to the family of Bourbon; that her Majeſty is deſirous to prevent the operations of the campaign, though we are in a way of taking the field with great advantage; that the diſpoſitions are ſo made among our people, that a reaſonable plan of peace will infallibly meet with the Queen's open and peremptory declaration in favour of it, as well as with the concurrence of the nation; that your Lordſhips, the Queen's miniſters at Utrecht, will, on the arrival of Mr. Harley, be informed in every particular where about France muſt come to form ſuch a project as the Queen will accept, and can juſtify herſelf to her allies, to God,

* Notwithſtanding this aſſertion, Bolingbroke was an occaſional contributor to the Gazetteers abroad—the Amſterdam Gazette of the 1ſt of March, N.S. contained an abſtract of Bothmar's letter to his Lordſhip, and on 27th February, O.S. Bolingbroke ſent an abſtract of his anſwer.

and

and to all the world. That it remains on their part now to ſhow their candour in avoiding that ſpirit of negociation, which they have juſtly complained of in others, and in yielding roundly at firſt, what they muſt and will yield at laſt; that if they take a contrary meaſure they run many riſques, and among others, that of ſeeing Great Britain return to that eagerneſs for war, which till this year they have ſhewn, and which they will be better able to ſupport than ever, now that they have reduced their expences to ſuch an annual charge as may be provided for an 100 years together. I know that if your Excellency and Lord Privy Seal, take proper opportunities of talking to this effect to the Abbot Polignac, the due impreſſion will be made; and I believe it muſt be a rule to your Lordſhip, to have more confidence in him than in any of the others, particularly than in Meſnager, who is a little fellow, and a Dutchman in his inclinations. I am, &c.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

My Lords,

Whitehall, March 22d, 1711-12.

THE meſſenger was kept till this evening, that I might ſend your Lordſhips a copy* of what I received yeſterday from Monſieur de Torcy, in anſwer to the propoſition which I made him, by Monſieur Gaultier, of an expedient for preventing the union of the two crowns, as well as a copy of the anſwer which I ſhall make to him to-morrow, by the Queen's order.

Theſe two papers will furniſh your Lordſhips with materials upon this head, and it is her Majeſty's pleaſure that you inſiſt upon the expedient, the particulars of which Mr. Harley will have opened to you,

* Vide page 435.

in ſuch a manner as to let the enemy ſee that no apprehenſions, on one hand, nor no advantages on the other, can force or tempt the Queen to leave this eſſential article inſecure.

What medium might ſatisfy her Majeſty, I am not able at preſent to ſay, but very little leſs than her firſt thought will, I believe, be judged ſufficient; and your Lordſhips may, perhaps, find means of knowing the ſenſe of other powers upon the ſame article.

I have ſent Monſieur Marſchalch* from hence, I think, fully ſatisfied, and in a temper to do all he can, to make and keep his maſter ſo.

I made him particularly ſenſible of your recommendations, my Lord Strafford, of him, and I believe, you will find him of ſome uſe to you.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur Marſchalch de Bieberſtein.

MON CHER MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 22me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

JE n'ai que deux momens de tems pour vous prier de faire remettre au Roi votre maître l'incluſe, qui eſt ma très humble réponſe à l'honneur qu'il a bien voulu me faire, quand vous êtes venu en Bretagne.

Par le courier de la ſemaine qui vient, je vous écrirai une lettre au lieu d'un billet.

Je ſuis, &c.

* The Pruſſian Miniſter.

Au Roi de Pruſſe.

SIRE,

De Whitehall, ce 20me de Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'AI reçu avec tout le reſpect & toute la ſoumiſſion poſſible, l'honneur que votre Majeſté a daignée me faire par ſa lettre du 19me de Novembre, que Monſieur Marſchalch de Bieberſtein m'a rendu.

Tous les ſervices de ma vie ne peuvent mériter une ſi grande grâce que celle que votre Majeſté vient de me faire, en déclarant qu'elle eſt contente de la conduite que j'ai tenu juſques à cette heure; la meilleure manière dont je pourrai montrer ma reconnoiſſance de ſes bontés royales, ſera de continuer à faire des vœux pour l'accroiſſement de ſon bonheur & de ſa gloire, & à chercher des nouvelles occaſions pour marquer de plus en plus l'attachement très reſpectueux avec lequel je ſerai toute ma vie,

De votre Majeſté, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, March the 22d, 1711-12.

I HEARD this day with great pleaſure, by the return of the Falkland, that you had gained your paſſage, and that on Wedneſday laſt you was within the Goree, working up to Rotterdam.

By the copies which I ſend in my private diſpatch to my Lords the Plenipotentiaries, of the extract of Monſieur de Torcy's memorial, and of my letter in anſwer to it, you will ſee on what terms we ſtand as to that great article, the preventing the union of the two crowns.

The

The Queen would have you ſpeak in the ſame language as her other miniſters are directed to do, very peremptorily.

For my own part, I am very hopeful, that when the enemy ſee we are determined effectually to provide for that contingency, they will be more reaſonable. It will be proper for you who came laſt from Britain, to ſay to the French Miniſters that not only the Queen, but all thoſe who are inclined to peace among us, have built on this ſuppoſition, that the King will come into any meaſures, according to his promiſe, neceſſary to ſecure Europe againſt ſo exorbitant a power as would be formed by the union of the monarchies of France and Spain, and that if, at laſt, they attempt to impoſe trifling and inſufficient expedients upon us, they will render the moſt hearty friends to peace partizans for the war, which we ſhall be better able to annoy them in, when we have reduced our expences within that compaſs which we ſhall be able to ſupply.

You will likewiſe, whenever you ſpeak with the French Miniſters, affect a ſort of negligence what becomes of the other points, till you hear how they will agree to ſettle this.

If you ſee Monſieur Marſchalch, the Pruſſian Miniſter, at Utrecht, put on an air of confidence with him, his maſter muſt be played off in the courſe of this treaty, and he can be uſeful to that end. I think I have ſet him as right as one could wiſh.

Adieu. As long as you may think this letter, perhaps you will hardly receive ſo ſhort a one from your humble ſervant while you are abroad.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

A Verſailles, le 20me Mars, 1712.

LES Plénipotentiaires du Roi reçoivent, Monſieur, de nouveaux ordres de ſa Majeſté pour convenir avec Monſieur l'Evêque de Briſtol, & avec Monſieur le Comte de Strafford, des conditions qu'elle peut accorder ſur les demandes de la Grande Bretagne.

Comme ſa Majeſté ne ſauroit croire que Meſſieurs vos Plénipotentiaires aient ordre d'exiger des conditions, dont l'effet cauſeroit la ruine du commerce de ſes ſujets, & de la navigation de ſon royaume ; elle eſt perſuadée que ces nouvelles facilités, & pour la Grande Bretagne & pour les Princes dont les intérêts lui ſont plus ſenſibles, avanceront le ſuccès de la négociation. Mais en même-tems, Monſieur, le Roi s'attend auſſi à voir moins de vivacité de la part de Meſſieurs vos Plénipotentiaires, pour ſoutenir les demandes de la Maiſon d'Autriche, des Etats-Généraux, & celles de pluſieurs Princes de l'empire, qui ne ſe plaignent que parce qu'ils y ſont excités par les ennemis de la paix.

Le moyen le plus efficace de l'avancer, c'eſt que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne donne auſſi de nouveaux ordres à Meſſieurs ſes Miniſtres à Utrecht, & qu'il y ait déſormais de leur part, plus de concert avec les Plénipotentiaires du Roi.

Permettez-moi de vous exhorter encore de contribuer de tout votre pouvoir à un auſſi grand bien, & faites moi, je vous ſupplie, la juſtice de croire que je ſuis très parfaitement,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Verſailles, le 28me Mars, 1712.

QUELQUE plaiſir que j'aie de recevoir les lettres que vous me faites l'honneur de m'écrire, je ne ſerai plus en peine quand elles ſeront retardées, voyant, par la dernière, que le tems de votre ſilence eſt employé ſi utilement pour le ſuccès de l'affaire importante, que j'eſpère que vous conduirez à une heureuſe fin.

Le Sieur Gaultier m'a rendu compte de toutes les meſures que vous avez priſes pour y parvenir. Il part pour Utrecht, où je crois ſa préſence néceſſaire pour fortifier l'union & la confiance entre les Plénipotentiaires du Roi & ceux de la Grande Bretagne.

J'eſpère que les derniers ordres que ſa Majeſté donne aux ſiens établiront ſolidement cette bonne intelligence, & que vous achéverez le reſte à la gloire de la Reine votre maîtreſſe. Je puis vous aſſurer, Monſieur, que le Roi ne ſouhaite pas moins qu'elle, que la paix puiſſe être faite en auſſi peu de tems que vous le marquez.

Je réponds par un mémoire* à celui que le Sieur Gaultier m'a remis de

* " *Réponſe au Mémoire apporté par le Sieur Gaultier, le 23me Mars*, 1712.

" Le Roi ne ſouhaite pas moins ſincèrement que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne de prévenir les événemens de la campagne, & de convenir, avant qu'elle ſoit ouverte, des conditions de la paix.

" Sa Majeſté a remarqué toute l'habilité de la conduite ſage et prudente, tenue pendant la ſéance du Parlement, pour faire connoître, à la Chambre des Communes, que la nation étoit abuſée par ſes alliés, qu'ils profitoient ſeuls d'une guerre, dont l'Angleterre ſoutenoit le poids principal, et dont elle ne pouvoit eſpérer d'utilité, qu'en faiſant bientôt la paix, à des conditions honorables et avantageuſes pour elle. Comme l'autre chambre n'a été entraînée que par la paſſion d'un parti turbulent, et que l'intérêt particulier anime contre le miniſtère préſent, le Roi s'aſſure que ceux qui conduiſent préſentement, avec tant de capacité, les affaires de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, ſauront bien faire plier ce parti, et l'obliger à ſe conformer aux véritables intérêts de la nation, lorſque les Plénipotentiaires de France et d'Angleterre ſeront convenus, à Utrecht, d'un plan de paix juſte et raiſonnable.

" Pour en avancer la concluſion, ſa Majeſté a permis à ſes Plénipotentiaires de ſe relâcher encore à de nouvelles facilités, dont ils informeront M. Harley. Elle apprend avec plaiſir que la Reine de la

de votre part. Ce ſeroit un bien de pouvoir mettre en uſage l'expédient que vous propoſerez pour empêcher à jamais le grand inconvénient

Grand Bretagne l'ait inſtruit pleinement de ſes intentions, et qu'elle lui ait donné ſes derniers ordres, ne doutant pas que cette Princeſſe ne renferme, dans les bornes de la juſtice, et de la droite raiſon, les termes vagues de *ſatisfaction raiſonnable et du ſuretés réelles*, que ſes alliés étendent non-ſeulement aux demandes les plus outrées qu'ils font actuellement (1), mais encore à celles qu'ils n'ont pas imaginés, et qu'ils ſe réſervent de faire, à deſſein apparemment d'allonger la négociation. L'ordre principal que le Roi avoit donné à ſes Plénipotentiaires lorſqu'ils ſont partis pour Utrecht, étoit d'établir une étroite confiance entre eux et les Miniſtres de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne ; les mêmes ordres leur ont été réitérés pluſieurs fois, et nouvellement encore depuis l'arrivée du Sieur Gaultier. Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires d'Angleterre en ayant de pareils, et ſa Majeſté comptant beaucoup ſur l'équité, et ſur les lumières de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, le plan néceſſaire pour le rétabliſſement du repos de l'Europe doit être bientôt formé. Les Plénipotentiaires de France en abrégeront certainement toutes les longueurs. Le Roi s'aſſure auſſi que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne aura donné ſes ordres bien précis à Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires d'écarter toutes les demandes injuſtes de ſes alliés qui ne peuvent former que des embarras. Le projet du traité de commerce à faire, a été envoyé d'Utrecht, le Roi le fait examiner. Il eſt très à propos qu'il ſerve de prétexte à une négociation particulière, cependant ſa Majeſté ne veut rien omettre pour favoriſer le commerce de la nation Angloiſe, en tout ce qui dépendra d'elle, et qui ne ſera pas abſolument contraire aux intérêts de ſa Majeſté et au commerce de ſes ſujets. Le Roi croit auſſi que rien n'eſt plus conforme aux intentions de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, et aux aſſurances que cette Princeſſe lui donne, de vouloir faire revivre la bonne correſpondance entre les deux nations. Le dernier article du mémoire demande certainement une grande diſcuſſion, et d'être mûrement examiné. La matière eſt ſi importante, qu'on

(1) The demands of the allies were in ſubſtance as follows :

The Emperor demanded, 1ſt, The ratification of all decrees of the empire (meaning, particularly, thoſe againſt the electors of Bavaria and Cologne). 2. The reſtitution of all places ceded by Auſtria, by the treaties of Munſter, Nimmegen, and Ryſwick. 3. The reſtoration of the domains of the Duke of Loraine. 4. The monarchy of Spain.

The aſſociated circles demanded the reſtoration of all places ceded by the treaty of Munſter, or otherwiſe.

Great Britain demanded, 1. The acknowledgment of the ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover. 2. The departure of the Pretender from the territories of France. 3. A treaty of commerce. 4. The demolition of Dunkirk. 5. Ceſſion of St. Kitt's, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (then called Acadia) and Hudſon's Bay. 6. A juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for all her allies. 7. The acknowledgment of the electoral dignity in the Houſe of Hanover. 8. The abrogation of the 4th article in the treaty of Ryſwick, which relates to religion, and a greater liberty to the Proteſtants in France. 9. Satisfaction to the Houſe of Hamilton and Colonel Douglas.

The States-General demanded, 1. The ceſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands to the Emperor. 2. Menin, Lille, Douay, Tournay, Bethune, Bouchaine, &c. to the States, and Furnes, Ypres, Valenciennes, to them, or to any other power except France. 3. Treaty of commerce, as ſettled by that of Ryſwick, with the tariff of 1664. 4. The reſtoration of the principality of Orange to whom it may belong.

Portugal demanded the ceſſion of a pretended right to Marignan, &c.

Pruſſia demanded, 1. The acknowledgment of his royal dignity. 2. The reſtoration of the principality of Orange, with the eſtates of Châlon, Châtel, Belin, &c. in Burgundy, the ſovereignty of Neufchâtel. 3. In commerce, the ſame advantages as Great Britain.

Savoy demanded, 1. The ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain, after the Houſe of Auſtria. 2. Exilles, Feneſtrelles, Fort Dauphin, &c. as a barrier.

Treves demanded the reſtoration of Treves, and the poſſeſſion of the grand priory, caſtle, and abby of Palermo.

Munſter and Wertemberg demanded the expences of the war, and the latter required the lordſhip of Wiſenſburg, which belonged to Bavaria, with Montbeliard, and ſatisfaction for New Briſac, &c.

Heſſe Caſſel demanded the fortreſs of Rhinfels, &c. with the abolition of the 45th article in the treaty of Ryſwick, together with his expences in the war.

Moſt of the allies reſerved a power of increaſing their demands.

nient de l'union des couronnes de France & d'Eſpagne, mais il ne faut pas dans ces occaſions bâtir ſur le ſable, & prendre inutilement bien de précautions pour aſſurer des actes qui d'eux-mêmes ſeroient nuls. En voulant éviter un mal, on tomberoit en d'autres beaucoup plus dangereux. Je vous ſupplie, donc, de bien examiner, de votre côté, cette matière importante, & de compter, comme j'ai l'honneur de vous le marquer, que l'union des deux monarchies ſeroit un mal plus grand ne doit pas s'arrêter aux premières idées. Plus elles ſont ſpécieuſes, plus il eſt dangereux de ſe laiſſer tromper par la facilité qu'on croit trouver à les ſuivre. La France ne peut jamais conſentir à devenir province de l'Eſpagne, & l'Eſpagne penſera de même à l'égard de la France; il eſt donc queſtion de prendre des meſures ſolides pour empêcher l'union des deux monarchies; mais on s'écarteroit abſolument du but qu'on ſe propoſe, & l'on tomberoit en des maux infinis pires, s'il eſt poſſible, que celui qu'on veut unanimement éviter, ſi l'on contrevenoit aux lois fondamentales du Royaume. Suivant ces lois, le Prince le plus proche de la Couronne, en eſt héritier néceſſaire, c'eſt un patrimoine qu'il reçoit ni du Roi ſon prédéceſſeur, ni du peuple, mais du bénéfice de la loi, en ſorte qu'un Roi ceſſant de vivre, l'autre lui ſuccède auſſitôt, ſans attendre le conſentement de qui que ce ſoit. Il ſuccède, non comme héritier, mais comme le Monarque du royaume, dont la ſeigneurie lui appartient, non par choix, mais par le ſeul droit de ſa naiſſance; il n'eſt redévable de ſa Couronne ni au teſtament de ſon prédéceſſeur, ni à aucun édit, ni à aucun décret, ni enfin à la libéralité de perſonne, mais à la loi, cette loi eſt regardée comme l'ouvrage de celui qui a établi toutes les monarchies, & nous ſommes perſuadés en France que Dieu ſeul la peut abolir.

"Nulle renonciation ne peut donc la détruire, & ſi le Roi d'Eſpagne donnoit la ſienne pour le bien de la paix & par obéiſſance pour le Roi ſon grandpère, on ſe tromperoit en la recevant comme un expédient ſuffiſant pour prévenir le mal qu'on ſe propoſe d'éviter. Ce ſeroit, au contraire, la ſource des plus grands maux, & ce ſeroit ouvrir la porte à des guerres inteſtines dans le royaume, dont le feu embraſſeroit encore toute l'Europe. Il faut donc chercher d'autres expédiens pour empêcher à jamais une union également dangereuſe à la France, à l'Eſpagne, & à toute l'Europe. Le feu Roi d'Eſpagne, Charles II, avoit ſagement prévu l'inconvénient de la réunion des deux monarchies, il y avoit auſſi remédié par ſon teſtament, car en même-tems qu'il appelle Philippe V, alors Duc d'Anjou, à la ſucceſſion de ſes royaumes, il déclare que ſi ce Prince, héritant la Couronne de France en préfère la jouiſſance à celle de la Monarchie d'Eſpagne, la ſucceſſion de cette monarchie doit paſſer à Monſieur le Duc de Berry, & ſi Monſieur le Duc de Berry ſuccède à la Couronne de France, l'Archiduc, ſecond fils de l'Empereur, eſt appelé, par le même teſtament à la ſucceſſion d'Eſpagne, le fils aîné de l'Empereur étant exclus par la même raiſon d'empêcher l'union de la Couronne Impériale avec celle d'Eſpagne. Depuis que le Roi Philippe V règne, il a déclaré & fait enrégîter dans les conſeils d'Eſpagne que les déſcendans de la Reine, Anne d'Autriche devoient ſuccéder à la couronne d'Eſpagne au défaut des deſcendans de la feue Reine Marie Théréſe. Auſſi Monſieur le Duc d'Orléans, ſuccéderoit au défaut de Monſieur le Duc de Berry. Cette diſpoſition conforme aux lois & de la France & de l'Eſpagne, pourroit être confirmée par le traité de paix, autoriſée nouvellement, s'il etoit néceſſaire, par les cortes ou états du Royaume d'Eſpagne. Elle aſſureroit la ſéparation perpétuelle des deux monarchies, elle ne ſeroit plus ſujette aux inconvéniens d'une renonciation qui ne peut jamais être ſolide, étant faite contre les lois. Comme cette renonciation n'eſt propoſée dans le mémoire que le Sieur Gaultier a remis que comme une première idée, il faut auſſi recevoir cette nouvelle propoſition comme une première idée, & ſonger ſerieuſement aux moyens de s'aſſurer contre une réunion également dangereuſe à toute l'Europe (3)."

(3) This memoire is a curious explanation of the divine and indefeaſible right of the Houſe of Bourbon, which, however, yielded to the neceſſity of the times.

pour

pour la France, que pour l'Angleterre, & pour les autres états de l'Europe.

Comme vous paroiſſez ſatisfait du Sieur Gaultier, je crois, Monſieur, que vous ſerez bien aiſe d'apprendre que le Roi lui a donné une Abbaye. Je vous ſupplie d'être perſuadé qu'on ne peut être plus parfaitement que je ſuis,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 23me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

JE répondois avant-hier, à votre lettre du 20me de ce mois, N.S. dans le tems qu'un courier m'apporta celle du 28me, avec le mémoire de la même datte.

La Reine croit que le Sieur Gaultier vous aura donné ſatisfaction ſur les points contenus dans la première ; & ſa Majeſté m'a commandé ſans perte de tems, de vous communiquer ſes ſentimens à l'égard de l'article de l'union des deux monarchies, ſur lequel votre dernière dépêche roule principalement. Les facilités qui ont été apportées d'ici à la concluſion d'une paix générale, ont été plus grandes qu'on auroit pu attendre de la Reine, ou que tout autre puiſſance auroit pu contribuer.

Le premier motif que ſa Majeſté a eu de faire toutes ces avances, a été une ferme confiance établie ſur des aſſurances ſi ſouvent répétées de la part de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, qu'elle conſentiroit à prendre toutes les méſures néceſſaires pour empêcher à jamais cette union ſi dangereuſe à toute l'Europe.

L'expédient que le Sieur Gaultier a été inſtruit de propoſer, eſt le ſeul

qui

qui paroît à la Reine capable de donner la moindre eſpérance de prévenir cet inconvénient ; & ſa Majeſté obſerve, que la propoſition contenue dans votre mémoire ne fait que confirmer & rendre la Reine & ſes alliés parties à un plan, qui a été & qui eſt préſentement plus que jamais l'objet de leurs craintes.

Il n'eſt pas néceſſaire que j'entre dans le détail des objections ſur leſquelles on peut inſiſter. Vous êtes, Monſieur, trop éclairé pour ne les pas voir dans toute leur étendue, & dans toute leur force. La Reine compte trop ſur l'équité du Roi votre maître, & ſur le deſir ſincère qu'il a témoigné pour la paix, pour pouvoir s'imaginer qu'il demandera qu'elle ſe contente d'une ſureté auſſi peu ſolide que celle qui eſt propoſée dans le mémoire, ou qu'elle ſouffre que le cas puiſſe arriver que celui qui ſera en poſſeſſion de la couronne d'Eſpagne, auroit le droit de ſuccéder à la couronne de France. Qui nous aſſureroit alors que ce Prince ne ſe ſerviroit de ſa puiſſance pour conſerver l'une & pour acquérir l'autre, plutôt que de montrer une modération ſans exemple ?

Nous voulons bien croire que vous êtes perſuadés en France que Dieu ſeul peut abolir la loi ſur laquelle le droit de votre ſucceſſion eſt fondé ; mais vous nous permettrez d'être perſuadés dans la Grande Bretagne, qu'un Prince peut ſe départir de ſon droit par une ceſſion volontaire ; & que celui en faveur de qui cette renonciation ſe fait, peut être juſtement ſoutenu dans ſes prétenſions par les puiſſances qui deviennent garants du traité.

Enfin, Monſieur, la Reine me commande de vous faire ſavoir que cet article eſt d'une ſi grand conſéquence, tant pour elle, que pour le reſte de l'Europe, tant pour le ſiècle préſent, que pour la poſtérité, qu'elle ne conſentira jamais à continuer les négociations de paix, à moins que l'expédient qu'elle a propoſé ne ſoit accepté, ou quelque autre également ſolide.

Je dépêche, demain, un courier à Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires pour leur communiquer les ordres de la Reine ſur ce ſujet, & je dois vous dire, qu'ils ne pourront accepter aucun plan pour la paix générale, tout raiſonnable qu'il puiſſe être à d'autres égards, s'ils ne reçoivent ſatisfaction ſur les moyens d'empêcher cette union.

Ce ſeroit en effet de bâtir ſur le ſable, & prendre inutilement bien des précautions, que de faire la paix & de n'avoir pas prévenu un danger auſſi grand & auſſi probable que celui-ci.

On voit avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction que vous ſouhaitez que cette nouvelle propoſition ne ſoit regardée que comme une première idée; faiſons tout ce que nous pourrons de part & d'autre, afin que les ſecondes idées s'approchent de plus près, & ne laiſſons pas imparfait, un ouvrage qui à été tellement avancé malgré cette oppoſition vive & générale.

Je me réjoui de ce qu'il a plu au Roi de récompenſer les ſervices du Sieur Gaultier en lui donnant une Abbaye; il ne manquera pas d'être utile à Utrecht; ce qu'il y a de certain, eſt qu'il y trouvera les Miniſtres de la Reine dans la diſpoſition d'abréger la négociation.

Je vous prie d'être perſuadé que

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 24me Mars, V.S. 1711; N.S. 1712.

J'AI trouvé à propos d'arrêter le courier que j'avois réſolu de dépêcher hier, pour attendre la lettre que Monſieur le Grand Tréſorier ſe donne l'honneur de vous écrire.

Dans ce tems, nos lettres du 30me, N.S. ſont arrivés d'Utrecht, par leſquelles je vois qu'il y a eu quelque petit différent entre les ſentimens

de vos Plénipotentiaires & des nôtres ſur l'explication de cet article qui promet un avantage de 15 *per cent.* ſur toutes les marchandiſes du crû & de la manufacture de la Grande Bretagne. J'eſpère que les dépêches que j'enverrai demain applaniront cette difficulté.

Pourvu que nous puiſſions nous accorder ſur les moyens d'empêcher l'union des deux monarchies, on doit eſpérer que les autres points ſeront réglés à la ſatisfaction commune.

Ceux qui ſouhaitent, tant ici qu'ailleurs, la continuation de la guerre, & qui ſe ſont oppoſés à l'ouverture des conférences, auront un beau ſujet de triomphe en cas que l'expédient à cet effet ne ſoit pas proportionné au danger auquel l'Europe ſe trouve expoſée.

Le Sieur Prior m'a montré la lettre qu'il a reçu de votre part. Soyez perſuadé, Monſieur, que la Reine a nulle intention d'entrer en conteſtation ſur les intérêts d'un Cardinal de Bouillon *. Sa Majeſté ſouhaite d'accommoder les différents qui ſubſiſtent, et de ne pas créer de nouveaux.

Je ſuis, &c,

H. St. JEAN.

A Monſieur le Comte de Maffei.

De Whitehall, ce 26me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

VOUS n'aurez pas manqué d'appercevoir, Monſieur, par la conduite des Plénipotentiaires de la Reine, que ces Meſſieurs ont été inſtruits d'avancer les intérêts de ſon Alteſſe Royale, dans la conjoncture préſente le plus qu'il leur ſera poſſible.

* The Cardinal was diſgraced by Louis XIV, in 1700, without aſſigning any reaſon; though it is probable that his attachment to his friend Fenelon, Archbiſhop of Cambray, then under proſecution for having adopted the contemplative tenets of the Quieteſts, drew upon him the diſpleaſure of the Court. In 1710, eſcorted by his nephew, the Prince d'Auvergne, he fled from France to the army of the allies.

De mon côté, ſoyez perſuadé que rien ne ſera négligé pour procurer des ordres convénables de la Reine, & pour les renforcer, le mieux que je puis dans la communication que j'en donne à nos Miniſtres que ſont à Utrecht.

Vous connoiſſez aſſez la Bretagne, la conſtitution de notre gouvernement, & la ſituation préſente de nos partis, pour ſentir toutes les difficultés & tous les dangers, que ceux qui ſont dans les affaires, à l'heure qu'il eſt, doivent eſſuyer. C'eſt par-là que vous aurez auſſi une idée juſte des détours qu'il faut qu'ils prennent, & des méſures qu'ils ont à garder preſque dans chaque pas qu'ils avancent. En même-tems, l'Empereur & les Etats-Généraux, loin de nous ſavoir bon gré des efforts que nous avons faits juſques ici, courent riſque de tout bouleverſer, plutôt que de concourir de bonne grâce à faire la paix, même après qu'il eſt devenu indubitable, par le procédé de notre Chambre-Baſſe, que la guerre ne pourra plus être ſoutenu ſur l'ancien pied. Je ne vois dans de telles circonſtances qu'un expédient qui nous puiſſe tirer d'affaires, & empêcher la continuation d'une guerre qui ſera dorénavant languiſſante, c'eſt le même dont nous nous ſommes ſouvent entretenus, que la Reine, que ſon Alteſſe Royale, & les autres puiſſances qui ſouhaitent une paix raiſonnable, s'uniſſent étroitement enſemble, qu'ils s'entendent & qu'ils s'entr'aident ſur leurs intérêts particuliers, & en cas que la France leur donne ſatisfaction ſur ces points & faſſe des offres avantageuſes aux autres alliés, pourquoi ne pas ſe déclarer pour un plan qui rétablira le repos de l'Europe?

Vous avez certainement eu grande raiſon de vous appuyer ſur l'article ſixième de votre traité, & je ne doute point que nos Miniſtres ne ſe ſervent, tant auprès des François qu'auprès des Hollandois, des inſtances que vous avez fait pour montrer la juſtice, & même la néceſſité qu'il y a de procurer à ſon Alteſſe Royale, une convenable indemniſation des droits qu'il pourra perdre.

J'écris

J'écris aujourd'hui au Garde du Seau-Privé, & au Comte de Strafford, ſur ce ſujet ; & je ſais qu'en les excitant à travailler pour vos intérêts, je fais ma cour à la Reine, ma maîtreſſe.

Faites-moi la juſtice de croire que je ſuis, &c.

Je vous prie de bien faire mes complimens à Monſieur le Marquis du Bourg.

A Monſieur Marſchalch.

De Whitehall, ce 26me Mars, V.S. 1711-12.

J'AI vu, Monſieur, avec beaucoup de plaiſir, par votre lettre du 19-30me de ce mois, que vous étiez arrivé en Hollande, & que vous eſpériez vous rendre le lendemain à Utrecht. Vos bons offices y ſeront d'une grande utilité dans la conjoncture préſente ; ceux qui ſouhaitent, pour leurs avantages particuliers, la continuation de la guerre, ne ſe rebutent pas ; de l'autre côté, les François ſont très capables de ſe roidir, & de tâcher de profiter de la déſunion des alliés. Il faut, mon cher Monſieur, que les bien-intentionnés s'oppoſent dans ces deux cas, & aux uns & aux autres.

Vous vous ſouviendrez peut-être de ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire des ſentimens de la Reine ſur l'article de l'union des deux Monarchies. Je ſuis perſuadé que le Roi votre maître enviſagera cet article comme le point eſſentiel de toute la négociation, & qu'il croira qu'il ne faut jamais conſentir que le cas puiſſe arriver, que le Prince qui ſera ſur le trône d'Eſpagne, ſoit appellé par droit de ſucceſſion à celui de France : cette maxime étant une fois poſée, il en réſulte, par une conſéquence néceſſaire, que nous devons établir la ſucceſſion de la Couronne de France dans le Traité futur, à l'excluſion du Roi Philip, & d'exiger de lui une renonciation en faveur de Monſieur de Berry, &c.

Les François ne manqueront pas de répondre, que ce ſeroit ſe tromper que d'accepter une telle renonciation, parce qu'étant faite contre cette loi divine, ſur laquelle la ſucceſſion de leur Couronne eſt établie; elle ſeroit nulle; peut-être propoſeront-ils que nous confirmions le teſtament de Charles II, par lequel Philip aura ſon choix, dans le cas de la Mort du Roi & du Dauphin de France de celle des deux Couronnes qui lui conviendra le mieux, & s'il veut régner en France, le Duc de Berry ſuccédera à la monarchie d'Eſpagne.

Mais un expédient de cette nature ſeroit en même-tems & peu ſolide & honteux pour les alliés; ce ſeroit confirmer un teſtament, qui a été & qui eſt préſentement plus que jamais, l'objet de nos juſtes craintes.

Philip, diſent-ils, ne peut pas renoncer à ſon droit de ſuccéder à la Couronne de France, comment donc renoncera-t-il à la Couronne même ſi elle tui tombe en partage; & s'il ne peut pas renoncer à la Couronne, comment aura-t-il ce choix que le teſtament ſuppoſe?

Soyons fermes ſur ce point, tout homme peut faire une ceſſion volontaire de ſon droit, & ceux qui ſont garands d'un accord peuvent juſtement ſoutenir les prétenſions de celui en faveur duquel une réſignation volontaire aura été faite; ſur le premier plan, l'intérêt de la maiſon de Bourbon, s'accordera avec l'intérêt général de l'Europe; ſur l'autre, nous n'avons que la vie d'un Garçon de trois ans pour toute ſureté.

Je vous écris avec ouverture, & peut-être avec chaleur, ſur cet article, mais vous m'excuſerez quand vous conſidérez qu'à moins que nous prévenions cette union, nous jetons, en faiſant la paix, les ſemences de nouvelles guerres, & le fondement d'un pouvoir qui ne peut pas manquer d'être dangereux à toute l'Europe.

Je ſuis, &c.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

MY LORDS,

Whitehall, March 26th, 1711-12.

I CANNOT be ſorry that the French are ſo near agreeing with the Miniſters of Pruſſia; I wiſh to hear that our intereſts, thoſe of Savoy, and thoſe of the empire, were likewiſe adjuſted. If this was done, and reaſonable offers made to the reſt of the confederates, I can entertain no doubt but both Houſes of Parliament would addreſs the Queen, to declare for peace upon ſuch a plan. When I ſay this to your Lordſhips, I ſtill ſuppoſe the great article, the preventing the union of the two crowns, adjuſted in ſuch a manner as to ſecure Europe from that fatal contingency which is now more than ever to be apprehended.

To the reflections contained in my letter to Monſieur de Torcy, upon his propoſition, I cannot forbear adding another groſs abſurdity, which occurs to me as I write. In caſe the Duke of Anjou's right to the Crown of France comes to take place, he is not to enjoy both; how can he chooſe if he cannot renounce either? And can he renounce the Crown of France, and not the right to it? I believe it will be worth your Lordſhips' while to uſe more than ordinary pains, with ſuch of the allies particularly as are neareſt coming to an agreement, to render them firm upon this article. The Pruſſian miniſter might ſurely be managed, and I think that a lure might be held out to thoſe of Savoy, which they will not fail to ſtoop at. I mean the impoſſibility of their maſter's family ever ſucceeding to the crown of Spain, if the whole Houſe of Bourbon are to retain a right to both the crowns, and the chance which they may have, by a proper expedient, of fitting on the Spaniſh throne.

Maffei

Maffei writ me a letter ſome time ago, to claim the performance of thoſe promiſes of good offices which had been often made him. I have anſwered him, that he ſees and knows the difficulties which we labour under, and the meaſures which we have to keep; but I was ſure it would be your Lordſhip's care to advance, according to the Queen's intentions, his maſter's intereſt wherever your interpoſition might be uſeful; and that you would live with him and his colleagues in great terms of confidence.

Mr. Harley is, I make no doubt, long before this, with your Lordſhips; and I hope he has fully explained the Queen's deſires and views to you, at leaſt he is as amply inſtructed in them as I am able to inform him; the conduct of this matter is in ſo good hands that I am hopeful an anſwerable event may be expected; the truth is, the impatience of the peaceable among us runs high, and the hopes of the warriors riſe by delay.

If your Lordſhips are able to ſettle any plan with the French, which may be the foundation of a reaſonable peace, her Majeſty thinks that it may be proper and extremely uſeful that the Earl of Strafford ſhould himſelf come over upon that occaſion.

I am, &c.

To Colonel King.

Whitehall, March 29th, 1712.

I AM extremely obliged to you for the letters which I have received from you, and for the inſtructive accounts which you have tranſmitted to me.

The hurry in which I live, and the uncertainty of your ſituation, muſt compoſe my apology for not correſponding punctually with you;

you; my ſilence could proceed from no other reaſon, ſince I have the trueſt value for your merit; and the warmeſt affection for your perſon.

Colonel Butler goes from hence to Liſbon, and from thence to Gibraltar; to his care I commit this letter, and wherever you are, he will probably convey it to you. The Duke of Argyle is arrived here ſome days ago; by his report of things, it appears how neceſſary that order was which ſent him to Port Mahon, I make no diſpute but the Queen will find the ſame good fruit from my Lord Portmore's inſpection of Gibraltar*.

Let me hear from you as often as you can, and be perſuaded that your welfare and proſperity are ſincerely at the heart of

Your ever faithful, &c.

To the Earl of Portmore.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, March 29th, 1712.

I CANNOT refuſe Colonel Butler, who is going to his regiment, to give your Lordſhip the trouble of a letter, which may ſerve as his introducer to you. His own merit will ſufficiently recommend him to your Lordſhip's favour, when he has the honour of being known to you; in the mean time, I flatter myſelf that I ſhall be ſo happy as to procure him your patronage.

I take it that he will be under Mr. Stanwix, the Commanding Officer at Gibraltar; and if your Lordſhip ſhould ſo think fit, he might naturally be Lieutenant-governor there. I ſuppoſe that there cannot be any objection to this upon the account of the perſon who now has that em-

* Beetſon in his Political Index, has inſerted the Earl of Portmore Governor of Gibraltar in 1706, and the Duke of Argyle as Governor of Minorca in 1709.

ployment. We hope ſoon to hear that your Lordſhip has put things into ſome order at Gibraltar, where hitherto they have been in the utmoſt confuſion; and under the looſeſt management; little has been done at any time on the ſide of Portugal; and I doubt that nothing is to be hoped for now, ſince the Queen has, on the application of her Commons, determined no longer to take the entire load of that war upon herſelf, but to inſiſt that his Imperial Majeſty and the States-General do furniſh for the future their thirds towards the ſupport of it.

Gibraltar and Port Mahon will, in this caſe, be all that we have left to ſhow for thoſe immenſe ſums which have been expended, and for that blood which has been ſhed in thoſe parts. By retaining of theſe places, we may hope to acquire ſome recompence to Britain; from the gratitude of thoſe for whom we have waſted ourſelves, I would not expect ſo much as thanks.

I flatter myſelf that I ſhall have ſoon the happineſs of ſeeing your Lordſhips here; wherever you are, I remain,

My Lord, with much truth and reſpect,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI reçu, par le courier revenu de Londres, les lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 23me et le 24me de Mars, V.S. et j'ai remarqué, avec beaucoup de plaiſir, que vous contiez que les conditions du traité de paix ſeroient bientôt réglées à la ſatisfaction commune, ſi l'on pouvoit s'accorder ſur les moyens d'empêcher la réunion des monarchies de France et d'Eſpagne.

Je

Je crois, Monſieur, qu'il ne doit pas être impoſſible de trouver un expédient dont toute l'Europe à également intérêt de convenir, et puiſque vous ne vous arrêtez pas uniquement à celui que le Sieur Gaultier m'avoit propoſé de votre part, j'eſpère que les ſecondes idées ſeront plus heureuſes que ne l'ont été les premières ; ſi elles ne vous plaiſent pas encore entièrement, ayez la bonté de me communiquer ce qu'on pourroit y ajouter, ou bien en retrancher ; enfin, Monſieur, travaillons vivement et ſans prévention, à l'accompliſſement d'un ouvrage auſſi important que celui de la paix.

Comme la principale difficulté qui s'oppoſe encore à ſa concluſion eſt l'embarras de trouver des ſuretés ſuffiſantes pour empêcher la réunion pernicieuſe des monarchies de France et d'Eſpagne, le Roi propoſe de convenir, par le traité de paix, dont toutes les puiſſances de l'Europe ſeront garants, que ſi jamais le Roi d'Eſpagne, Philippe V, ou le Prince ſon fils, ou celui de leurs enfans qui leur ſuccédera au royaume d'Eſpagne, ou l'héritier le plus prochain et préſomptif, ou le ſucceſſeur de la couronne de France qui l'a préféré à la couronne d'Eſpagne, celle d'Eſpagne appartiendra, de plein droit, au Prince dont il ſera convenu par le même traité pour la poſſéder ; que non-ſeulement le Roi Philippe ſignera et ratifiera cette condition du traité, mais encore que toutes les puiſſances de l'Europe s'engageront avec la France, à maintenir cet article, en ſorte que ſi le Prince de la maiſon de France, qui régnera en Eſpagne, veut exercer ſon droit ſur la couronne de France, dans le cas que je viens de marquer, il ſoit obligé de renoncer à ſes droits, & à ceux de ſes déſcendans ſur l'Eſpagne, d'en ſortir & de paſſer en France, avec tous ſes enfans, Princes & Princeſſes. Que s'il préfère la couronne d'Eſpagne à celle de France, ou à la qualité d'héritier & de ſucceſſeur immédiat de la couronne de France, il ſoit obligé de renoncer, en faveur de la branche qui ſuivra de plus près la ſienne, & qui ſera demeurée en France, à ſes droits & à ceux de ſes enfans ſur la même

couronne de France, en ſorte que, ce cas arrivant, le Roi Catholique, ou celui qui régneroit en ſa place, auroit ſeulement le choix, comme étant l'aîné; mais il ne pourroit poſſéder les deux monarchies enſemble, ou hériter celle de France & laiſſer celle d'Eſpagne à l'un de ſes enfans.

Si vous demandez, Monſieur, quelle précaution l'on prendra pour aſſurer une renonciation que je vous ai repréſenté comme contraire à l'ordre établi en France pour la ſucceſſion à la couronne, je répondrai, premièrement, qu'il n'y pas lieu de croire, que le Roi d'Eſpagne choiſiſſe la couronne d'Eſpagne préférablement à celle de ſes pères, par mille raiſons, aiſées à comprendre, & trop longues à déduire. Secondement, que s'il étoit aſſez mal conſeillé pour faire un pareil choix, la précaution la plus ſûre, ſeroit celle que vous inſinuez, Monſieur, par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire; c'eſt à dire, l'engagement ſolennel que toutes les puiſſances de l'Europe prendront, par le traité de paix, de maintenir une diſpoſition faite en vue de conſerver la liberté & la tranquillité commune.

Puiſque la clauſe du teſtament du feu Roi d'Eſpagne Charles II, qui appelle Monſieur le Duc de Berry, paroît un nouvel obſtacle à la paix, plutôt qu'un expédient capable d'empêcher l'union des deux Monarchies, il ſemble qu'on pourroit convenir du Roi de Portugal, pour transférer ſur ſa tête la couronne d'Eſpagne, auſſitôt que le Roi d'Eſpagne ſeroit appellé à la ſucceſſion de France, & qu'il l'auroit préféré à la monarchie d'Eſpagne.

Le mariage du Roi de Portugal avec une Princeſſe de la maiſon d'Autriche, ſerviroit de prétexte à la diſpoſition à faire en faveur de ce Prince; & s'il ne convient pas de penſer à lui pour être Roi d'Eſpagne, on pourrroit, ſur le même fondement, choiſir le Prince qui épouſeroit l'une des Archiducheſſes filles de l'Empereur Joſeph.

Enfin, le Duc de Savoye étant appellé, par le teſtament des derniers

Rois

Rois d'Eſpagne, au défaut de la Maiſon d'Autriche, il pourroit auſſi être choiſi. Mais comme un Roi d'Eſpagne, maître de Piémont & de la Savoye, ſeroit un voiſin dangereux pour la France, le Roi ſe verroit obligé de demander pour barrière, non ſeulement la reſtitution des places d'Exilles & de Feneſtrelles, mais encore la ceſſion de la Savoye & du comté de Nice.

Pour aſſurer encore plus ſolidement le répos de l'Europe, on pourroit convenir, par le traité de paix, que les méſures priſes pour empêcher l'union des deux monarchies ſeroient reçues & confirmées par les cortes ou états des royaumes d'Eſpagne.

Je ſouhaite, Monſieur, que ce plan ſoit conforme aux vues & aux ſentimens de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, & je ne puis m'empêcher de l'eſperer, puiſque c'eſt de vous que vient la penſée de faire garantir les rénonciations par les puiſſances qui ſigneront le traité de paix, & certainement il n'y a point de meilleures précautions à prendre pour aſſurer la validité de ces actes, que de le ſtipuler par un traité ſolennel, dont toute l'Europe a intérêt de maintenir l'exécution.

Le Roi m'ordonne d'avertir Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires de ce que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire ; & j'eſpère, Monſieur, que l'union & la bonne intelligence entre ſa Majeſté & la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, ſe fortifieront tous les jours, de manière que les ennemis de la paix n'auront pas ſujet de triompher.

Vous aurez le plaiſir de les faire taire, & je ne deſire pas moins celui de trouver les occaſions des vous marquer que je ſuis, très parfaitement,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

A Marli, le 8me Avril, 1712.

DE TORCY.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 6me Avril, V.S. 1712.

JE réponds à la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 8me de ce mois, N.S. & que j'ai reçu par le même courier qui m'avoit apporté votre précédente.

Soyez perſuadé, Monſieur, que nous continuerons ici à travailler vivement & ſans prévention à l'accompliſſement du grand ouvrage de la paix; les conditions de laquelle ſeront bientôt réglées à la ſatisfaction commune, ſi l'on peut s'accorder ſur les moyens d'empêcher la réunion des monarchies de France & d'Eſpagne.—Vous voyez, Monſieur, que je perſiſte dans mon ſentiment.

Chacun de nos alliés a ſes vues particulières, elles ne ſont pas toutes peut-être renfermées dedans les bornes de la raiſon; il y en a auſſi beaucoup qui ſont répugnantes les unes aux autres; à ces points il ne faut pas regarder de ſi près, & des facilités de part & d'autre ne manqueront pas de réduire tous ces différents à un milieu juſte & équitable. Mais l'article de l'union des deux monarchies eſt d'une nature & d'une importance telle qu'on n'y peut faire le moindre faux-pas, qu'il ne devienne fatal; & tous les avantages qu'il eſt poſſible de ſtipuler ſeroient payés trop cher, en acceptant un expédient peu ſolide pour obvier à un danger ſi réel.

Je vous avoue, Monſieur, que les ſecondes idées ſont plus heureuſes que les premières, & qu'elles applaniſſent beaucoup de difficultés, en même-tems qu'elles diſſipent beaucoup de nos craintes; pour éviter tout equivoque, & pour prévenir le moindre méſentendu ſur un ſujet ſi délicat, vous me permettrez d'expliquer le ſens dans lequel ſa Majeſté

entend

entend, & les termes dont vous vous ſervez, & le plan que vous propoſez par ordre du Roi.

Vous propoſez donc, que le Prince qui règne préſentement en Eſpagne n'attende pas ſelon votre premier projet, que la Couronne de France lui revienne pour faire ſon choix de celle des deux qu'il veut préférer à l'autre ; mais que d'abord qu'il eſt devenu ou ſucceſſeur immédiat, ou héritier préſomptif de la couronne de France, il ſoit obligé de déclarer ſon option, & vous établiſſez la même règle pour ſes deſcendans.

Or, Monſieur, la Reine croit que l'objection qui a été faite à votre première propoſition, aura, en quelque façon, lieu à l'égard de celle-ci; car dans aucun des deux cas que vous poſez, comment l'Europe ſera-t-elle aſſurée que cette option ſe fera ? Toutes les puiſſances, direz-vous, ſeront garantes de cet accord ; une telle garantie pourra véritablement former une grande alliance pour porter la guerre contre le Prince qui voudra violer les conditions du traité ; mais nous cherchons plutôt les moyens d'empêcher, que ceux de ſouténir, des nouvelles guerres.

Enfin, Monſieur, ne faut-il pas avouer, qu'il ne ſe trouve aucun expédient qui puiſſe effectivement mettre l'Europe à couvert du danger qui la menace par la réunion des deux monarchies, à moins que le Prince qui eſt préſentement en poſſeſſion d'Eſpagne, ne faſſe, dès à cette heure, ſon choix, & à moins que ſelon le choix qu'il fera, l'ordre des deux ſucceſſions ne ſoit établi dans le traité de la paix générale.

C'eſt avec une très grande ſatisfaction que la Reine obſerve que ce plan n'eſt pas fort éloigné de celui que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne lui a fait communiquer. Raiſonnons, en premier lieu, s'il vous plait, ſur la ſuppoſition que le Prince ſuſdit préférera la couronne de ſes ancêtres à celle d'Eſpagne. Il n'y a dans la nature qu'un ſeul cas qui puiſſe arriver.

river pour lui rendre la propoſition que nous faiſons moins avantageuſe que celle que vous faites. Pardonnez-moi, Monſieur, ſi je fais deux ſuppoſitions très déſagréables, mais néceſſaires pour l'éclairciſſement de la queſtion que nous diſcutons.

Si le jeune Dauphin venoit à mourir, le Prince dont nous parlons ſeroit ſucceſſeur immédiat de la couronne de France ; dans ce cas donc il ne pourra rien perdre en faiſant choix de la couronne de France dès à préſent.

Sa Majeſté Très Chrétienne (que Dieu conſerve longues années!) venant à décéder, le même Prince ſeroit héritier préſomptif de la couronne de France : dans ce cas que perdra-t-il pour avoir fait ſon choix de la manière que la Reine le ſouhaite ? Dira-t-on qu'il courre riſque de quitter l'Eſpagne, & de ne pas acquérir la France ? Vous voyez, Monſieur, qu'il ſeroit expoſé au même inconvénient ſelon le plan que vous avez dreſſé. De tout ce que je viens de dire, la Reine croit, Monſieur, qu'il réſulte, qu'il eſt également avantageux au Prince dont il s'agit, de choiſir la couronne de France préſentement, ou de le faire dans aucun des deux circonſtances marquées dans votre lettre, & vous ſerez, ſans doute, convaincu que la ſureté de l'Europe ſera infiniment mieux établie d'une manière que de l'autre.

Si nous raiſonnons ſur la ſuppoſition que ce Prince choiſira la couronne d'Eſpagne, il eſt inconteſtable, premièrement, qu'il vaut mieux & pour lui, & pour nous, que cette déclaration ſe faſſe pendant le congrès d'Utrecht, que dans tout autre tems. Secondement, que la garantie des puiſſances de l'Europe ſera beaucoup plus capable d'empêcher qu'il retourne en France contre la renonciation formelle qu'il aura fait de ce droit, que de le contraindre d'abandonner une couronne dont il ſera en poſſeſſion, & de ſe départir d'une prétenſion à laquelle il n'aura pas renoncé.

Je vous ai, Monſieur, repréſenté le plus diſtinctement qu'il m'a été poſſible, les ſentimens de la Reine ſur le contenu de votre dernière lettre. Sa Majeſté ne cherche que la ſureté commune, le Roi Très Chrétien a le mêmes vues. Au nom de Dieu pour vouloir raffiner dans la négociation, ne perdrons point les fruits que nous ſommes prêts à cueillir. Que le Roi votre maître, & la Reine ma maîtreſſe, partagent la gloire de donner la paix à l'Europe, & que ceux qui ſouhaitent de rompre les conférences par les événemens de la campagne trouvent leurs projets renverſés par la prompte concluſion du traité.

D'un côté ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne peut aſſurer la poſſeſſion paiſible de la couronne d'Eſpagne à ſon petit-fils, de l'autre, elle peut fortifier la ſucceſſion de celle de France, empêcher à jamais l'union de l'empire avec l'Eſpagne, & procurer à ſon royaume des avantages très conſidérables; des deux côtés elle peut délivrer l'Europe de ſes craintes, & donner la dernière main à un ouvrage auſſi glorieux que celui d'une paix définitive, ſûre, & durable.

Par les lettres de Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires du 12me de ce mois, N.S. je vois que nous devons attendre en peu de jours l'arrivée du Sieur Gaultier, & qu'il apportera avec lui le plan de la paix générale qui a été formé à Utrecht. Nous nous flattons que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne s'expliquera la-deſſus d'une telle manière que la Reine puiſſe faire les déclarations néceſſaires pour rendre ſûr le ſuccès de nos négociations. Je vous dirai en homme qui ſouhaite ſincèrement la paix, que les facilités qu'on peut attendre de la Reine dépendent de la réſolution qui ſera priſe touchant le grand article de la réunion des deux monarchies.

Je vous ſupplie d'être perſuadé que je ſuis avec toute la conſidération & toute l'eſtime poſſible,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, April 8, 1712.

I THANK your moſt heartily, for the clear account which you are pleaſed to give me, of the ſituation in which the ſeveral intereſts of the allies at this time ſtand.

When I undertook, in oppoſition to all the confederates, in oppoſition to a powerful turbulent faction at home, in oppoſition even to thoſe habits of thinking, which mankind had contracted by the ſame wrong principle of government, purſued for twenty years, to make a peace, the utmoſt vigour and reſolution became neceſſary. I think theſe might have been carried, in ſome inſtances, to a higher pitch, and by that means, the negociation might have been ſhortened; but as it is, we have ſtood our ground; your accounts ſhow the general plan not to be inſuperably difficult; and what you will receive, by this meſſenger from me, ſhows that the great article, on which the whole event of the treaty turns, has been brought to ſome degree of maturity.

Your Lordſhip will receive a letter from me by Deveniſh, and in his behalf; the Queen would be glad to do this poor devil good, and ſhe leaves it to you, that ſhe may not be expoſed on his account, to intereſt herſelf in vain. I do not yet ſtir in the affair of the troop of guards, becauſe, when you come over hither, I think that may be better done, and your purſe in great meaſure ſaved.

As to the poſt of Lieutenant-general, in the army of Flanders, you Lordſhip may be named to it, if you pleaſe, as the Duke of Ormond will acquaint you; but none being named in the liſt, except ſuch as muſt actually ſerve, which the buſineſs cut out for you, makes it impoſſible that you ſhould, you are not contained in the order.

I am heartily ſorry, that your Lordſhip loſt by Adams. I know how to pity ſuch misfortunes, ſince I made a ſhift to loſe 4000l. by Lund, the other day, though I never was worth 1500l. in the world beforehand.*.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Cadogan.

SIR,

Whitehall, April, 8, 1712.

I HAVE done, ſince I received your laſt letter, as I always did before, that is, I have promoted your intereſt as far as my power reached. The reaſon why I delayed writing to you, was becauſe I was unwilling to ſay nothing; and on the other hand, I will never give any man, eſpecially him I profeſs a friendſhip for, either falſe hopes or falſe fears. The Duke of Ormond was, when the Queen declared him General of her army in the Netherlands, as much inclined to do juſtice to your merit, and as much prepared to ſerve you, as it was poſſible for yourſelf to have wiſhed. Some accident or other prevented the declaration of general officers of that army, for a week or two; in the mean while, his Grace received the compliments of every man who was to ſerve under him, but yourſelf. This ſeemed ſo particular, that the Duke was a little ſhocked at it, but the Queen was more ſo, and this is the only reaſon why you have not been named at firſt, and why you do not ſtand upon at leaſt as good a bottom as you ever did.

After ſpeaking with the plainneſs that becomes a ſincere friend, and which the circumſtance requires, I am to tell you, that the Duke goes over diſpoſed to live well with you, and to be your friend; you may

* When Bolingbroke went into voluntary exile, in 1715, the amount of the wreck of his fortune was, according to his own ſtatement, only 13,000l.

confirm him in theſe ſentiments, or oblige him to take another pli, the whole will turn on the firſt ſteps you take, I have loaded myſelf with the blame of your neglecting to write, by ſaying, that you expected to hear from me if you was ſerve on, and that I believed, ſince you had received no account from me, you took it for granted, your applications would not be welcome. As to thoſe apprehenſions under which you lay, concerning your regiment, there has not been this year any ground for them; your employment in the Tower * is not, you ſee, given from you; in ſhort, my opinion is, that you may be as well in this adminiſtration, as you was in the laſt, I am ſure my wiſhes are ſo, my endeavours have been, and ſhall be ſo.

I have given orders to have this letter forwarded to you with all poſſible ſpeed; make the proper uſe of it, and be perſuaded that I am, and will continue

Your's, &c.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

My Lords,

Whitehall, April 8, 1712.

THIS private letter incloſes a letter which I received ſome days ago, from Monſieur de Torcy, and my anſwer, by her Majeſty's order. The preſent ſtate of the diſpute between us, upon that important article, concerning the expedient for preventing the union of the two monarchies, appears ſo fully by what has paſſed between this miniſter and myſelf, that I have nothing to add. Your Lordſhips will not fail to think of new arguments to back ſo juſt a cauſe.

My Lord Treaſurer's indiſpoſition hindered me from diſpatching the French Courier, as I ſhould otherwiſe have done, on Sunday night.

* Clerk of the Ordnance.

To-morrow, he will, I hope, ſet out for Verſailles; and upon the anſwer which the Queen receives to what he carries, will the manner in which Gaultier is to ſucceed here depend.

Surely, my Lords, the facility which her Majeſty furniſhes, by yielding up the 15 *per cent.* and the declaration which ſhe makes, that ſhe will conſent to ſettle the Spaniſh and Weſt India trade, on the bottom on which they ſtood in the time of King Charles, muſt give the well-intentioned in Holland, a fair opportunity of drawing their republic into the Queen's meaſures. Certain it is, we can go no farther to pleaſe them.

I forgot by laſt poſt to mention to your Lordſhips, that the ſervices which Mr. Drummond has done, have drawn upon him the utmoſt rage of our faction here, and of their allies abroad, and though he has not writ to me upon the ſubject, yet I know that they have united their force to diſtreſs him. Your Lordſhips will pleaſe to give him your countenance and protection wherever he may want them; and to aſſiſt one who has no fault, but that which your Lordſhips are more guilty of than any two men I know—ſerving your Queen and country above all other intereſt.

I am, my Lords, &c.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 11me d'Avril, V.S. 1712.

J'AI été obligé d'arrêter le courier juſques aujourd'hui dans l'eſpérance que le Grand Tréſorier, ſeroit en état de répondre à l'honneur de votre lettre; mais comme la défluxion ſur ſes yeux qui l'en a empêché depuis cinq jours, continue encore, je ne différe plus à vous envoyer la lettre ci-jointe *.

* 6th April.

Nous attendons l'arrivée du Sieur Gaultier avec impatience, nous ſerons bien malheureux de part & d'autre, ſi la réponſe que nous donnerons à ce qu'il nous apporte, & la réponſe que vous donnerez à ce que j'écris, ne faſſent pas la paix.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, April 12th, 1712.

I SEND you incloſed, a copy of my diſpatch to the Lords Plenipotentiaries, by which you will ſee, that the Queen goes ſo far in her conceſſions, in order to bring the Dutch to reaſon, that they muſt remain without colour of excuſe, if they refuſe to comply, and to enter heartily into our meaſures.

I have by her Majeſty's directions, acquainted Mr. Van Hulſt, with the ſubſtance of what I writ, and he ſends the account to the Penſionary; the Queen would have you talk conformably to this miniſter, to Mr. Duyvenvoerde, and to whom it may be proper.

I am obliged to you for yours of the 15th and 16th, N.S. you will have ſeen by my former letters to the Plenipotentiaries, on what terms we are with the French, as to the great article; the return to my laſt letter to Monſieur Torcy, Gaultier's arrival, whom we expect every day, and the reſolution of the Dutch upon this day's diſpatch, will determine the fate of our negociations.

I encloſe to you, my Lord Treaſurer's letter. The moment we hear from France, you ſhall hear from us.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, April 16, 1712.

ON Monday, after the Cabinet was riſen, Fry, the meſſenger, arrived with your Lordſhip's of the 22nd, N.S. from the Hague, and with the other diſpatches.

The two cardinal points, on which the whole event of our preſent negociation turns, are the effect which the communication of the Queen's ultimatum, concerning the differences between her and the States-General will have; and the reſolution which will be taken in France, upon the plan tranſmitted from Utrecht, and upon my laſt letter to the Marquis de Torcy. If the Dutch come to their ſenſes, and cloſe with the Queen, we ſhall treat on a better foundation, and may hope to carry the enemy far enough in their conceſſions; ſince we have brought them almoſt to that point, ſingly, and under the diſadvantage of conteſting with our allies, at the ſame time as we have treated with them.

If the French give the Queen ſatisfaction in that great article, of the union of the two crowns, whatever pli may be taken by the States, the peace will be made and abundantly juſtified.

It will be hard, my Lord, if we fail in both, my hopes are that we ſhall ſucceed in both; in that very few days will ſhow us what we are to depend upon. In all caſes, that firmneſs, by means of which we have waded through ſo many difficulties this winter, will ſupport us under more.

I am very heartily glad to hear that a jealouſy, which thinking men have had on this ſide of the water for ſome time, has found, at laſt, ingreſſion among the Dutch miniſters. Theſe people may find, indirectly,

rectly, their account in joining with the Imperialiſts, but their direct and permanent intereſt lies another way. Something of this ſort was ſaid to the Duke of Ormond, before he went from hence; I have again given him the ſame hint, and I hope he will be upon his guard.

What the Penſionary means, by ſaying that there muſt be a written plan exhibited by the French, before the States can proceed to adjuſt the points, on which they reſolve to inſiſt with the Queen, I am at a loſs to diſcover. If we unite, that union will influence the enemy to the common advantage; and therefore, a better propoſition may be expected from him, after they have ſubmitted to the Queen, than before.

The difficulty which your Lordſhip repreſents, may very well perplex them, but reſtoring a confidence with our court is a ſure way, and the only ſure one of delivering themſelves; had they any genius, like that of John de Witt amongſt them, we ſhould not ſee them ſtand quaking in this uncertain temper, but on the contrary, they would take their party at once. The leaders of our faction here, ſeem extremely dejected; the Queen's good health is probably one occaſion of their uneaſineſs. I hope, that another proceeds from their feeling a deſertion of their allies in Holland coming on.

My public letter will be very dry by this poſt, my next is likely to be of more importance.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 16, 1712.

I AM to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's letter from Harwich, and the goodneſs with which you admitted the excuſe which I made you in my former.

As I have nothing in command from her Majeſty to write to you upon, I ſhall by this poſt, trouble your Grace with no public letter; a private one you will allow me to write to you, whenever I have an opportunity, or whenever ſuch matter may offer itſelf, as cannot properly be truſted to the courſe of an office. I find by very certain intelligences from Holland, that the Dutch Miniſters are not without their fears of their new General *. They begin to conſider that he is a Papiſt, and a German, at leaſt in intereſt. That the Emperor, his maſter, has nothing to loſe on the ſide of the Netherlands; that a battle won may give ground for inſiſting on higher terms than the Houſe of Auſtria is now likely to obtain, that a battle loſt, may ſtill contribute to prolong the war, and that in either caſe, the expence of blood will fall to the ſhare of the Queen and States.

I am of opinion, that theſe reflections have occaſioned private directions to their General, to uſe more caution than the Prince will perhaps approve. This meaſure, your Grace ſees, is not very conſiſtent with the compliment made him by Monſieur Lathmar †, in the name of the States, of an unlimited command.

* Prince Eugene, on whom the Dutch conferred the command, upon the diſmiſſion of the Duke of Marlborough.

† A Deputy of the States-general.

We

We hardly think the enemy would have taken the poſts in which they now are, if they had not had a proſpect of ſubſiſting in them, till there is forage on the ground. I aſk pardon for beginning to make remarks on a ſubject ſo far out of my way. The Queen will ſoon hear from your Grace, in what ſituation the armies are, and what is likely to be done in the field. I flatter myſelf that in return, we ſhall very ſoon be able to inform you in what ſtate our negociations are, and what ſucceſs may reaſonably be expected in the congreſs.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 22d, 1712.

THIS morning Barlow brought me your Excellency's of the 30th, N.S. and I am commanded by the Queen to acquaint you, that by Friday's packet, a meſſenger ſhall be diſpatched to you with her farther orders.

The perſon expected is not yet arrived; till we have ſeen him, we cannot be, on moſt heads, very explicit.

I am, &c.

From the Duke of Ormond.

SIR,

Hague, April. 27th, 1712, N.S.

ON Monday, at two o'clock, I arrived at Rotterdam, and came that evening to this place. I went the next morning to viſit the Penſionary, according to my inſtructions, and acquainted him with what

what her Majeſty had ordered me to ſay to him, which he received as he ought to do, and made great profeſſions of duty and reſpect to her Majeſty, and that the States depended on her, and were ſure that ſhe would not leave them, but would ſee a ſafe and honourable peace for her allies; but ſaid that he believed that we know more of what was done relating to the peace than they did. I told him, that I believed that he would have reaſon to be ſatisfied with what her Majeſty did in this negociation.

I told him the intentions I had to live in good correſpondence with the Generals of the allies, and particularly with thoſe of the States, and deſired his good offices therein, which he anſwered with great civility. I deſired to know of him what reſolutions they were come to as to the operations of the campaign; he told me, they were not come to any particular reſolution, but had left it to their Generals, who could beſt judge what was to be done, when they were in the field. This was all that he would tell me. Prince Eugene went from this place on Saturday laſt, to the army, which is now encamped near Douay. My Lord Strafford is this moment come from Utrecht.

I hope to leave this place to-morrow, and to go to Ghent. The horſes and recruits, with the clothing, are landed at Williamſtadt.

I ſend you here, Sir, incloſed, the copy of a letter that I received from Mr. Cadogan, and, if her Majeſty pleaſes, I am very willing that he ſhould be employed.

I ſend you too an abſtract of Mr. Lumley's. This is all that I have to trouble you with, being, with great truth,

Sir, &c.

ORMOND.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 22d, 1711.

I HAVE this moment received your Grace's letter of the 30th, N. S and her Majeſty commands me to let you know, that on Friday a meſſenger ſhall be diſpatched to your Grace, with her inſtructions upon what paſſed whilſt you was at the Hague.

The ſhortneſs of this letter ought to make ſome amends for the length which that may probably be of.

I am, &c.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 22d, 1712.

I HAVE nothing at preſent to trouble your Lordſhip with, but my thanks for your letter of the 29th of this month, N.S. which Barlow brought me this afternoon, and a communication of her Majeſty's intention to ſummon a cabinet, on Thurſday, wherein the orders will be given for the diſpatch which you may expect by the packet of Friday.

We are in hourly expectation of our Mercury. Till he arrives, we cannot take a final reſolution, and when he arrives, I think we muſt.

Mr. Breton, who is going to Berlin, has orders to renew the negociation, where my Lord Strafford left it, concerning the eſtabliſhment of the Liturgy of our Church, in Pruſſia. If the Miniſters of that Court, enter into the matter with the ſame good-will as they once expreſſed, it may be proper, by ſending Mr. Cæſar over, and by other

expedients of the like nature, to help this good work forward. I can hardly ſee any effect of ſending him now, but giving him an opportunity of viſiting his friends at the Queen's or the Envoy's expence.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 25th, 1712.

UPON what is contained in your Grace's letter of the 30th, N.S. and in the Earl of Strafford's of the ſame date, her Majeſty commands me to ſay that ſhe is deſirous to hear from your Grace particularly on what foot the Dutch have ſettled the command. The expreſſion in my Lord Ambaſſador's letter is a little ambiguous, and leaves it doubtful whether the States took the ſame reſolution in relation to your Grace, as they had done before in relation to the Prince, or whether they barely gave you a copy of that which they had come to, in his favour.

A ſecond point concerning which I am to apprize your Grace of the Queen's ſentiments is, the quality of the forces which are to compoſe your army, for the Earl of Strafford ſeems to ſpeak of it as a determination taken at the Hague, that two armies are to be formed. Her Majeſty, my Lord, inclines to be of opinion, that all the troops, whether ſubjects or foreigners, belonging to her, ſhould be immediately under your Grace's command; there may have been formerly reaſons for uſing a different method, but there ſeems at preſent to be ſome, of a very ſtrong nature, for taking this, and perhaps they may every day grow ſtronger.

There can be no need for me to enter into the grounds which we have in this conjuncture, to be jealous of Prince Eugene's conduct;

your Grace ſees and knows them all better than I can repeat them. But on this occaſion, the Queen directs me to inform your Grace, that ſhe thinks you are to be more cautious for ſome time, of engaging in an action, unleſs in the caſe of a very apparent and conſiderable advantage, becauſe you will be daily ſtrengthened by the arrival of the Imperial troops. It is but juſt that theſe ſhould have their part, if any thing of that kind is to happen.

The great article of preventing the union of the two monarchies is not yet entirely ſettled; our expedients are hard of digeſtion to the French ſtomachs. If this was got over, I ſhould not ſee any formidable difficulty in our way.

I ſend this meſſenger by Oſtend, and ſhall expect him back by the ſame paſſage, as the moſt expeditious.

I am, &c.

What I omitted in my letter, I muſt ſupply in this poſtſcript, and I do it with much pleaſure; the Queen commands me to ſay, that your Grace deſiring Mr. Cadogan ſhould ſerve under you, ſhe approves of him.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

A Marli, le 26me Avril, 1712.

ON s'approche aiſément, Monſieur, lorſque de part & d'autre, les intentions ſont ſincères, & le deſir égal de parvenir au même but. J'ai vu, avec beaucoup de plaiſir, par la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 6me de ce mois, V.S. que le plan que je vous ai propoſe applanit beaucoup de difficultés, & qu'il diſſipe beaucoup de ſujets de craintes.

J'eſpère

J'eſpère auſſi, que la réponſe que vous m'avez faite, conſommera l'ouvrage commencé. Suivant ce que vous m'écrivez, Monſieur, la ſeule différence qu'il y ait entre la propoſition que je vous ai faite par ordre du Roi, & le projet de la Reine, roule uniquement ſur le tems où le Roi d'Eſpagne déclarera le choix qu'il voudra faire, ou de conſerver ſes droits ſur la couronne de France, ou de garder celle d'Eſpagne. Dans ma propoſition, le moment pour opter étoit remis au tems où ce Prince deviendroit, ou ſucceſſeur immédiat, ou héritier préſomptif de la couronne de France, & la même condition étoit marquée à l'égard de ſes deſcendans. Vous obſervez, Monſieur, qu'en différant juſqu'alors un choix ſi eſſentiel au repos de l'Europe, elle ne ſera pas aſſurée qu'il ſe faſſe, ſi, malheureuſement, l'occaſion en arrive jamais, que la garantie de toutes les puiſſances qui auront part au traité, formera bien une alliance ſuffiſante pour faire la guerre au Prince qui violeroit les conditions de la paix, mais que le but qu'on doit préſentement ſe propoſer, eſt d'empêcher le renouvellement de la guerre, & non de chercher les moyens de ſoutenir celles qui pourroient naître à cette occaſion. Vous concluez donc, que pour empêcher la réunion des monarchies de France & d'Eſpagne, il eſt néceſſaire que le Roi Catholique déclare, dès à préſent, ſon choix, ſans attendre le cas malheureux que nous eſperons n'arriveront point, mais qu'il faut cependant ſuppoſer & prévoir, & que ce choix établiſſe l'ordre des ſucceſſions dans le traité de la paix générale.

Vos obſervations, Monſieur, & la conſéquence que vous en tirez, ſont également juſtes, il faut que le Roi Catholique calme l'inquiétude de l'Europe, en déclarant dès à préſent le parti qu'il prendra ſi la ſucceſſion eſt jamais ouverte en ſa faveur. A la vérité, il aura peut-être quelque peine à déclarer dès à préſent aux Eſpagnols qu'il les abandonneroit pour paſſer en France, ſi l'un des deux cas que vous ſuppoſez, arrivoit. Une nation incertaine du maître qu'elle aura, peut devenir

moins

moins fidèle envers celui qui règne actuellement. Mais cet inconvénient doit céder au bien général; ainſi, Monſieur, le Roi approuvant votre propoſition, dépêche un courier en Eſpagne, & ſa Majeſté écrit au Roi ſon petit fils, pour lui faire connoître la néceſſité de prendre ſa réſolution ſur le choix, qu'il voudra faire & de la déclarer, en ſorte qu'elle ſoit inſerée dans le traité de le paix générale, & qu'elle en faſſe une condition, dont toute l'Europe ſera garante.

J'eſpère, Monſieur, que le Roi d'Eſpagne ſe conformera aux conſeils du Roi, mais s'il arrivoit, ce que je ne puis croire, qu'il ne voulut pas y déférer, ſa Majeſté prendroit toutes les meſures que la Reine de la Grand Bretagne jugéroit à propos pour déterminer néceſſairement & même par la force, le choix du Roi Catholique, & pour aſſurer à l'Europe la paix, dont l'ouvrage paroît préſentement ſi avancé.

Je ſuis perſuadé qu'on ne ſera pas obligé d'en venir à cette extrémité, mais le Roi veut que je vous informe de la réſolution qu'il prendroit en ce cas, comme étant une nouvelle preuve de ſa bonne foi, & du véritable deſir de ſa Majeſté pour la prompte concluſion d'une paix ſûre & ſolide.

Je la regarde comme très avancée préſentement que la principale difficulté, qui pouvoit la rendre encore douteuſe, paroît applanie. Mais il faut cépendant s'attendre à de nouvelles traverſes, de la part de ceux qui voudront rompre les conférences. Je crois, Monſieur, que le moyen le plus ſûr de renverſer leurs deſſeins, ſeroit que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne fit propoſer préſentement une ſuſpenſion d'armes; car ils fondent leurs eſpérances ſur les evénémens de la campagne; & comme je vois, par votre lettre, que ſa Majeſté Britannique eſt diſpoſée à faire les déclarations néceſſaires pour aſſurer le ſuccès des négociations, il me ſemble que la propoſition d'une ſuſpenſion pourroit faire de ces déclarations.

J'ai retenu ici le Sieur Gaultier, quelques jours de plus qu'il n'y devoit

voit demeurer, parce que j'attendois vos réponſes, & que j'ai cru néceſſaire qu'il fut inſtruit de vos ſentimens avant de paſſer en Angleterre.

Je vous informerai, Monſieur, des intentions du Roi ſur les demandes de vos alliés; j'eſpère que le plus difficile étant comme réglé, vous ne conſidérez plus que la juſtice & la ſolidité de la paix, & que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, agiſſant par ces grands motifs, donnera les premières marques qu'elle a d'établir avec le Roi une parfaite intelligence.

J'ai reçu, Monſieur, par le même courier, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 11me de ce mois, V.S. Je ſuis fâché bien de l'incommodité de Monſieur le Grand Tréſorier, & je ſouhaite ardemment qu'il en ſoit bientôt délivré. Il eſt très important que ceux qui ont eu, comme vous & comme lui, la principale part à l'ouvrage de la paix, ayent la gloire de l'achèver. J'eſpère que nous en verrons bientôt le ſuccès, & je vous ſupplie de croire qu'en quelque tems que ce ſoit perſonne ne ſera plus véritablement que je ſuis, Monſieur.

Votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 29me d'Avril, 1712.

LE plan que vous aviez propoſé dans votre lettre du 8me Avril, nous paroiſſoit applanir beaucoup de difficultés, & diſſiper beaucoup de ſujets de craintes; mais à force d'avoir mal entendu les intentions du Roi, & mal expliqué celles de la Reine, nous nous trouvons préſentement plus éloignés que nous avions eſpéré d'être, d'un accord, ſur le grand article de la paix.

Il eſt bien vrai que la ſeule différence qu'il y ait entre la propoſition que vous m'avez faite par ordre du Roi dans le ſens que nous l'avons compris, & celle que je vous ai envoyée par ordre de la Reine, roule uniquement ſur le tems ou le Prince dont il s'agit, fera ſon choix, ou de conſerver ſes droits ſur la couronne de France en renonçant à celle d'Eſpagne, ou de garder celle d'Eſpagne en renonçant à celle de France.

Dans votre lettre du 26me Avril, le Roi Très Chrétien, conſent que ce choix ſera fait & déclaré dès à préſent, mais vous n'y propoſez pas, Monſieur, que l'exécution accompagnera l'option ; ce qui eſt abſolument néceſſaire pour rendre cette paix définitive. L'Abbé Gaultier explique tout autrement les intentions du Roi ; & j'obſerve que vous dites, qu'il faut que le Prince qui règne en Eſpagne, calme l'inquiétude de l'Europe en déclarant dès à préſent le parti qu'il prendra, ſi la ſucceſſion de la France eſt jamais ouverte en ſa faveur ; de cette manière notre grand ouvrage ne ſera pas beaucoup avancé par la dernère propoſition.

Si nous l'avions entendu ſelon l'explication que vous en donnez préſentement, vous voyez, Monſieur que nous ſerions tombés dans une très grande abſurdité ; puiſqu'en rejetant votre projet, nous aurions dreſſé un autre, contre lequel toutes les objections que nous avons faites, & qui ont été trouvées en France même juſtes & bien fondées, auroient également lieu. Car quoique le Prince qui règne en Eſpagne, opte dès à cette heure, quelle plus grande ſureté l'Europe aura-t-elle, ſi l'exécution de cette option eſt remiſe à un autre tems ? En offrant qu'il ſera obligé de déclarer ſon choix dès à préſent, vous êtes convenu déjà que ni les ſtipulations d'un traité, ni la garantie des puiſſances engagées dans cette guerre, ſoient capables d'aſſurer que l'option ſe fera ; comment donc pouvons-nous conclure qu'elles ſoient capables d'aſſurer quand aucun des cas arrivera, que nous ſommes à regret obligés de prevoir & de

ſuppoſer

ſuppoſer, il quittera une couronne pour s'en tenir à l'autre, ſelon le choix qu'il aura fait, & qui aura été inſéré dans le traité de la paix générale ?

La Reine a ſouvent déclaré qu'il lui ſeroit impoſſible de ſe contenter d'aucun expédient, qui ne fut très ſolide, ſur un article d'une auſſi grande importance que celle de la réunion des deux Monarchies ; faire autrement, ce ſeroit perdre les fruits de tout le ſang que les alliés ont verſé dans le cours de cette guerre ; ce ſeroit enfin, trahir la cauſe commune de l'Europe, & expoſer tant le ſiècle préſent, que ceux qui ſont à venir, à un des plus grands dangers que l'imagination puiſſe former.

Sa Majeſté ſouhaite ſincèrement la paix ; elle la ſouhaite raiſonnable pour la France ; mais pour parvenir à ce but, il faut que l'intérêt de la France ne ſoit pas rendu incompatible avec la ſureté générale. Il faut faire en ſorte que le moment ne puiſſe jamais arriver, dans lequel le même Prince aura & la couronne d'Eſpagne ſur ſa tête, & ſa ſucceſſion ouverte à celle de France.

Si ce Prince, dont nous parlons, ne ſe contente pas de l'Eſpagne, ou ſi la France ne veut point, en ſe paſſant de lui, trop affoiblir ſa ſucceſſion, faut-il pour cela que, la paix faite, nous vivions les armes à la main, & dans une attente continuelle de voir renouveller la guerre ? La Reine n'y peut jamais conſentir, & ſa Majeſté croit qu'il n'y a pas un des alliés qui voudra ſe ſoumettre à un auſſi dure condition.

Pour montrer, pourtant, qu'elle eſt prête à contribuer tout ce qui dépend d'elle, à la ſatisfaction de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, ſans bleſſer ſon honneur, & ſans ſacrifier ſes intérêts, & ceux dès ſes confédérés, la Reine m'ordonne, Monſieur, de vous propoſer un expédient, par où, le Roi Philippe pourra conſerver ſes droits ſur la couronne de ſes ancêtres, & trouver, un dédommagement pour l'Eſpagne, qu'il ſera obligé dans ce cas d'abandonner.

Sa Majeſté propoſe donc, que ce Prince ſe retire avec ſa famille immédiatement de l'Eſpagne ; que le Duc de Savoye s'y tranſporte en même-tems avec la ſienne, & qu'il prenne poſſeſſion de cette Monarchie & des Indes ; que le Roi Philippe jouiſſe du royaume de la Sicile, desétats héréditaires de ſon Alteſſe Royale, avec le Montferrat, Mantouan, & en cas qu'il vienne à ſuccéder à la couronne de France, que la Sicile retourne ſous l'obeiſſance de la maiſon d'Autriche, mais que les autres états lui reſtent & ſoient déſormais regardés comme des provinces de la France.

La Reine ſouhaiteroit que cette propoſition parut venir de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, être un effet de ſa modération, & un ſacrifice qu'elle veut bien faire pour tirer l'Europe de l'embarras où elle ſe trouve, & pour rétablir la tranquillité générale.

Sa Majeſté croit avoir donné préſentement toutes les facilités qui dépendent d'elle, à la concluſion de la paix, & n'avoir rien demandé que ce qui eſt néceſſaire à l'accompliſſement de cette promeſſe que le Roi Très Chrétien a faite, quand il s'eſt déclaré prêt à prendre toutes les meſures juſtes & raiſonnables pour empêcher que les couronnes de France & d'Eſpagne ſoient jamais réunies ſur la tête d'un même Prince.

La Reine me commande d'ajouter qu'elle eſpère que la propoſition que je viens de faire par ſon ordre ſera acceptée. Mais qu'en tout cas elle inſiſte que la réponſe que vous m'enverrez ſoit catégorique & finale. Les circonſtances où nous nous trouvons, auſſi-bien que la ſaiſon de l'année, ne ſuffrent pas que nous reſtions plus long-tems dans l'incertitude, ſi nous aurons la guerre ou la paix. Le Parlement, auquel ſa Majeſté a promis la communication de ce qui ſe traiteroit au ſujet de la paix, deviendra impatient, & la Reine ne pourra pas ſe diſpenſer de lui donner part de la réponſe qu'elle recevra à cette lettre. Les armées ſont en campagne, & les événemens d'une journée peuvent

entiérement changer la face des affaires; toute diſpoſée que la Reine ſe trouve à faciliter la négociation de la paix, & à épargner l'effuſion de ſang, elle ne peut pourtant pas ſe déclarer pour une ſuſpenſion d'armes avant qu'elle ſache la réſolution du Roi Très Chrétien ſur l'expédient propoſé pour prévenir la réunion des deux monarchies.

Si je ne vous dis rien, Monſieur, ſur le plan de la paix générale * que l'Abbé

* The reader will obſerve, that in the following Paper, the firſt column contains the conceſſions of France, communicated in confidence to the Britiſh Miniſtry, by M. de Torcy; the ſecond, the further demands of Great Britain for herſelf and her allies; and the third the anſwer to thoſe further demands.

GENERAL PLAN FOR PEACE.

Offres de la France à l'Angleterre.	*Demandes pour l'Angleterre.*	*Réponſes du Roi.*
(1) Le Roi promet de conſentir ſans difficulté à tout ce qui eſt contenu dans les articles 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5, des demandes ſpécifiques de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.		
(2) Le Roi fera démolir toutes les fortifications de Dunquerque, tant celles de la ville que de la citadelle, les Ryſbancs, & autres forts du côté de la mer, & dans trois autres mois celles du côté de terre; à compter du jour de l'échange des ratifications, le tout à ſes dépens, & avec promeſſe de ne les point réparer en tout ni en partie.		
(3) Le Roi cédera l'Iſle de St. Chriſtophle à la Grande Bretagne, comme auſſi Terre Neuve, à condition que la ville de Plaiſance ſera raſée; que le droit de pêcher & ſécher la morue franchement & librement ſur la dite Iſle de Terre Neuve, demeurera aux François dans les mêmes lieux ou ils ont coutume de le faire. Les petites iſles adjacentes, & les plus voiſines de Terre Neuve, ſeront pareillement cédées à l'Angleterre, bien entendu que l'Iſle du Cap Breton, & autres du golphe & embouchure du fleuve de St. Laurent, dont la	L'Angleterre demande que la ville de Plaiſance lui demeure en l'état où elle eſt.	Sa Majeſté offre de laiſſer ſubſiſter les fortifications de Plaiſance en cédant cette place à l'Angleterre; d'accorder la demande faite des canons de la Baye de Hudſon, de céder de plus les iſles de St. Martin & de St. Barthelemy, d'abandonner même le droit de pêcher & de ſécher les morues ſur la côte de Terre Neuve, ſi les Anglois veulent reſtituer l'Acadie, moyennant ces nouvelles ceſſions propoſées comme un équivalent. En ce cas ſa Majeſté conſentiroit que la rivière de St. George ſervit de limites à l'Acadie,

l'Abbé Gaultier nous a auſſi apporté, c'eſt parce que la Reine ne regarde

France eſt actuellement en poſſeſſion, demeureront au Roi.

(4) Le Roi cédera la province de l'Acadie avec la ville de Port Royal, & ce qui en dépend, à la Grande Bretagne, comme auſſi les Détroits & la Baye de Hudſon.

(5) Il ſera permis aux François qui ſortiront des pays ci-deſſus cédés à la Grande Bretagne, dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, d'en retirer leurs effets, auſſi-bien qu'à ſa Majeſté d'en retirer le canon, & toutes les munitions de guerre.

(6) Il ſera nommé après la paix des commiſſaires de part & d'autre, tant pour règler dans l'eſpace d'un an les limites entre le Canada où Nouvelle France d'une part, & l'Acadie & les terres de la Baye d'Hudſon de l'autre, que pour convenir à l'aimable de tous les dédommagemens juſtes & raiſonnables prétendus de part & d'autre pour tous les torts reçus au préjudice du droit de la paix & de la guerre.

(7) Les limites étant une fois réglées, il ſera défendu réciproquement aux ſujets de l'une & de l'autre couronne de paſſer les dites limites pour aller par mer où par terre les uns chez les autres, comme auſſi de troubler le négoce des ſujets de chaque nation entre eux, & d'inquiéter les nations Indiennes alliées où ſoumiſes à l'une où l'autre des dites couronnes.

(8) Le Roi permettra que la maiſon d'Hamilton, le Colonel Charles Douglas, & autres, lui repréſentent leurs droits & prétentions particulières, & leur fera bonne juſtice.

Que le canon & les munitions de guerre de la Baye d'Hudſon demeurent à l'Angleterre.

Que le Duc de Richemond puiſſe hériter de ſa mère.

Que le 4me article du Traité de Riſwic ſoit aboli, & que le Roi ne s'oppoſe pas à ce que dans l'empire toutes les affaires

cadie, ainſi que l'Angleterre l'a prétendu.

Si les Plénipotentiaires de cette couronne refuſent d'entrer dans aucun expédient ſur la reſtitution de l'Acadie, le Roi plutôt que de rompre la négociation, veut bien accorder les demandes qu'ils ont faites; c'eſt à dire, laiſſer Plaiſance fortifiée, & rendre les canons de la Baye d'Hudſon; bien entendu que l'offre de céder les iſles de St. Martin & de St. Barthélemy, & celles de déſiſter du droit de pêcher & de ſécher la morue ſur la côté de Terre Neuve, ſeront nulles & cenſées comme n'ayant point été faites.

Le Duc de Richemond ayant obtenu du Roi des lettres de naturalité, jouira lorſque la paix ſera faite, du privilége attaché à la grâce que ſa Majeſté a bien voulu lui accorder.

Le Roi veut bien en conſidération de l'Angleterre, que cette affaire ſoit réglée avec l'Empire, ſa Majeſté n'ayant pas intention

garde pas les différents qui s'y rencontrent, comme trop difficiles à être

de religion ſoient réglées conformément au Traité de Munſter.

Qu'il ſoit cédé à l'Angleterre une étendue de terre de deux portées de canon autour de Gibraltar, & toute l'Iſle de Minorque.

(9) Le Roi promet au nom du Roi d'Eſpagne, ſon petit fils, que Gibraltar & le Port Mahon demeureront entre les mains des Anglois.

tention de déroger aux Traités de Weſtphalia ſur le fait de religion.

C'eſt avec beaucoup de peine que le Roi a fait conſentir le Roi d'Eſpagne à laiſſer Gibraltar aux Anglois, l'intention de ce Prince étant, comme il s'en eſt expliqué pluſieurs fois, de ne pas céder un pouce de terrain en Eſpagne. Il ſera plus difficile encore d'obtenir de lui la moindre complaiſance ſur un point auſſi important, à préſent qu'on le preſſe de renoncer à ſes droits ſur la couronne de France, & qu'on veut qu'il regarde l'Eſpagne comme le ſeul patrimoine qu'il puiſſe laiſſer à ſes deſcendans.

Ainſi cette demande nouvelle ſera certainement refuſée, & le pouvoir que ſa Majeſté a reçu du Roi Catholique eſt directement contraire à cette prétenſion.

Comme il ne s'eſt pas expliqué ſur la ceſſion entière de l'Iſle de Minorque, le Roi veut bien employer ſes offices pour l'obtenir, comme un eſpèce d'équivalent du terrain que les Anglois demandent aujourd'hui autour de Gibraltar; & dès à préſent ſa Majeſté promet que l'Iſle de Minorque entière leur ſera cédée en cette conſidération.

Que les François ne puiſſent retirer leurs effets de l'Affiento que ſur des vaiſſeaux Anglois ou Eſpagnols.

(10) Les Anglois auront après la paix conclue, la Traite des Négres aux Indes Occidentales, autrement le pacte d'aſſiento des négres, aux mêmes conditions que cette convention a été faite par le Roi d'Eſpagne aux François; en ſorte que la Compagnie qui ſera établie pour cet effet en Angleterre aura la prérogative de faire repoſer, vendre, & débiter ſes négres dans toutes les places & ports de l'Amerique,

Les intéreſſés à la Compagnie de l'Aſſiento s'en tiendront préciſement aux termes de leur traité, par conſéquent, ils ne pourront faire de commerce direct aux Indes, ſous prétexte de retirer leurs effets. Ils les perdroient abſolument s'ils étoient obligés d'employer pour les charger d'autres vaiſſeaux que ceux de leur Compagnie.

La paix ayant pour objet de procurer le bien commun des François

être ajuſtés, pourvu que l'article de la réunion ſoit une fois paſſé ; & parce

ſur la Mer du Nord, dans celui de Buenos Ayres, & généralement dans toutes les places & ports dont l'entrée étoit permiſe aux vaiſſeaux de la Compagnie formée en France, ſous le nom de l'Aſſiento.

(11) Le dit pacte ſera pour le terme de trente ans, & il ſera aſſigné à la Compagnie Angloiſe de l'aſſiento une étendue de terrain ſur la Rivière de la Plata, ſur lequel elle pourra non-ſeulement rafraîchir ſes négres, mais les garder en ſureté juſqu'à ce qu'ils ſoient vendus, ſuivant les conditions qui ſeront ſtipulées par la convention qui doit être paſſée pour l'aſſiento ; & pour empêcher qu'il ne ſoit abuſé de cette permiſſion, le Roi d'Eſpagne nommera un officier pour y veiller, à l'inſpection duquel les intéreſſés à la dite compagnie, & généralement tous ceux qu'ils employeront pour en faire le ſervice, ſeront ſoumis.

(12) Tous les avantages, droits, & priviléges, qui ſont déjà accordés, ou, qui pourront être accordés dorénavant par l'Eſpagne, aux ſujets de la France, ou de quelque autre nation que ce ſoit, ſeront pareillement aux ſujets de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

(13) Sa Majeſté promet pareillement que toutes les marchandiſes du cru de la Grande Bretagne, qui des ports d'Eſpagne, où ſeront faites les expéditions des vaiſſeaux pour les Indes Eſpagnoles, paſſeront aux Indes, ſeront exemptes de tous droits, tant de ceux d'entrée & de ſortie d'Eſpagne, que ce deux d'entrée dans les Indes.

Que ce terrain ſoit au choix des Anglois, & que l'Inſpecteur Eſpagnol ſoit ſupprimé.

François & des Anglois, il ne ſeroit pas juſte qu'un des premiers avantages qu'elle doit procurer à l'Angleterre, fût au préjudice de la nation Françoiſe. Si les Anglois veulent traiter des effets de la Compagnie Françoiſe, on levera, par cet expédient, l'inconvénient qu'ils appréhendent.

On ſait en Angleterre quelles ſont les demandes qui ont été faites au Roi ſur cet article ; ſa Majeſté les a obtenues du Roi ſon petit-fils, avec beaucoup de peine ; elle ne peut lui demander ni permettre en ſon nom de nouvelles additions à ce qu'il a déjà cédé en faveur de la paix ; ſi les Anglois croyent devoir inſiſter pour obtenir de nouveaux avantages, il faut qu'ils traitent directement avec les Plénipotentiaires d'Eſpagne, & pour cet effet qu'on leur accorde inceſſamment les paſſeports néceſſaires pour ſe rendre à Utrecht.

Offres

parce que ſi nous ne ſommes pas aſſez heureux pour réuſſir en traitant de

(14) Tous les articles ci-deſſus ſeront entendus dans le traité de paix de la manière la plus ample & la plus convenable, & on y ajoutera toutes les clauſes de ceſſations d'hoſtilités, & autres ſuretés réciproques ſelon l'uſage ordinaire des traités précédents, qui ſeront rappelés pour avoir leur ancienne force & vigueur, à l'exception des choſes auxquelles celui-ci aura dérogé, & cette clauſe ſera miſe à la fin de chaque inſtrument.

Offres de la France à Monſieur le Duc de Savoye.	*Demandes pour Monſieur le Duc de Savoye.*	*Réponſes du Roi.*
(1) Son droit & ſon rang à la ſucceſſion d'Eſpagne ſeront déclarés & reconnus conformément au teſtament de Charles II.	On demande que cet article ſoit mis en ces termes: Le Rang du Duc de Savoye à la ſucceſſion d'Eſpagne ſera conſervé à ſon Alteſſe Royale, ſuivant ſon droit.	Le Roi veut bien à la conſidération d'Angleterre, paſſer cet article comme elle le demande, nonobſtant l'intérêt que ſa Majeſté peut avoir de rappeler & de citer en cette occaſion le teſtament de Charles II.
(2) Le Roi lui rendra la Savoye & le Comté de Nice, avec leurs dépendances. (3) Le Roi lui cédera de plus Exilles & Féneſtrelles avec la Vallée de Pragélas.	Son Alteſſe Royale demande en outre les vallées au delà du Mont Genèvre y compris celle de Château Dauphin, le Fort Barraux, & le territoire qui va de ce Fort juſques aux confins de la Savoye, comme il eſt porté dans le 4me article de ſes demandes ſpécifiques, les villages au delà du Rhône du côté de la Savoye, le droit de garniſon dans Monaco, & le domaine direct de Manton & de Roquebrune.	Le Roi ne peut croire que l'Angleterre, deſirant ſincèrement la concluſion d'une paix ferme & ſolide, veuille donner lieu à de nouvelles guerres en admettant au Duc de Savoye les portes de la France. Il n'a ni droit, ni même prétexte apparent pour demander comme il fait, une partie du Dauphiné. Il ne peut appuyer ſur aucun fondement juſte & raiſonnable la prétenſion qu'il forme ſur les biens d'un tiers tel que le Prince de Monaco; ainſi ſa Majeſté croit beaucoup faire de laiſſer à la conſidération de l'Angleterre, Exilles, Feneſtrelles, & la Vallée de Pragélas au Duc de Savoye, Elle avoit même lieu de juger par les premières propoſitions que l'on connoiſſoit en Angleterre, que ce Prince auroit dû ſe contenter de la reſtitution de la Savoye, & du Comté de Nice, ſans demander encore ces deux places,

de cet expédient, ce ſera une peine fort inutile que de négocier ſur les autres points.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To

(4) Les ceſſions dans le Milanez & autres faites à ſon Alteſſe Royale, par l'Empereur Léopold, ſeront confirmées.

(5) Son Alteſſe Royale pourra faire telles fortifications qu'il lui plaira dans les lieux acquis par les précédents traités, ſans neanmoins déroger à celui de Turin, fait en 1696.

(6) Le commerce de France en Piedmont, & de Piedmont en France, ſe fera ſuivant le Traité de Turin.

(7) Son Alteſſe Royale pourra vendre librement la Baronie des Eſſarts, & autres biens & effets qu'elle peut avoir en France.

(8) Le Roi conſent que ſon Alteſſe Royale augmente ſes domaines en Italie autant qu'il lui plaira.

places, qui ne peuvent lui appartenir par aucun autre titre que celui de la guerre, & de la bienſéance.

Qu'elle aura le pouvoir de fortifier tous les lieux qu'il lui plaira nonobſtant le Traité de Turin.

L'intention de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye eſt apparemment de fortifier Pignerol. L'intérêt de la France n'a pas changé depuis le traité fait à Turin, en 1696. Il n'eſt pas moins important qu'il l'étoit alors d'empêcher que Monſieur le Duc de Savoye ne fortifie cette ville, on peut même dire que le péril en ſeroit plus grand, ce Prince acquérant encore Exilles, & Feneſtrelles, & ſa puiſſance étant augmentée du côté de l'Italie.

L'Angleterre devenant amie de la France ne doit pas moins s'intéreſſer à ſon repos, & à la tranquillité de ſes provinces, qu'à l'aggrandiſſement inutile de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye.

Offres de la France pour la Pruſſe.	*Demandes de la Pruſſe.*	*Réponſes du Roi.*
(1) Le Roi de Pruſſe ſera reconnu par la France.		
(2) Le Roi le laiſſera jouir paiſiblement de la ſouveraineté des Comtés de Neufchâtel & de Valengin, avec promeſſe de ne le jamais troubler dans cette poſſeſſion, & de ne donner auc-	Que les Comtés de Neufchâtel & de Valengin ſoient reconnus Membres du Corps Helvetique, du conſentement de ſa Majeſté.	Cette nouveauté ne dépend pas du conſentement du Roi, tout le Corps Helvétique eſt intéreſſé à cette propoſition. Elle ne ſeroit pas unanimement reçue de tous les membres qui le com-

poſent ;

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, April 29th, 1712.

THE ſame complaint as you make in your letter of the 6th of May, N.S. which I received this morning, you will, I fear, have occaſion to repeat; our office-letters are extremely barren, and ſo

une eſpèce d'aſſiſtance à ceux qui voudront la lui diſputer.

(3) Les ſujets de la couronne de Pruſſe jouiront pour le commerce en France des mêmes avantages qui ſeront accordés aux ſujets de ſa Majeſté Britannique & des Etats-Généraux, à condition de la réciprocité.

(4) Le Roi favoriſera de tout ſon pouvoir les prétenſions de la Pruſſe ſur la ville & le canton de Gueldres, la ville & le pays d'Ercklens, qu'elle demande, pourvu qu'il n'en coute à la France aucun dédommagement envers ceux qui conteſtent cette poſſeſſion à la Pruſſe.

(5) Le Roi donnera juſqu'à douze cents mille livres, monnoie de France, à ce Prince pour acheter ſes droits ſur la principauté d'Orange.

poſent; pluſieurs auroient intérêt de s'y oppoſer, & peut-être même tous les Cantons Proteſtans ne ſeroient pas du même avis.

Les Comtés de Neufchâtel & de Vallengin ſont alliés des Suiſſes. Le Roi promettra de les reconnoître, & de les traiter en cette qualité.

Qu'on lui laiſſe l'option de l'argent qu'on lui offre, ou de la lizière qu'il demande en Franche Comté. Il offre ſeulement de laiſſer au Roi le Château de Joux au moyen d'un équivalent; de plus que les terres de la Maiſon de Châlons lui ſoient ajugées, & que tous les édits & arrêts rendus contre les Proteſtans d'Orange ſoient caſſés.

Le Roi croit beaucoup faire, & donner une marque de ſa conſidération particulière pour l'Angleterre, en donnant douze cents mille francs à ce Prince, ſous prétexte d'acheter des droits dont ſa Majeſté ſait qu'elle ne peut ſe ſervir valablement, contre les prétendans à la Principauté d'Orange.

Il n'eſt donc pas queſtion du choix entre cette offre, & une prétenſion auſſi mal-fondée que celle de la prétendue lizière, que les

ſo they muſt continue, till we get out of this uncertain ſtate, till we know what the French will do upon the great article, and till we ſee what pli the Dutch will at laſt take.

I incloſe

les Miniſtres de Pruſſe ont demandée en Franche Comté.

La ſomme de 1,200,000 livres offerte à leur maître eſt un préſent que le Roi veut lui faire pour le bien de la paix, & le colorer ſeulement du prétexte d'acheter ſes droits ſur la principauté d'Orange: car, autrement, ſa Majeſté n'avoit point d'autre réponſe à faire que d'aſſurer qu'elle laiſſeroit aux prétendans la liberté de pourſuivre leurs droits ſur la principauté d'Orange par-devant les tribunaux qui en doivent juger.

Cette réponſe eſt la ſeule qu'elle puiſſe faire au ſujet des terres de la Maiſon de Châlons, dont aucune n'a même l'apparence de ſouveraineté, & par conſéquent nul prétexte de ſe ſouſtraire à la juriſdiction des juges ordinaires.

Sa Majeſté ne rend compte à perſonne des édits, & des arrêts qu'elle donne pour l'ordre intérieur de ſon royaume.

(6) Si ce Prince accepte les conditions ci-deſſus, le Roi lui donnera le titre de Majeſté.

(7) Le Roi conſent & demande lui-même que les treize cantons ſoient compris dans la paix générale.

Offres de la France au Portugal.	*Demandes du Portugal.*	*Réponſes du Roi.*
Le Roi convertira en traité définitif le traité proviſionel conclu entre la France & le Portugal en 1700, en ſe réſervant la navigation libre du Fleuve des Amazones, qui doit être libre entre les deux nations.	Que les avantages qui lui ont été promis par la Maiſon d'Autriche tant en Eſpagne qu'aux Indes, lui ſoient accordés; ſavoir, les villes de Badajos, Alcantara, Albuquerque, & Valencia, dans l'Eſtremadure; celles de Bayona, Vigo, Tuy, & Guardia, dans la Galice. Que tout ce qui eſt entre la Rivière de la Plata & le Brézil,	Si le Roi de Portugal avoit conquis l'Eſpagne, ou contribué par des armées puiſſantes à la ſoumettre à l'Archiduc, il ne formeroit pas des demandes plus hautes que celles qui ſont contenues dans cet article. Le Roi Catholique n'accordera rien aux Portugais en Eſpagne. Il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'il ſoit plus facile ſur les demandes qu'ils

I incloſe a copy of the laſt letter which I have received from the Marquis de Torcy, and another of my anſwer to him, which will, I hope,

lui ſoit cédé, enſorte que cette rivière ſerve de limites aux deux états.

Que le Roi Philippe V lui cède pour barrière Coria, Ciudad Rodrigo, Puebla de Canabria, & Monterey, avec leurs dépendances.

Enſuite que l'Eſpagne paye ce qui eſt dû à l'ancienne compagnie Portugaiſe de l'Aſſiento, dont l'Angleterre & les Etats-Généraux ſont garants. Enfin que la France lui cède les Terres du Cap de Nord dans l'Amérique Méridionale, nonobſtant tout traité proviſionel ou définitif.

qu'ils font dans les Indes. C'eſt un article à diſcuter entre les Plénipotentiaires d'Eſpagne & ceux de Portugal, auſſi-bien que les comptes à régler de ce qui eſt dû à l'ancienne compagnie Portugaiſe de l'Aſſiento.

Il faut ſeulement obſerver que ſi les prétenſions des Portugais étoient écoutées, le Roi Catholique auroit ſeulement le nom de Roi d'Eſpagne, mais qu'en effet ſon royaume ſeroit partagé avec un ennemi puiſſant. Que pour acheter un état incertain & dangereux, on veut l'obliger à renoncer à ſes droits, & à ceux de ſes deſcendans ſur la monarchie de France.

Le Roi fait beaucoup pour les Portugais en conſentant que le traité proviſionel conclu à Liſbonne en 1700, ſoit converti en traité définitif. C'eſt tout ce que ſa Majeſté peut leur accorder; ils n'ont pas demandé d'avantage en ſignant le traité de ligue offenſive avec elle, & avec le Roi d'Eſpagne.

Offres de la France pour la Maiſon d'Autriche & pour l'Empire.

(1) Le Rhin ſervira de limites entre la France & l'Empire, de ſorte que le Roi rendra Briſac & le Fort de Keyl, en l'état où ils ſont, cédéra Landau en l'état où il eſt, raſera tous les forts qu'il poſsède au delà du Rhin & dans le Rhin, y compris le Fort Louis, auſſi-bien que celui de la Pile près de Straſbourg, à condition, & non-autrement, que le Roi retiendra tout ce qu'il poſsède en deçà ce fleuve, conformément au traité de Ryſwic.

Demandes de la Maiſon d'Autriche & de l'Empire.

Que Straſbourg ſoit rendu, Huningue, & le Neuf Briſac raſés.

Que l'Alſace ne demeure à la France que ſuivant l'interprétation que l'Empire & la Maiſon d'Autriche donnent au ſens littéral du traité de Munſter.

Réponſes du Roi.

Le Roi conſervera Straſbourg cédé à ſa Majeſté non-ſeulement en conſéquence des droits que la ceſſion de l'Alſace lui donnoit ſur cette ville, mais encore comme en échange de Fribourg, de Briſac, & du droit de garniſon dans Philipſbourg acquis à ſa Majeſté par les traités de Weſtphalie & de Nimégue.

Les fortifications de Neuf Briſac ſubſiſteront, cette place étant néceſſaire pour la barrière de la France, lorſqu'elle rend à la Maiſon d'Autriche le vieux Briſac.

Il n'y a point d'autre interprétation

hope, be diſpatched to-night or to-morrow morning. Copies have been already tranſmitted to your Lordſhip of the ſeveral letters which preceded

prétation à donner au traité de Munſter ſur la poſſeſſion de l'Alſace, que le ſens entendu par les ambaſſadeurs & miniſtres qui ont ſignés les traités de Nimégue & de Ryſwic.

(2) Le Roi reconnoîtra l'Electeur d'Hanover.

(3) L'Electeur de Trèves ſera rétabli dans la poſſeſſion de ſa ville de Trèves, & généralement de tout ce qui lui appartient.

Il demande ſon rétabliſſement dans le Grand Prieuré de Caſtille, & la reſtitution des fruits qu'il prétend n'avoir été que ſéqueſtrés.

Le Roi promet d'obtenir du Roi d'Eſpagne que le Grand Prieuré de Caſtille ſoit rendu à l'Electeur de Trèves.

Quant à la reſtitution des fruits, ſa Majeſté promet ſes offices pour la procurer, ne ſachant pas quel eſt ſur ce ſujet l'uſage d'Eſpagne, & c'eſt encore un point à diſcuter avec les Plénipotentiaires de cette couronne.

(4) Le Roi conſentira, ſi l'Empire le juge à propos, que le Langrave de Heſſe Caſſel ſoit mis en poſſeſſion de Rhynfels, St. Goar, & Kalz, à condition que la religion ſoit conſervée en l'état où elle eſt.

On demande que l'article de la religion ſoit auſſi décidé par l'Empire.

Comme cette affaire particulière regarde effectivement l'empire, le Roi conſent qu'elle ſoit remiſe à ſa déciſion.

(5) Pour ce qui regarde la Maiſon d'Autriche en particulier, le Roi promet que le Roi d'Eſpagne lui cédera les Royaumes de Naples & de Sardaigne, les quatre places de Toſcane, & quant au Duché de Milan ce qui n'en ſera point cédé au Duc de Savoye.

Les Pays Bas Eſpagnols, à l'exception de la ville & du territoire de Gueldres, qui doivent demeurer à la Pruſſe, comme il eſt ci-deſſus expliqué.

On demande la Sicile pour la Maiſon d'Autriche.

Le Roi & le Roi d'Eſpagne ſont non-ſeulement engagés envers l'Electeur de Bavière à le rétablir dans ſes états, mais encore à le dédommager des pertes qu'il a faites pendant le cours de la préſente guerre.

C'eſt en cette conſidération que le Roi Catholique lui a cédé les Pays-Bas Eſpagnols, s'il faut que l'Electeur s'en déſiſte pour le bien de la paix, le Roi & le Roi d'Eſpagne ſont obligés à lui donner un autre dédommagement. Le royaume de Sicile eſt le ſeul état dont l'Eſpagne puiſſe diſpoſer en faveur de ce prince, & pour ſatisfaire aux engagements pris avec lui.

Il eſt d'autant plus néceſſaire de ſtipuler cette condition qu'il paroît que l'Empire s'oppoſe à ſon

preceded theſe, ſo that your Lordſhip and Lord Privy Seal are as fully apprized

(6) Le tout à condition que les Electeurs de Cologne & de Bavière ſeront rétablis dans leurs états, dignités, biens, meubles, &c.

On ne s'oppoſera pas à ce que le Duché de Bavière ſoit rendu à Monſieur l'Electeur de ce nom, & qu'il ſoit un neuvième & dernier Electeur, à condition qu'il renonce au Haut Palatinat, & à la dignité de premier Electeur, ſans pouvoir eſpérer d'y parvenir qu'après le mort de l'Electeur Palatin, & du Prince Charles ſon frère.

Et quant à l'Electeur de Cologne, lorſqu'il ſera rétabli dans ſes états, il ſera diſpoſé ſuivant le deſir des alliés, de la garniſon qui ſera miſe ou non dans la ville de Bonn.

ſon rétabliſſement dans le rang de premier Electeur, & que l'on demande que le Haut Palatinat ſoit conſervé à l'Electeur Palatin, & après lui au Prince Charles de Neuburg, ſon frère, pour ne retourner qu'après la mort de ces Princes à l'Electeur de Bavière ou à ſes enfans.

Quoique cette condition ſoit injurieuſe à l'Electeur de Bavière, le Roi veut bien y conſentir moyennant le dédommagement du royaume de Sicile, parce que le titre de Roi effacera ce qu'il y a d'offençant dans la place de dernier Electeur, qu'on veut lui donner au lieu du premier rang qu'il avoit dans le Collége Electoral.

Sa Majeſté propoſe que les fortifications de Bonn ſoient raſées, & cet expédient lui paroît plus convenable que de mettre dans cette place une garniſon qui ne dépende pas de l'Electeur de Cologne.

(7) On accordera réciproquement un pardon général aux ſujets de toutes les parties de la Monarchie Eſpagnole, qui auront dans cette guerre des partis différens, avec reſtitution des biens & honneurs.

Offres de la France pour les Etats-Généraux.

(1) Les Pays-Bas Catholiques hors ce qui en reſtera au Roi, à l'exception ſuſdite de Gueldres, appartiendront en propriété à la Maiſon d'Autriche.

(2) La barrière ſera formée des Pays-Bas Eſpagnols, tels que les Alliés les occupent aujourd'hui, auxquels on ajoutera Luxembourg, en reſervant la principauté de trente mille écus de rente, donnée par le Roi d'Eſpagne à Madame la Princeſſe des Urſins, Namur, Charleroy, Nieuport, Ypres & ſa châ-

Demandes pour les Etats-Généraux.

Outre les places offertes pour la barrière, on demande la ceſſion de Tournay, & du Tournefis, auſſi-bien que de Condé, du canon & des munitions de guerre qui ſont dans les places cédées.

De plus, une renonciation à perpétuité pour tous Rois, Princes, & Princeſſes du ſang royal

Réponſes du Roi.

Le Roi inſiſte ſur la reſtitution de Tournay, & du Tournefis, comme eſſentielles pour aſſurer la barrière dont la France a beſoin du côté des Pays-Bas.

Cette barrière eſt d'autant plus importante que la puiſſance de la Maiſon d'Autriche devient formidable par la réunion de tant d'états conſidérables en

apprized of this under-plot, as we are who ſit in the cabinet here.

The

tellenie, Furnes & Furnambach, la Knoque, Menin & ſa verge, à condition que Lille en l'état où elle eſt, avec ſes dépendances, ſera rendue à la France, pour équivalent de la démolition de Dunkerque & Tournay, avec le Tournesis, Douay, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, & Bouchain, en l'état où ils ſont, avec leurs dépendances; comme auſſi tout le canon & les munitions de guerre qui s'y trouveront, en échange des places que la France ajoute, pour fortifier la barrière, & de celles qui ſeront cédées par l'Electeur de Bavière, qui les poſsède actuellement.

de France, à tous droits préſens & à venir, ou poſſibles, ſur ce qui compoſera la barrière, en tout ou en partie.

On refuſe de convenir de la principauté accordée ou reſerveé à la Princeſſe des Urſins.

la perſonne du même Prince. Tout eſt à craindre d'un voiſin auſſi dangereux, plus appliqué à ſes affaires qu'aucun de ſes prédéceſſeurs, qui ſe fait [illegible]ur de marcher ſur les traces de Charles V, & ne diſſimule pas le deſſein qu'il a de s'agrandir. On ne peut douter auſſi qu'il ne ſoit fortement aidé par la république d'Hollande, l'expérience ayant fait voir que bien loin de craindre le pouvoir de la Maiſon d'Autriche cette république fait conſiſter ſa gloire & ſa ſureté à multiplier le nombre des états de cette puiſſante maiſon.

La même raiſon d'aſſurer la frontière du royaume demande que le Roi conſerve la place de Condé, & ſa Majeſté ne doit pas ſe relâcher ſur cet article.

Comme elle en connoît parfaitement toutes les conſéquences, elle reſſentira vivement le plaiſir que l'Angleterre lui fera de contribuer à la reſtitution de Tournay & du Tournesis, & de faire ceſſer toutes demandes au ſujet de Condé: et pour en donner des marques réelles à cette couronne, ſa Majeſté veut bien s'engager que ſi Tournay & le Tournesis lui ſont reſtitués, que toutes demandes au ſujet de Condé ceſſent, & qu'elle conſerve auſſi cette place par la paix. Elle accordera en ce cas, à la pure conſidération de l'Angleterre, de combler le Port de Dunkerque, quoique ſa Majeſté connoiſſant le préjudice que cette condition, ſi fortement demandée par les Anglois, lui cauſeroit, ait toujours refuſé de l'accorder.

Elle conſentira de plus à faire démolir les fortifications de Bergh St. Vinoſe, avec le Fort François qui en dépend, & même s'il eſt néceſſaire à céder cette ville raſée au Prince à qui les Pays-Bas appartiendront.

Elle conſentira pareillement à laiſſer le canon & les munitions de guerre qui ſe trouveront dans les places qu'elle cédera, à condition que le canon & les munitions de guerre demeureront auſſi dans les places qui lui ſeront cédées & appartiennent à ſa Majeſté.

La condition doit être réciproque, ou de laiſſer toute l'artillerie, & ce qui en dépend dans les places cédées, tant de la part du Roi que de celle de ſes ennemis, ou de régler la quantité qui en ſera laiſſé dans chacune de ces places.

La renonciation demandée au Roi eſt une clauſe tirée des préliminaires de 1709. Il y auroit beaucoup de raiſons de la rejeter comme inutile, & même comme abſurde, mais ſa Majeſté veut bien l'accorder.

Comme la principauté réſervée par la Princeſſe des Urſins, n'intéreſſe en rien les affaires publiques, le Roi ſouhaite que la difficulté ſur cet article puiſſe être levée.

(3) Pour le commerce d'Eſpagne & des Indes, il ſera comme il étoit ſous le règne de Charles II; & pour celui de France il ſera comme il eſt ſtipulé par le Traité de Ryſwic; & on ſuivra le Tarif de 1664, à l'exception de quatre genres de marchandiſes, aux conditions dont on conviendra.

On ſe réſerve à traiter des quatre genres de marchandiſes.

Le Roi l'approuve.

The whole event of our treaty turning on this article of the reunion, I ſhould not think our affairs in a very good ſituation, had I not reaſon to believe that the Treaſurer knows, that this expedient, or ſomething very near to it, will be cloſed with by the French Court. I may tell you, in the utmoſt confidence, that the firſt hint was given by him, in the Committee of Council, and, by ſeveral expreſſions which dropped from him, when alterations were ſtarted, I could plainly find, that he knew what would be moſt, and what leaſt agreeable at Verſailles. I have turned Gaultier round all manner of ways, and I think I diſcover by him, that they will not be obſtinate in France, againſt any expedient of this nature. I flatter myſelf that a little more or a little leſs in the equivalent, will be the principal difference between us. What I ſay concerning the Treaſurer's part in this matter is only founded upon conjecture, for I do aſſure you, I am not in this part of his ſecret; it is therefore only for yourſelf; but your Lordſhip will pleaſe to give my Lord Privy Seal communication of the two letters.

Your judgment as to the Dutch is undoubtedly right; and I believe you will be of opinion that after the ſteps which the Queen has made towards them, it is not at all repugnant to our intereſt, that they delay ſettling a plan of the general peace with us; ſince, if France and we agree about the article for preventing the union of the two monarchies, we ſhall certainly go on to adjuſt with the French the heads of the future treaty; and this may be done with a much better grace, if, after repeated incitations to open their minds, the Miniſters of Holland ſhould continue ſtill ſilent, than it could be if they had freely declared their ſentiments, and entered into a formal concert with your Lordſhips.

The ſame apprehenſions which your Lordſhip has concerning Prince Eugene, are entertained here, and I ſend you the copy of a letter which I diſpatched by expreſs to the Duke of Ormond, upon the re-

ceipt of your former letter, wherein you gave an account of what had paſſed whilſt you was at the Hague, with his Grace.

Gaultier ſeems to me extremely fearful of any action on that ſide, and he has, I believe, ten times ſince his arrival, uſed this expreſſion: that he hoped nothing would be attempted by our army, till we ſaw what reſolution his court would take upon the overture now made to them.

Hohendorf* knew you very ill, if he thought to impoſe by ſuch a tale as he dreſſed up to your Lordſhip. Several letters from Vienna have fallen into my hands, and it is prodigious to obſerve in all of them, how much rage they expreſs, that we preſume to emancipate ourſelves from the ſlavery which we have been under.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

My Lord,

Whitehall, May 2d, 1712.

SEVERAL of your Lordſhip's letters are come, almoſt at the ſame time, to my hands, ſome of them are without any date, the freſheſt is of the 23d laſt month, from Venice.

It would be a real and a very great mortification to me, if I imagined your Lordſhip had entertained the leaſt doubt of that friendſhip which I profeſs to have for you; my habits at Court have neither taught me to ſhow what I do not feel, nor to hide what I do; and my love and my hate are ſo far from not appearing in my words and actions, that they generally ſit in my very face.

* Adjutant-general to Prince Eugene's command.

As

As I endeavour to do this juſtice to my own heart, ſo, my Lord, you muſt give me leave to do the ſame to thoſe friends whom you left behind you; and who, I dare anſwer for them, have the ſame eſteem for your merit, the ſame affection for your perſon, and the ſame zeal for your ſervice, which they ever had. But, my Lord, in all your experience, I may venture to affirm, you never paſſed through ſuch a ſcene of confuſion and difficulty, as this winter has afforded us; and though we have kept one point of view ſteadily in ſight, and worked towards it, yet have been forced to ſhift our courſe, and try different meaſures, almoſt every day.

Faction can invent nothing more ruinous to the public, the rage of woman nothing more barbarous towards particular men, than ſome of the intrigues which have been lately carried on. At the ſame time, a nice negociation has been on foot, wherein not Britain alone, but all Europe, not the preſent age alone, but poſterity are deeply concerned; and this with an enemy, who wants no inclination to take advantages, nor ſkill to manage them.

To theſe cauſes, and to others of a near reſemblance to theſe, be pleaſed, my Lord, to attribute the ſtate of darkneſs and uncertainty, which you complain you have been left in. The Queen has, from week to week, expected the moment when her affairs, and the great buſineſs now in agitation, would require the employing you in a poſt worthy of your talents, and, I believe, agreeable to your wiſhes. That moment is not very far off, and I take it for granted, that the Earl of Dartmouth has already hinted to your Lordſhip, what you are to expect.

The Duke of Savoy will find the Queen is the beſt friend he and his family have, and therefore, that more confidence in her, and leſs uneaſineſs of temper, would have become his character better.

The alarm which we had concerning the Prince Electoral*, made a great impreſſion upon her Majeſty, and under theſe firſt terrors, the reſolution was taken of giving your Lordſhip a commiſſion, which, I perceive, you do not very much reliſh. Mackenzie was pitched upon by the Electoreſs Dowager, and truſted with her letters, and with thoſe of the Proteſtant miniſters; ſo that if he had been guilty of any indiſcretion, we ſhould not be anſwerable for it; but, I hope, before this time, your Lordſhip has received another account of the adventure with his ſervant.

As to my own part, my Lord, in Parliament, or out of it, as I will always deſerve your friendſhip, ſo I flatter myſelf, I ſhall always have it. But, my Lord, as to my conduct in the negociation for a peace, I ſhall want no juſtification. I have, it is true, acted as boldly in the promoting that good work, as your Lordſhip uſed to do, where you thought the intereſt of your country at ſtake; and I tell you, without any Gaſconade, that I had rather be baniſhed for my whole life, becauſe I have helped to make the peace, than be raiſed to the higheſt honours, for having contributed to obſtruct it†; however, God be praiſed! we run no riſque of this kind; the eyes of mankind are opened, and they begin to ſee the falſehood of that ſyſtem of politics, on which we have acted ſo many years together.

I incloſe this letter to Mr. Cole, who will convey it to your Lordſhip, wherever you may happen to be. No man loves you better, or honours you more than

Yours, &c.

* Of Saxony renouncing Proteſtantiſm.

† This paſſage is remarkable, on account of the event verifying the aſſertion. Upon the return of the Whig adminiſtration, at the acceſſion of George I, Bolingbroke was impeached for helping to make the peace, and actually went into a voluntary exile.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, May 2nd, 1712.

THE misfortune, which a combination of ill people and ill accidents, is likely to bring upon you, gives me a moſt ſenſible affliction; your friends will not change with your fortune, and you may depend upon the beſt ſervices which we are able, on this ſide the water, to do you.

I believe my Lord Treaſurer gave theſe aſſurances to Mrs. Drummond at her departure; and when you have, as well as you can, wound up your bottoms in Holland, I hope you will feel the effects of his friendſhip in Britain.

I doubt George* has been extravagant, and if he has, thoſe who blame him ought to accuſe themſelves. If my father ſhould not anſwer the bills he has drawn, I will not fail to ſee them paid, and I give you my word, that the balance of his account ſhall be made good to you. There is another debt, which he owes you, and which he can never ſatisfy; I mean his debt of gratitude, for all the kindneſs which you ſhowed him in his illneſs; but I hope he will be ever your ſervant, and ſhow, at leaſt, he does not want the inclination, though he may the powers.

As to the preſent ſituation of people's minds in Holland, I can only ſay, that the Queen (as well as her ſervants) is heartily ſorry to find, that they will continue the bubbles of a faction here. It is impoſſible for her Majeſty to go farther than ſhe has lately done, in her offers to purchaſe a good underſtanding with them; but if this goodneſs of hers does not meet with a ſuitable return from them, ſhe will think herſelf tied

* Bolingbroke's younger brother.

by no obligation to them, and they muſt ſtand as well as they can by themſelves. In this caſe, they will have their own miniſters to reproach, who, in order to ſerve a miſtaken policy, and keep up the ferment againſt peace, have never acquainted them with the ſeveral propoſals made by the Queen, nor given a true repreſentation of facts to them*.

Our ſcheme is ſettled, and neither the States-General, nor their allies, the junto of Whigs, can force us to depart from it.

In all times, and in all circumſtances, I am, and will faithfully continue,

Sir, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, May 3, 1712.

I KEPT the poſt back, in expectation of letters from your ſide, and I have this morning received thoſe of the 10th, N.S.

To what I ſaid in my laſt, upon the great article, I can now add, that Gaultier has owned to me, he expects our expedient will be accepted in France, he ſuppoſes they may endeavour to mend the equivalent.

The French have undoubtedly a great advantage in treating in their own language, and I can eaſily believe, that ſome of the expreſſions in my letters to Monſieur de Torcy, may have been either faint, improper, or ambiguous; but ſurely the whole tenor of them makes it plain, that we

* It was then generally believed that Buys never communicated to his employers, what paſſed between him and the Queen's Miniſters, to induce the States-General to co-operate with her Majeſty.

never

never intended to ſeparate the option and the execution of the option. But how doubtful ſoever my former diſpatches may have been, my laſt I hope they will underſtand. At leaſt, I cannot deliver the Queen's ſenſe in plainer terms.

We have conſidered the point of a ceſſation of arms; if the enemy agree to our laſt propoſition, it will be immediately granted; an hour's time will regulate all the differences which are between us, in the articles relating to Britain; and then I entirely concur with your Lordſhip, that her Majeſty ought to take upon her the part of mediatrice, as well for her own honour, as for the good of the negociation. In the diſcourſe which I have had with the Treaſurer upon this head, we agreed that Dunkirk ought to be put into our hands, and Ipres into the hands of the Dutch, as pledges for the evacuation of Spain, during the ſuſpenſion. The French would, I believe, as ſoon conſent to give the former undemoliſhed to the Queen, as to be at the expence of razing the works, and ruining the harbour; and in this reſpect, I think the intention of her Majeſty, is to act as the Dutch ſhall deſerve, by their behaviour at her hands.

Your Lordſhip and Lord Privy Seal, will turn in your thoughts, whether the two places abovementioned are ſufficient ſecurities to grant an armiſtice upon. It has always appeared to me to be a mathematical demonſtration, that it was worth our while, on ſuch an occaſion, to accept any thing which is more than we can probably conquer within the time for which the ſuſpenſion is conſented to.

Surely we may be eaſy enough about the Dutch, and it ſeems now to be their buſineſs more than the Queen's to enter into our meaſures; the appearance of intimacy with them will have ſome good effect perhaps in France, and if they ſhould take the right turn, our peace will have the better grace to the world; but if they ſhould not, I think we may render the terms of the treaty more ſolidly advantageous to Britain.

I am

I am to dine with my Lord Treaſurer this day, and I will not fail to ſpeak to him concerning your money; I ſhall ſee my Lord Chamberlain at the ſame time, and to him I will ſpeak about your plate.

This curſed eaſterly wind keeps the meſſenger, whom I diſpatched on Friday was ſe'nnight, to the Duke of Ormond, with the letter whereof you have the copy, ſtill at Dover.

This misfortune makes me a little diſquieted in my mind.

I find the Queen continues in her reſolution of ſending for your Lordſhip over, as ſoon as ſhe is ready to communicate to her Parliament, the general plan of peace.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, May the 3d, 1712.

I THIS morning received the favour of your letter of the 11th, N.S. from the Hague, and am very glad to find by what you write to my Lord Treaſurer, as well as to me, that the Dutch are at laſt in a way of recovery from that frenzy, which their Whig friends communicated to them.

You are, Sir, an excellent phyſician, and I wiſh you as good ſucceſs at Hanover, as you have had at the Hague. I fear you will find as much occaſion of your ſkill, and of your ſtrongeſt medicine.

By Tueſday's poſt you will have inſtructions on this head.

I am, &c.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, May the 6th, 1712.

WE expect at the end of this week, the anſwer from France. Her Majeſty conſiders that upon this anſwer, her final reſolution muſt be taken, and ſhe therefore judges it indiſpenſably neceſſary that your Lordſhip ſhould be here.

It will be ſome trouble to your Lordſhip to run backward and forward in ſo much haſte, but we are at the criſis of our fate, and nothing muſt be neglected, which may contribute to procure a good event to this negociation.

If the French agree with us, I believe your Lordſhip will return to Holland, fortified with the reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament; and will carry ſuch particular and poſitive inſtructions, as will ſhorten the work at Utrecht, and render this treaty more honourable, as well as more advantageous to our nation, than any that hiſtory records.

I beg your Lordſhip to be perſuaded, that among all your friends whom you will find here, you will be embraced by none more ſincerely nor more affectionately, than by,

My Lord, &c.

De

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Verſailles, le 13me Mai, 1712.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, & j'ai été bien fâché de voir qu'il y eut autant d'éloignement que vous me le marquez entre la propoſition que vous m'aviez fait par ordre de la Reine, & la réponſe que le Roi m'avoit commandé de vous faire; faute de s'entendre, on a malheureuſement perdu un tems dont tous les momens ſont précieux, & préſentement il faut avoir une nouvelle déciſion du Roi d'Eſpagne, ſur un plan qui avoit été propoſé dans un ſens différent de celui que vous l'avez entendu.

Je vous avoue, Monſieur, que je craindrois que cette explication ne produiſit de nouveaux embarras du côté de la Cour de Madrid, ſi le Roi n'avoit réſolu de ſurmonter toutes les difficultés que ſa Majeſté pourra trouver, ſur un article qui doit faire le fondement de la paix, & de ſacrifier même les intérêts de ſa maiſon, pour le rétabliſſement de la tranquillité générale. C'eſt donc pour applanir ces difficultés que le Roi fait aujourd'hui deux propoſitions au Roi ſon petit fils.

La première de renoncer, par le traité de paix, pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans, à ſes droits ſur la Couronne de France, & de ſe contenter de l'Eſpagne & des Indes.

La ſeconde de conſerver ſes droits ſur la Couronne de France, mais de céder en même-tems l'Eſpagne & les Indes à Monſeigneur le Duc de Savoye, & de ſe contentir en échange des états que Monſieur le Duc de Savoye poſsède aujourd'hui; c'eſt à dire, de la principauté de Piémont, des Duchés de Savoye & du Montferrat, & du Comté de Nice. Enfin de conſerver le royaume de Sicile, dont le Roi Catholique eſt encore le maître, à condition toutefois, que s'il parvenoit un

jour

jour à la Couronne de France, il conſerveroit ſeulement les états appartenans aujourd'hui à Monſeigneur le Duc de Savoye, & qu'en ce cas le royaume de Sicile appartiendroit à la Maiſon d'Autriche.

Il ſeroit à ſouhaiter que le Roi put ſavoir, dès à préſent, les intentions du Roi ſon petit-fils, ſur l'une ou ſur l'autre de ces deux alternatives, mais il faut néceſſairement attendre le rétour du courier que ſa Majeſté dépêche à Madrid.

Elle m'ordonne cependant de vous aſſurer, que le traité de paix ſe fera ſur le fondement de l'une ou de l'autre des propoſitions; c'eſt à dire, que le Roi d'Eſpagne renoncera à ſes droits ſur la Couronne de France, pour conſerver ſeulement l'Eſpagne & les Indes. Qu bien, qu'il conſentira a l'échange de l'Eſpagne & des Indes, avec les états de Monſeigneur le Duc de Savoye, aux conditions que je viens de vous marquer.

Vous devez donc, Monſieur, regarder ce que je vous écris, par ordre du Roi, comme la réponſe finale que vous demandez, & qui doit lèver toute incertitude ſur la paix, ou ſur la continuation de la guerre.

Il paroît, Monſieur, que la paix ſeroit encore plus certaine, ſi l'on convenoit d'une ſuſpenſion d'armes préſentement que, de part & d'autre, on peut eſpérer une heureuſe concluſion; mais il faut laiſſer à la prudence de la Reine d'examiner ce qu'elle croira de plus convenable au bien général, qu'elle ſouhaite autant que perſonne. Il ſeroit très facheux que quelque événement veut troubler, pendant la campagne, les bonnes diſpoſitions que l'on voit préſentement au rétabliſſement du repos public.

J'eſpère que vous y donnerez bientôt la dernière main, & je vous ſupplie de croire qu'on ne peut vous honorer plus parfaitement, ni être plus véritablement, que je ſuis,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 10me Mai, V.S. 1712.

J'AI reçu hier au ſoir votre lettre du 13me de ce mois, N.S. & ce matin j'en ai fait la lecture à ſa Majeſté.

L'Abbé Gaultier vous rendra compte des ordres que je viens dans ce moment de dépêcher au Duc d'Ormond; la Reine ſe repoſe ſur la bonne foi de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, & n'attend que la communication que le Roi lui donnera de la réſolution qu'il prendra au retour du courier que vous avez dépêché à Madrid, pour faire toutes les déclarations néceſſaires à conclure le grand ouvrage de la paix.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Monſieur le Comte de Maffei.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 10me Mai, V.S. 1712.

VOUS ne ſerez pas ſurpris, dans l'état où la négociation de la paix ſe trouve, & dans la ſaiſon de l'année, de ſavoir que la Reine s'eſt déterminée à ne laiſſer plus long-tems des affaires d'une auſſi grande importance que la continuation de la guerre, ou la rétabliſſement du repos de l'Europe, dans l'incertitude.

Le Comte de Strafford a reçu les ordres de ſa Majeſté de ſe rendre inceſſamment à la cour, il ne reſtera ici que peu de jours, & il apportera avec lui en Hollande des inſtructions déciſives.

Dans une auſſi grande criſe, la Reine ſouhaite d'avoir auprès d'elle un Miniſtre de ſon Alteſſe Royale, dont les intérêts lui ſont auſſi chers que les ſiens propres ; & elle m'a commandé, Monſieur, de vous dire, qu'elle croit qu'il eſt abſolument néceſſaire que vous vous rendiez ici, ſans perte d'un moment de tems.

Comme vous devez retourner à Utrecht avec le Miniſtre de la Reine, & que, par conſéquent, votre ſéjour à Londres ſera très court, vous ne vous embarraſſerez apparemment pas d'aucun équipage.

La Reine ne doute point que ſon Alteſſe Royale n'approuve votre conduite, ſi vous avez beſoin d'aucunes excuſes, ſa Majeſté les feroit pour vous.

Je dois ajouter que la négociation étant comme ſuſpendue à Utrecht, la Reine croit qu'il ne ſera pas difficile de trouver des prétextes pour le voyage que vous allez faire. En tout cas ſa Majeſté eſpère que nous ſommes ſi près du dénouement de nos grandes affaires, qu'il n'eſt pas d'une forte grande importance quelles impreſſions cette démarche peut former ſur les eſprits.

Je ſuis, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Whitehall, May 10th, 1712.

YOUR Grace's letters of the 18th, N.S. came this morning to my hands, and upon them the little I have to ſay is contained in my public diſpatch.

The occaſion of ſending the meſſenger, proceeds from advices which the Queen received laſt night from the Court of France.

Her Majeſty, my Lord, has reaſon to believe that we ſhall come to an agreement upon the great article of the union of the two monarchies, as ſoon as a courier, ſent from Verſailles to Madrid, can return; it is therefore the Queen's poſitive command to your Grace, that you avoid engaging in any ſiege, or hazarding a battle, till you have farther orders from her Majeſty. I am, at the ſame time, directed to let your Grace know, that the Queen would have you diſguiſe the receipt of this order; and her Majeſty thinks that you cannot want pretences for conducting yourſelf ſo as to anſwer her ends, without owning that which might, at preſent, have an ill effect, if it was publicly known *.

The Queen cannot think with patience of ſacrificing men, when there is a fair proſpect of attaining her purpoſe another way; and beſides, ſhe will not ſuffer herſelf to be expoſed to the reproach of having retarded, by the events of the campaign, a negociation which might otherwiſe have been as good as concluded in a few days.

I ſhall very ſoon diſpatch another expreſs to your Grace; and am, with true reſpect,

My Lord, &c.

P.S. I had almoſt forgot to tell your Grace that communication is given of this order to the Court of France; ſo that if the Mareſchal de Villars † takes, in any private way, notice of it to you, your Grace will anſwer accordingly.

If this order is changed on either ſide, we ſhall, in honour, be obliged to give notice of it to the other.

* This order formed the principal article in Bolingbroke's impeachment; it ſeems to be now generally agreed, that her Majeſty determined upon the meaſure without conſulting her Council.

† Commander-in-chief of the French army in Flanders.

To the Lords Plenipotentiaries.

My Lords,

Whitehall, May 10th, 1712.

THE letters of the 17th and of the 18th N.S. arrived this morning, and I have the honour to acknowledge your Lordſhips' joint diſpatch.

The intent of this is to acquaint your Lordſhips, that her Majeſty has thought proper to ſend for the Count Maffei over, he has credentials to the Queen, and is therefore, of the three *, the only one we could well call for.

Her Majeſty looks upon the great article to be ſo near adjuſted between her and France, that ſhe hopes my Lord Strafford, whoſe ſtay here will be extremely ſhort, will carry back ſuch inſtructions, as may enable him, in conjunction with your Lordſhip, my Lord Privy Seal, to finiſh that great and good work which you are employed in, to the advantage of all the allies, even of thoſe who have, with the greateſt obſtinacy, oppoſed every ſtep towards peace.

As the Duke of Savoy may be extremely concerned in the new ſettlement of Europe, according to the ſcheme which your Lordſhips are already apprized of, her Majeſty has thought it abſolutely neceſſary, to have his Miniſter here for a few days; and I incloſe to your Lordſhips the letter which I write by the Queen's order to this Gentleman, as well as the copy of it.

Not being ſure that my Lord Strafford will be at Utrecht when this letter arrives, I omit anſwering his private letter of the 17th.

I am, &c.

* Miniſters of Savoy; the other two were Du Bourg and Mellarede.

To

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, May 10th, 1712.

OUR letters from Holland arrived this morning, and late laſt night we received an expreſs from Verſailles.

Theſe ſeveral diſpatches have given us all ſo much to do, that I believe you will not have any thing from my Lord Treaſurer by this meſſenger; and I ſhall only tell you, that Couchman will be diſpatched to you on Tueſday, with freſh inſtructions, on the manner in which you are to open the matter of peace to the Elector.

I am glad to find that the Whigs here do not gueſs at the true reaſon of your loitering in Holland; few or none of them imagine that we are juſt ready to enable you to ſpeak poſitively and ſatisfactorily of the peace.

I think there can be no diſpute but the act * muſt be preſented to the Princeſs Sophia, and notice taken of it to the Elector, but the ſage Mr. Tilſon † will adviſe you in this knotty point of form.

I confeſs, I begin to wiſh that the Dutch may continue ſtill dully obſtinate, rather than ſubmit to the Queen's meaſures, ſince we do not want them either to make or ſupport the peace, and ſince it will be better ſettled for England without their concurrence than with it. Does it not make your blood curdle in your veins, to hear it ſolemnly conteſted in Holland, whether Britain ſhall enjoy the aſſiento, an advantage which the enemy have yielded to us?

I am, for ever, &c.

* For ſettling the precedency of the Princeſs Sophia, of the Elector her ſon, and the Electoral Prince, the Duke of Cambridge.

† George Tilſon, Under-ſecretary in Bolingbroke's office.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, May 17th, 1712.

I SEND Couchman with the diſpatches of this day, and you will keep him or otherwiſe, as you ſhall think fit.

My Lord Treaſurer tells me, that he is not of opinion that you ſhould proceed to Hanover, till we receive the laſt anſwer which we expect on the article of Spain, and which cannot be here before the 30th of this month, O.S.

Thus, Sir, you perceive that as tired as you are of Holland, you are likely not ſo ſoon to leave that country.

France is ſo unwilling to loſe the proſpect of having Philip ſucceed to that Crown, that a new expedient has been propoſed to them by the Queen.

We offer that Philip (evacuating immediately Spain and the Weſt-Indies, and the Duke of Savoy taking poſſeſſion thereof) ſhall have the principality of Piedmont, the duchies of Montferrat and Savoy, and the county of Nice, together with the kingdom of Sicily, which iſland is to revert to the Houſe of Auſtria, in caſe Philip ſucceeds to the Crown of France.

Upon this propoſition Monſieur Torcy writes, that the King has ſent to his grandſon, and that he promiſes her Majeſty that the peace ſhall be built either on this or on the other alternative, viz. that Philip keep Spain and the Indies, renouncing all right to France, and conſenting to the eſtabliſhment of this ſucceſſion, excluſive of himſelf and children.

You ſee, Sir, that whatever expedient be accepted at Madrid, the point of preventing the union of the two monarchies is provided for;

but

but I ought to tell you, that we make little doubt but that the intereſt of France and of the Houſe of Bourbon will prevail, and that by conſequence Philip will chooſe to evacuate Spain. As ſoon as the choice he makes is communicated to the Queen, her Majeſty will, I believe, lay as much as ſhe thinks proper of the plan of peace before her Parliament, and what relates to the intereſt of our country, will be at that time determined. The Queen may then act the part of mediatrice with more glory than ever any of her predeceſſors did.

This, and this only, can render either the people you are with, or thoſe you are going to, reaſonable.

On the report which my Lord Strafford, who arrived here the day before yeſterday, has made by word of mouth, as well as upon the contents of the latter diſpatches from Utrecht, her Majeſty is fully determined to let all negociations ſleep in Holland; ſince they have neither ſenſe, nor gratitude, nor ſpirit enough to make a ſuitable return to the offers lately ſent by the Queen, and communicated by the Plenipotentiaries; her Majeſty will look on herſelf as under no obligation towards them, but proceed to make the peace either with or without them.

I mention this to you, becauſe the rule preſcribed to my Lord Privy Seal for his conduct, till farther orders, is, that he abſolutely decline treating with the Miniſters of the States, either on the ſubject of the amendments to the barrier-treaty, or of the general plan of peace, or on any other ſubject whatſoever.

I believe you will take the hint, and govern yourſelf accordingly; and I wiſh you joy of the leiſure you are likely to have.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 17th, 1712.

I HAVE little to ſay to your Grace by this poſt, and the leſs becauſe my letter is not truſted to the conveyance of a meſſenger from Holland to the army. Yours of the 20th, N.S. I have received, and her Majeſty is impatient to hear that mine, with which Barton was diſpatched, came ſafely and early to your Grace's hands.

Her Majeſty is glad to find that the Elector of Hanover does ſo much juſtice to your Grace; and we all hope that this Prince will think his intereſt, and that of the common cauſe, beſt placed in thoſe hands where the Queen ſhall think fit to lodge them.

The uncertainty under which Prince Eugene ſeems ſo uneaſy, will not, I believe, be of a long duration, and the anſwer which your Grace gave him, was worthy of yourſelf.

True glory reſults from obeying the Prince one ſerves punctually, and promoting the intereſt of one's country ſteadily, in preference to all other conſiderations of private honour or advantage.

This maxim the Queen is aſſured that your Grace has at heart, and from hence ſhe muſt be infinitely the more at eaſe in this tickliſh and important conjuncture of affairs.

I am, my Lord, &c.

A Monſieur Marſchalch.

De Whitehall, ce 17me Mai, 1712.

NOTRE ami Breton m'a fait beaucoup de juſtice en vous aſſurant, comme il n'aura pas manqué de faire, que je me ſouviens de vous, Monſieur, avec toute l'eſtime eſt toute l'affection poſſible.

Conſervez-moi, s'il vous plaît, l'honneur de votre amitié, & ſoyez perſuadé que je tâcherai, en tout tems de la mériter.

La Reine n'a jamais eu intention de communiquer aucune choſe à ſon parlement, comme le bruit en a couru ſelon ce que vous me marquez dans votre lettre du 17me de ce mois, N.S. Nous pouvons, je crois, nous flatter que cette communication ſe fera dans peu. Il s'agit de voir quel parti l'ennemi prendra ſur le ſujet du grand article de la réunion des deux couronnes.

Sa Majeſté a fait à la vérité, Monſieur, de grandes avances pour renouer ces liaiſons d'amitié & de confiance avec les Etats-Généraux qui ont ſubſiſté depuis le commencement de ſon règne, & qui ne pouvoient pas être rompus plus mal-à-propos que dans la conjoncture préſente. Mais vous ne devez pas là-deſſus prendre le moindre ombrage. La Reine n'entrera dans aucun engagement qui ne ſoit agréable aux intérêts du Roi votre maître, & pour vous parler avec franchiſe, je ne vois pas que les Hollandois répondent à la Reine d'une manière à l'engager à leur montrer beaucoup de complaiſance. Ces Meſſieurs ne voyent pas, même à l'heure qu'il eſt, que la Reine gouverne dans la Grande Bretagne, & que leurs amis de la faction ſont également ſans pouvoir & ſans crédit.

Vous me demandez, Monſieur, ſi je crois que la négociation durera long-tems?

long-tems ? je vous réponds que j'eſpère que le Comte de Strafford rapportera avec lui le dénouement de la pièce.

Dans ce moment un de nos couriers me remet votre lettre du 24me, N.S. ayez, je vous conjure, l'eſprit en repos ſur la conduite que la Reine tiendra à l'égard de ſa Majeſté Pruſſienne.

La paix ne ſe peut jamais faire du conſentement de notre cour, ſans qu'elle ſoit bonne pour tous les alliés ; mais la manière dont le Roi eſt entré dans les meſures de la Reine, engage ſa Majeſté de veiller à ſes intérêts avec un ſoin tout particulier. C'eſt de quoi j'oſe vous répondre, & vous ſavez que je me pique d'être homme d'honneur auſſi-bien que

Votre, &c.

To Mr. Breton.*

DEAR WILL,

Whitehall, May the 17th, 1712.

I CAN yet have nothing of buſineſs to write to you upon, and therefore, you ſhall receive by this poſt no formal office-letter from me, but as my Lord Strafford, who arrived here the day before yeſterday, tells me you are about this time proceeding on your journey to Berlin, I cannot neglect to ſend you by this private diſpatch, my hearty and moſt fervent good wiſhes.

I am apt to think, you may find ſome little umbrage taken by the Pruſſian miniſters, as if the Queen was entered into new engagements with the States-General about the barrier of the latter, which they will apprehend muſt be prejudicial to their pretenſions on Gueldres.

You may ſafely aſſure them that there is no ſuch thing, that the Queen has indeed done all in her power, and more than might per-

* Bregadier-general William Breton, Ambaſſador to Berlin.

haps have been expected from her, especially after some late transactions, to renew a good understanding with that republic; but that her Majesty will in no case enter into measures contrary to the King of Prussia's interests.

You may at the same time, to the King himself, insinuate, that her Majesty's condescensions have not met with very suitable returns from the States.

Perhaps some affected confidence of this kind, may give you occasion to dive into the intrigue which has been carrying on in the North, and which the Court of Berlin have certainly had their share of.

I am got into business before I was aware, though when I began my letter I thought of none, and therefore Mr. Harrison is directed to take the safest method of sending this after you.

Dear Sir, adieu; may health of body, peace of mind, and every other sort of happiness, be your perpetual lot.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY. LORD,

Whitehall, May 24th, 1712.

YOUR Lordship will give me leave to trouble you with a private letter at this time, when there is so little matter for a public dispatch. Our negociation is, in some sort, suspended till we know in form and peremptorily, which of the alternatives proposed will be adhered to at Madrid, and this communication we expect to receive on Thursday, or Friday next at fartheſt. In the mean while, to forward every thing as much as possible, I inform Monsieur de Torcy, by her Majesty's command, of the points to which she desires the King's assent, as necessary to enable her, and to induce her Parliament, to make

ſuch declarations as will effectually ſecure the ſucceſs of our negociation.

The copy of my letter to him, and of the memorial incloſed in it*, will ſufficiently apprize your Lordſhip of the Queen's views.

Laſt night, the Count de Maffei met, at the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings, at Kenſington, with the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of Dartmouth, and myſelf. We there opened to him, according to the Queen's directions, the expedient which has been offered, and which we hope will be accepted, by which his maſter is to ſucceed immediately to the throne of Spain and the Indies, your Lordſhip eaſily judges how he received the overture, and the expectations which were given him.

The impatience for peace here, is at leaſt equal to the want we lie under of it, and I believe an indifferent one would be welcome.

The Whigs ſeem to have flattered themſelves, that our treaty with France is at a ſtand; they exult not a little in that belief, and for my part, I am pleaſed that they do ſo. If we receive the anſwer we almoſt depend upon, the ſurprize of mankind will add to the Queen's triumph, and the enemy's confuſion.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 24me Mai, V.S. 1712.

PAR le rapport que le Comte de Strafford, qui vient d'arriver depuis peu de jours à la cour, a fait à la Reine, tant de l'état de la négociation d'Utrecht, que de la ſituation de l'eſprit dans laquelle il a laiſſé les miniſtres des puiſſances alliées, ſa Majeſté s'eſt confirmée dans la penſée, qu'elle avoit auparavant eu, que pour parvenir à la paix géné-

* The following letter and memorial.

rale,

rale, il eſt devenu néceſſaire qu'elle ſe déclare d'une autre manière qu'elle a fait juſques-ici.

Vous ſavez déjà, Monſieur, que la Reine ne pourra pas ſe diſpenſer de donner la communication qu'elle a promiſe à ſon Parlement, touchant la négociation de la paix, d'abord qu'elle recevra la déciſion du Roi Philippe. C'eſt auſſi le tems dans lequel il faudra, ou que la négociation ſoit abſolument rompue, où que la Reine ſe trouve en état de la conduire à une heureuſe fin, malgré toutes les oppoſitions qu'on y pourra apporter.

C'eſt pourquoi, Monſieur, j'ai ordre de la Reine de vous communiquer les démarches qu'elle eſt réſolue de faire; pourvu que le Roi Très Chrétienne veuille les lui rendre practicables.

Sa Majeſté déclarera à ſon Parlement, & à tous ſes alliés, premièrement, qu'elle eſt convenue avec le Roi Très Chrétienne, des intérêts de la Grande Bretagne.

Secondement qu'elle regarde ceux des autres puiſſances engagées dans la guerre avec elle, comme faciles à être ajuſtés, puiſque le Roi offre à la plupart d'entre eux, à peu près, ce qu'ils ont demandé, & à tous une ſatisfaction juſte & raiſonnable.

Troiſièmement, qu'elle va travailler à l'accommodement de ſes alliés; & que pour prévenir toutes les traverſes que les événemens de la campagne pourroient cauſer à la négociation de la paix, elle eſt convenue avec le Roi d'une ſuſpenſion d'armes.

Voilà, Monſieur, les meſures que la Reine m'a commandé de vous faire ſavoir qu'elle eſt de ſon côté prête à prendre, & vous trouverez dans le mémoire * ci-joint les conditions ſur leſquelles Sa Majeſté conſent

* Mémoire.

" *Touchant l'Amérique-Septentrionale.*

"Pour terminer toutes les diſputes ſervenues à l'égard de l'Amérique-Septentrionale, la Reine propoſe,

" *Premièrement*, Que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne lui cède l'île de Terreneuve, avec Plaiſance, & les fortifications, artillerie, & munitions y appartenantes, les petites îles adjacentes, & les plus proches à l'île de Terreneuve, comme auſſi Nova Scotia ou l'Acadie, ſelon les limites anciennes.

" *Secondement*,

ſent à faire des avances ſi importantes, & des déclarations ſi déciſives. Comme ces demandes ont été dreſſées dans le deſſein de faciliter le

" *Secondement*, Que les ſujets de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne continuent de pêcher & de ſécher leur poiſſon ſur la partie de Terreneuve qui s'appelle le Petit-Nort, mais point dans aucune autre partie de la dite île.

" *Troiſièmement*, Que les ſujets de ſa dite Majeſté puiſſent jouir en commun avec ceux de la Reine de l'île du Cap Bréton.

" *Quatrièmement*, Que les îles dans le Golf de St. Laurent, & dans l'embouchure de la rivière de ce nom, qui ſont préſentement occupées par les François, demeurent à ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, mais expreſſément à condition, que ſa dite Majeſté s'engage de ne pas élever, ou permettre qu'on élève aucune fortification dans ces îles, ou dans celles du Cap Bréton. Sa Majeſté la Reine s'engageant auſſi de ne point fortifier, ni laiſſer fortifier dans les îles adjacentes & les plus proches de Terreneuve, ni dans celles du Cap Bréton.

" *Cinquièmement*, La Reine inſiſte d'avoir le canon & les munitions de guerre dans tous les forts & places de la Baye & des Détroits de Hudſon.

" *Touchant le Commerce.*

" Comme il y a quelques difficultés qui ſont ſurvenues, & qui empêchent de mettre la dernière main au traité de commerce entre les deux royaumes de la Grande Bretagne & de la France, auſſi-tôt qu'il ſeroit à ſouhaitter, à cauſe de pluſieurs droits exceſſifs établis dans les dits royaumes ; & comme il eſt utile aux ſujets de part & d'autre, que le commerce entre les deux nations ſoit ouvert & ait ſon effet le plutôt qu'il ſera poſſible, la Reine auroit là-deſſus pluſieurs propoſitions à faire à ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne ; mais comme ces points pourroient être d'une plus longue diſcuſſion que la criſe où nous nous trouvons préſentement ne le permet, la Reine beaucoup plus portée à aſſurer le repos général, que ſes avantages particuliers, ſe contente de faire deux demandes qu'elle croit ne pouvoir ſouffrir aucune difficulté :

" *Premièrement*, Qu'en cas qu'on ne tombe pas d'accord ſur les points en diſpute touchant le commerce, des commiſſaires ſoient nommés des deux côtés, qui s'aſſembleront à Londres pour examiner & régler les droits & les poſitions qu'on doit payer dans chaque royaume ; & qu'on les ajuſte de telle manière que par-là le commerce entre les deux nations ſoit encouragé & élargi.

" *Secondement*, Qu'aucun privilége ou avantage, par rapport au commerce de la France ne ſera accordé à aucune nation étrangère, qui ne ſera pas accordé en même-tems aux ſujets de ſa Majeſté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne. De même aucune privilége ou avantage par rapport au commerce de la Grande Bretagne ne ſera accordé à aucune nation étrangère, qui ne ſera pas accordé en même-tems aux ſujets de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne.

" *Touchant la ſuſpenſion d'armes.*

" La Reine conſentira à une ſuſpenſion d'armes pour le terme de deux mois à condition,

" *Premièrement*, Que dans le dit terme l'article qui regarde la réunion des deux monarchies ſera ponctuellement & entièrement éxécuté, c'eſt-à-dire, ou que le Roi Philippe renoncera dans cet eſpace, pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans, à ſes droits ſur la couronne de France, & conſentira que cette renonciation ſoit inſérée dans le traité de paix future ; ou qu'il ſortira d'Eſpagne avec ſa famille dans ce terme, cédant ce royaume & les Indes à Monſeigneur le Duc de Savoye ; toutes conditions marquées dans ma lettre du 29 d'Avril (V.S.) & acceptées par celle de Monſieur de Torcy du 18 de ce mois (N.S.)

" *Secondement*, Que la garniſon Françoiſe ſortira de la ville & citadelle de Dunkerque, & des forts qui en dépendent, & que les troupes de la Reine y entreront du jour que la ſuſpenſion d'armes commencera ; & que cette place demeurera entre les mains de la Reine juſqu'à ce que les Etats Généraux ayent conſenti à donner à ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne un équivalent pour la démolition de cette place, dont elle ſoit contente.

" Bien entendu que dans ce cas, ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne ſera obligée de démolir toutes les fortifications de cette place, de combler le port, & de ruiner les écluſes de la manière que les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine l'ont demandé.

" *Troiſièmement*, En cas que les Etats-Généraux conſentent en même-tems que la Reine, à une ſuſpenſion d'armes, il paroît raiſonnable de leur accorder la liberté de mettre garniſon dans Cambray du jour que la dite ſuſpenſion aura ſon effet.

" A Whitehall, le 24 Mai (V.S.) 1712."

grande

grand ouvrage de la paix, & non pas de gagner aucun nouvel avantage, la Reine ſe promet que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne y conſentira.

Nous ſommes préſentement dans la plus grande criſe où l'Europe s'eſt trouvée depuis pluſieurs années ; & la réponſe que je recevrai à cette dépêche, nous doit rendre ou la paix certaine, ou nous plonger dans les malheurs de la guerre ; car vous voyez, Monſieur, qu'il faut au retour de ce courier que la ſuſpenſion d'armes ſoit ouvertement déclarée entre la Grande Bretagne & la France, ou que notre armée commence ſans plus perdre de tems les opérations de la campagne. Au lieu de craindre le dernier, je veux me flatter que le premier de ces deux cas arrivera. *Les ordres qui ont été envoyés au Duc d'Ormonde, après l'arrivée du courier qui m'apporta votre lettre du* 18*me de ce mois, N.S.* auſſi-bien que la réſolution que ſa Majeſté vient préſentement de prendre, eſt une marque ſi eſſentielle de ſa bonne foi, de ſon deſir ſincère de la paix, & de la confiance qu'elle a dans ſa Majeſté Tres Chrétienne, que nous devons nous promettre que le Roi y répondra de la même manière, & qu'avec le repos général nous verrons revivre en très peu de ſemaines, la bonne intelligence entre deux nations qui peuvent être l'une à l'autre les amies les plus utiles, par les mêmes raiſons qu'elles ont étés les ennemies les plus redoutables.

La Reine me commande d'ajouter qu'elle eſpère, qu'en même-tems qu'elle recevra la réponſe à cette lettre vous me donnerez part que le Chevalier a commencé ſon voyage.

Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. Jean.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Whitehall, May 27th, 1712.

I RECEIVED laſt night the honour of your diſpatch of the 4th of June, N.S. and am, in anſwer to it, commanded by her Majeſty to acquaint your Grace, that the affected alarm and the clamour, raiſed with ſo much induſtry, both here and in Holland *, upon what has ſo lately

* *Conferences about the Duke of Ormond's not attacking the Enemy.*

A la Haye, le 3me Juin, 1712.

" Leurs Hautes Puiſſances ayant fait inviter tous les miniſtres préſents des Hauts Alliés de ſe vouloir rendre à la chambre ordinaire du Congrès, on y comparu; & après s'être aſſis pêle-mêle, Monſieur de Broekhuiſen, à la tête des Députés des Etats-Généraux, du Conſeil d'Etat, & des Plénipotentiaires de l'état d'Utrecht, tant qu'ils en ſont préſents ici, propoſa que la raiſon pour laquelle on avoit prié Meſſieurs les miniſtres des alliés de s'aſſembler étoit une lettre que l'état avoit reçu de ſes Députés à l'armée, par laquelle ils marquoient que dans un conſeil de guerre tenu le 28me de Mai, on avoit crû être en état d'attaquer l'ennemi avec beaucoup d'avantage, mais que le Duc d'Ormond s'en étoit excuſé, déclarant d'avoir ordre de ne battre point; ſur quoi on avoit demandé de lui, ſi, au moins, il ne pourroit pas couvrir avec ſon armée un ſiège qu'on feroit, mais qu'il avoit répondu de n'avoir point d'ordre d'aller en aucune manière offenſivement; que l'état avoit lieu d'être extrêmement ſurpris d'une telle conduite, & particulièrement de ce que ce Duc refuſant de marcher avec l'autre armée des alliés juſques à l'ennemi, & dans le point de le pouvoir attaquer, s'étoit déclaré ainſi, que ſur cela leurs Hautes Puiſſances avoient ordonné à leurs Députés à l'armée de tâcher conjointement avec le Prince de Savoye, de porter le Duc d'Ormond à changer de réſolution, & à concourir avec les autres alliés à tout ce qu'on trouvera bon & convenable pour attaquer l'ennemi, bien qu'on ne s'en promettoit pas un grand effet, que cependant on avoit auſſi ordonné à l'Envoye de cet état à la cour Britannique de ſe plaindre de cette manière d'agir, & de prier que les ordres ſoient changés, afin que le Duc d'Ormond puiſſe concourir vigoureuſement aux opérations de la campagne. En même-tems on avoit ordonné aux Plénipotentiaires de l'état à Utrecht, de s'en plaindre à my Lord Evêque de Briſtol, ce qu'ils avoient fait hier avant midi; que celui-ci avoit voulu juſtifier au commencement cette démarche, mais qu'étant preſſé par les raiſons des Plénipotentiaires de l'état, il s'étoit à la fin déclaré de la manière ſuivante, ſelon les propres paroles de la relation des ſuſdits Plénipotentiaires, qu'il avoit ordre de ſa Reine de leur déclarer de la manière la plus ſolennelle, ' Dat dewyl haar Majeſteit hadde gezien dat alle haare avances, aan den ſtaat gedaan, ſo kwalyk waaren beantword, en dat den ſtaat over het werk van de vreede met haare Miniſters geen concert hadde willen maaken, haar Majeſteit haare zaaken alleen zoude moeten doen (1).' Que les Plénipotentiaires ayant repondu là-deſſus, à la décharge de l'état, avec beaucoup de fondement, my Lord Evêque s'étoit roidi dans ſa ſoutenue, & à la fin expliqué encore dans les termes ſuivants; ' Dat haar Majeſteit zich niet achtede te wezen onder eenige obligatie, hoedanig die zoude zyn, ten regard van den Staat (2).' Outre cela les mêmes plénipotentiaires mandoient, dans une ſeconde lettre, que le dit Lord Evêque, dans une autre converſation, avoit déclaré, ' Dat de koninginne meende in ſtaat en bevoegt te wezen, naar alle gedaane avances van de vreede te mogen maken, met of zonder den Staat (3).' Le dit

(1) That ſince her Majeſty had ſeen all her advances to the States ſo ill ſeconded, and that the States would not act in concert with her Miniſters, in the work of peace, her Majeſty would attend to her own intereſt alone.
(2) That her Majeſty ſhould not conſider herſelf as under any obligation whatever, with regard to the States.
(3) That the Queen conſidered herſelf to be in condition and under the obligation, after all her advances, to make peace with or without the States.

lately paſſed between your Grace, Prince Eugene, and the Dutch Deputies, gives her Majeſty no uneaſineſs whatſoever.

Her orders were founded on the moſt juſt as well as prudent conſiderations; you have obeyed them with that firmneſs which becomes you, and ſhe makes no doubt but you will continue to do ſo.

The final orders which your Grace, with ſo much reaſon, impatiently expects, cannot be diſpatched to you before Friday, and at that time I queſtion not but they will be ſent. In the mean time, my Lord, I am to let you know, that her Majeſty approves of your Grace's propoſal of taking the camp mentioned in your letter, in order to cover the ſiege of Queſnoy, if Prince Eugene and the States perſiſt in the deſign of attacking that place.

You are my Lord farther to find the moſt plauſible pretence you can of ſending a trumpet to the Mareſchal Villars. You are to inform that

Monſieur de Brockhuiſen ajoutoit à tout ceci, que cette déclaration de l'Evêque pouvoit ſervir d'apologie à l'Etat envers tous les alliés, de n'avoir jamais fait aucune démarche, à l'égard de la paix, ſans la communication de ſes alliés, avec aſſurance d'y vouloir continuer toujours; que dans cet incident l'état, ſous l'approbation des alliés, avoit réſolu d'ordonner encore une fois à ſon Miniſtre à Londres de faire là-deſſus de fortes remontrances à la décharge de l'Etat, qui n'a jamais refuſé de parler & d'aller de concert ſur la paix, avec tous les alliés, & que ce qui ſe paſſe à cette heure étoit contraire aux déclarations faites à Londres aux miniſtres d'état, & à celles des miniſtres de la Grande Bretagne faites ici, de ſorte qu'on inſiſteroit auprès de la Reine à la révocation de l'ordre donné au Duc d'Ormond, & à ce que ſa Majeſté ne ſe ſépare point de ſes alliés; finiſſant, le dit Monſieur de Brockhuiſen diſoit que cette communication ſe faiſoit aux miniſtres des alliés pour apprendre auſſi leurs ſentimens & réflexions là-deſſus.

" Sur cela Monſieur le Comte de Sinzendorf prit la parole, & en ſe plaignant de l'incident arrivé, il loua la réſolution de l'état, diſant que pendant preſque ſix années qu'on avoit traité ſur la paix, l'Empéreur & cet état avoit toujours été prêtes à écouter les propoſitions, & en dernier lieu d'apprendre les ſentimens de la Reine, s'offrant d'entrer en tout ce qui pourroit aucunement être convenable, bien que même avec une ceſſion d'une partie de ſes droits, mais que juſqu'ici on n'avoit pas encore eu la moindre communication ſur ce point; au reſte le dit Comte croyoit qu'on pouvoit écrire aux miniſtres d'autres alliés qui ſont à Londres, de ſoutenir & d'appuyer le miniſtre de l'état dans ſa remontrance, & que pour lui il étoit en pouvoir de le faire ſans nouvel ordre de l'Empéreur ſon maître.

" Monſieur de Bothmar prit la parole après lui, & ſe conforma entièrement, offrant auſſi d'écrire au miniſtre de ſon maître à Londres de concourir aux ſuſdits remontrances. Les miniſtres du Roi de Pruſſe ſe déclarèrent vouloir faire fidelle rapport de ce qui ſe paſſoit, ne doutant pas de recevoir bientôt des inſtructions convenables dans ce cas qui ſembloit preſſer, & que ſa Majeſté concourroit toujours à ce qui pourroit convenir à la bonne union des alliés. Les miniſtres du Roi de Pologne, de l'Electeur Palatin, de Heſſe, &c. ſe conformèrent aux ſentimens ſuſdits, après quoi on ſe ſépara.

General

General of the true ſtate of this affair; you are to acquaint him, that we ſhall not continue long in this uncertain condition, ſince in four or five days you expect to hear from hence that the peace is ſecure, or to receive orders to enter immediately upon action, in both which caſes, your Grace will not fail to write again to him. You are to conclude, by ſaying, that ſince this ſuſpence will be ſoon removed, you hope he will not oblige you to come to any action, either to defend yourſelf, or to join with Prince Eugene's army, which you muſt neceſſarily do if he is attacked.

This, my Lord, is the ſum of what the Queen commands me to write to your Grace; to this I have nothing to add, but my ſincere aſſurances of being, with the utmoſt regard,

My Lord, &c.

May, 28, 1712.

THOUGH I had writ to your Grace laſt night, yet finding we were to have a battle in both Houſes of Parliament this day, upon the very order given to you, I thought it proper to delay the expreſs till the fortune of the day was declared, and the Queen was pleaſed to approve my thought. Your Grace will receive incloſed, the queſtion moved by the Whigs in our Houſe *, and the numbers both for and againſt it. You will likewiſe receive the addreſs propoſed by us, and carried without a diviſion †.

The debate was in the Houſe of Lords on the ſame point; and we ſucceeded there by a majority of 28; I may add, the ſpirit which was ſhown both above and below ſtairs, is more conſiderable, and a better omen even than the majority by which we prevailed.

* An addreſs to her Majeſty for the orders ſent to the Duke of Ormond, and to order him to act offenſively.

† Expreſſing a confidence in her Majeſty's promiſe, to communicate the terms of peace before it was concluded, and they would ſupport her againſt all perſons, at home or abroad, who ſhould endeavour to obſtruct it.

Your Grace will likewiſe have two letters for the Marquis de Torcy, that from me is open, and you will pleaſe to ſend them with your own to the Mareſchal, if the French and Dutch ſhould be ſo unreaſonable as to preſs on to a ſiege without your concurrence, and to refuſe to ſtay ſo few days as you expect your final order in.

I am, &c.

I miſtook in ſaying two letters for the Marquis de Torcy, one is ſealed for the Mareſchal, which your Grace will pleaſe to ſend with the other, in caſe you are obliged to ſend at all.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

My Lord,

Whitehall, May 28th, 1712.

THIS letter ſerves only to incloſe a copy of my diſpatch to the Duke of Ormond, and of that to the Marquis de Torcy, together with the reſult of our debates this day in the Houſe of Commons.

The Lords were on the ſame propoſition, and we ſucceeded there by a majority of twenty-eight. I think the ſpirit ſhown on this occaſion, muſt convince every one, both at home and abroad, that it is a vain enterprize, to go about to force the Queen from the reſolutions ſhe has taken, and from the meaſures ſhe is engaged in.

Van Borſele * has I know a letter from the States to deliver to the Queen, on occaſion of what paſſed at the army, and of the declaration made by your Lordſhip at Utrecht; he will probably have his audience to-morrow.

I am, &c.

* A. Van Borſele, Lord of Geldermalſen, Ambaſſador from the States-General.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

My Lord,

Whitehall, May 27th, 1712.

MY letter of the 2d inſtant, will have given your Lordſhip the expectation of receiving, in a ſhort time, orders of conſequence, and a commiſſion very agreeable to you; I hope that, by the end of this week, the courier will be diſpatched, and that you will find the iſſue of our negociation to be ſuch, as makes amends for all the pains taken, all the dangers run, for all the public reflections of ſome, and all the private jealouſies of others, which we have been forced to bear, without anſwering the firſt, or undeceiving the laſt.

Count Maffei is arrived here from Utrecht, as the Earl of Strafford was ſome days before. Theſe journeys occaſion much ſpeculation, and your Lordſhip will to be ſure hear much of them, eſpecially at the Court to which I find, by your letter from Venice of the 20th of May, you was going; but the leſs is ſaid on theſe ſubjects, by any of the Queen's Miniſters, until the whole is ready to break out into the world at once, the better. Perhaps, the ſurprize may add to the merit, as well as facilitate the ſucceſs of her Majeſty's meaſures.

Though this part of my letter is writ in cypher, I dare not be more explicit, and I believe, I am enough ſo to give your Lordſhip an idea of what is doing, and of what we preſume is as good as done.

Your Lordſhip will have heard of a great conteſt in the Houſe of Lords concerning a bill ſent up by the Commons, which conſtituted a commiſſion of enquiry into the nature and value of King William's grants, and which was looked upon as the firſt ſtep towards the reſumption of them.

In our Houſe, an order has been carried for conſolidating this act with one of ſupply, and it is not without much difficulty that we prevailed to diſſolve this order, and to ſend the two bills ſeparately from our Houſe to yours.

The Court was obliged to endeavour to carry the act of enquiry; our Friends among the Commons expected this from us, and indeed, I am of opinion, that the grantees themſelves would have found their account in letting it paſs; my Lord Portland muſt be excepted, for the principal aim was againſt his exorbitant unmerited eſtate. We could have turned this matter ſo as to have ſaved our friends, and at little or no expence to have rendered theſe poſſeſſions as ſecure and valuable to them as their paternal fortunes; whereas, the bill being loſt, I am afraid from the ſpirit I ſee raiſed, that it will hang like the ſword of Damocles, in the air, and perhaps ſooner or later fall and do execution.

The Duke of Leeds was ſo much of this opinion, that he came warmly into the bill. I cannot expreſs to you what a part my Lord Nottingham acted; his ſon voted for tacking it to the money-bill, and he, in the Houſe of Lords, oppoſed it when ſeparated from it. Your Lordſhip having very meritoriouſly a ſhare in theſe grants, I thought it not improper to give you this account; and, at the ſame time, to let you know that your friends had taken the neceſſary care of your intereſts. I am ſorry Mackenzie has been imprudent in the conduct of a matter which required the utmoſt caution; but the Queen will be able ſhortly to interpoſe with more weight and authority in this, and every thing elſe, than ſhe has hitherto been. A duplicate of this letter is ſent to Vienna, as your Lordſhip deſires; either there or at Venice it will, I hope, find your Lordſhip.

I am, my Lord, &c.

P.S. I viſit Parſon's Green very often, and have indulged myſelf in all thoſe pleaſures which ſhady walks and cool retreats inſpire.

There wanted nothing but the maſter to make me willing to continue ever there.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 28me Mai, 1712.

LA Reine m'a commandé de vous écrire cette lettre pour vous informer que les remontrances qui viennent d'être faites à ſa Majeſté de la part des Etats-Généraux, ſur le refus du Duc d'Ormond ou d'attaquer l'armée de France, ou d'entreprendre aucun ſiège, n'ont eu autre effet que celui de faire renouveller les mêmes ordres au dit Duc. Mais en cas que le Prince Eugene & les Deputés de l'Etat, ce qui n'eſt pas fort vraiſemblable, s'opiniâtroient à vouloir aſſiéger quelque place, quoique l'armée de la Reine n'y concourût pas, le Duc d'Ormond doit alors prier Monſieur le Mareſchal de ne rien entreprendre contre eux, & de ne pas l'obliger par-là à venir à une action.

Dans très-peu de jours nous recevrons la dernière réſolution de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, & la déciſion du Roi Philippe, là-deſſus la Reine fera les déclarations mentionnées dans ma lettre du 24me de ce mois, qui nous tireront de l'incertitude dans laquelle nous ſommes; ou elle donnera ordre à ſon Général d'agir le plus vigoureuſement qu'il le pourra.

Un délai ſi inconſidérable ne peut être d'aucun préjudice à vos intérêts: c'eſt pourquoi la Reine ne veut point douter que Monſieur le Mareſchal ne ſe croit obligé d'empêcher une action générale en ne pas allant aux alliés, comme le Duc d'Ormond en a déjà empêché, en refuſant d'aller à l'armée de France.

J'envoie cette lettre à Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond, afin qu'il la faſſe

faffe remettre avec celle qu'il a ordre d'écrire au Mareſchal de Villars, qui ne manquera pas de vous la faire tenir.

Je ſuis, Monſieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 7me Juin, V.S. 1712.

JE vous écris cette lettre à part, pour vous répéter qu'on ne peut pas prendre plus de confiance que la Reine fait dans la bonne foi de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne.

Elle enviſage cette confiance réciproque entre les deux cours comme l'unique moyen de rétablir le repos de l'Europe.

La Reine regarde auſſi-bien que le Roi, la ſuſpenſion d'armes comme abſolument néceſſaire pour ôter aux ennemis de la paix, les moyens d'en empêcher, ou d'en retarder la concluſion; mais, Monſieur, vous conſiderez, s'il vous plaît, qu'il n'eſt ni l'intérêt du Roi, ni de celui de la Reine que les choſes reſtent, à cet égard, ſur le pied qu'elles ſont préſentement. Il ne vous conviendra peut-être pas que le Mareſchal de Villars reſte dans l'inaction, pendant que le Prince Eugene fait le ſiège de Queſnoy, & il ne ſera pas de l'honneur de la Reine que le Duc d'Ormond devienne un paiſible ſpectateur de ce qui ſe paſſera entre l'armée de France, & celle des alliés, avant qu'il puiſſe déclarer hautement que la ſuſpenſion d'armes eſt accordée.

Vous dites, Monſieur, que ce n'eſt pas une ménace à faire aux Hollandois que de leur déclarer que les troupes Angloiſes garderont la ville, la citadelle, & les forts de Dunquerque; mais permettez-moi de vous faire obſerver, que c'en ſera une que de leur déclarer que la Reine ne

veut

veut plus agir contre la France, que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne ne leur a laiſſé nulle excuſe pour colorer leur opiniâtreté, & qu'enfin il faut qu'ils ſe dépêchent à faire leur accommodement, ou qu'ils courent riſque d'avoir ſur le dos un fardeau qu'ils ne ſont pas en état de ſupporter.

L'Abbé Gaultier vous écrira ſur le ſujet du Chavalier.

Il ne me reſte que de vous aſſurer que je ſuis, avec un très parfaite eſtime,

Monſieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Verſailles, le 8me de Juin, 1712.

J'EUS l'honneur de vous écrire le 18me du mois dernier, que le Roi voulant aplanir la principale difficulté qui s'oppoſoit au rétabliſſement de la tranquillité générale, faiſoit deux propoſitions au Roi d'Eſpagne, l'une de renoncer, par le traité de la paix, pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans, à ſes droits ſur la Couronne de France, & de ſe contenter de l'Eſpagne & des Indes; l'autre de conſerver ſes droits ſur la Couronne de France, mais de céder l'Eſpagne & les Indes à Monſeigneur le Duc de Savoye, & de ſe contenter en échange des états que Monſeigneur le Duc de Savoye poſsède aujourd'hui, en conſervant auſſi le royaume de Sicile. Je vous marquai, Monſieur, que ſa Majeſté dépêchoit un courier à Madrid, pour être plus promptement informée des intentions du Roi ſon petit-fils, ſur l'une ou ſur l'autre de ces deux propoſitions alternatives; & qu'elle m'ordonnoit cependant de vous aſſurer, que la paix ſe feroit ſur le fondement de l'une ou de l'autre.

J'ai vu par la réponſe dont vous m'avez honoré le 21me du même mois, que la Reine ſe repoſoit entièrement ſur la bonne-foi du Roi, & qu'elle attendoit la communication que ſa Majeſté lui donneroit de ſes réſolutions au retour du courier dépêché à Madrid: ſa Majeſté voulant alors faire toutes les déclarations néceſſaires pour la concluſion de l'ouvrage de la paix.

Le courier porteur d'une déciſion auſſi importante, eſt arrivé; & le Roi d'Eſpagne a écrit au Roi, & déclaré bien préciſément à l'Envoye de ſa Majeſté auprès de lui, qu'il s'en tenoit à la première propoſition, ſavoir, de conſerver l'Eſpagne & les Indes, & de renoncer, par la paix, pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans, à ſes droits ſur la Couronne de France.

Voilà donc le principal obſtacle qui s'oppoſoit à la paix, ſurmonté; & la Reine verra, Monſieur, qu'elle ne s'eſt point trompée dans la confiance qu'elle a priſe en la bonne-foi du Roi.

Sa Majeſté attend préſentement que cette Princeſſe aplaniſſe, de ſon côté, le reſte des difficultés que les ennemis de la paix voudroient ſoutenir encore pour empêcher la concluſion de ce grand ouvrage. Et comme vous m'aſſurez, Monſieur, qu'au retour du courier ſa Majeſté Britannique devoit faire toutes les déclarations néceſſaires à cet effet, le Roi croit que la première & la plus preſſante eſt d'aſſurer une ſuſpenſion d'armes, ou générale ou tout au moins entre les armées mutuellement dans les Pays-Bas, & qui dure juſqu'à la concluſion de la paix.

Sa Majeſté eſt perſuadée que ce ſera auſſi le ſentiment de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, les ordres donnés à Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond, ne laiſſant pas lieu de douter des intentions de ſa Majeſté Britannique.

Plus je vois de diſpoſitions à la paix, & plus je deſire le moment de pouvoir vous féliciter ſur la perfection de ces ouvrages, & de vous aſſurer à cette occaſion qu'on ne peut être plus véritablement que je ſuis,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Marli, ce 10me Juin, 1712.

J'AI reçu ce matin, par le courier que vous m'avez dépêché, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 24me Mai... 5me Juin, avec le mémoire que vous y avez joint, & j'ai lu l'un & l'autre au Roi. Sa Majeſté a vu, avec beaucoup de plaiſir, les ſages diſpoſitions que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne a faites pour conduire au plutôt l'ouvrage de la paix à une heureuſe concluſion. J'eſpère, Monſieur, que les réſolutions de ſa Majeſté Britannique ſeront bien ſecondées par la prompte déciſion du Roi d'Eſpagne, dont je vous envoyai la nouvelle avant hier, & que le courier, La Vigne, comptoit de vous remettre aujourd'hui entre les mains.

Je n'ai donc plus lieu de craindre que la négociation ſoit rompue, malgré les oppoſitions que les ennemis de la paix y pourront encore apporter. Il ſemble qu'ils veuillent en tenter les derniers moyens, s'il eſt vrai, comme les lettres de l'armée en aſſurent depuis deux jours, qu'ils inveſtiſſent le Queſnoy à deſſein d'en faire le ſiège. Les ordres que vous avez envoyés à Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond ſont ſi poſitifs, que le Roi ne peut croire que la Reine approuve une pareille entrepriſe, & encore moins que ſes troupes ſoient employées à la faire réuſſir. Sa Majeſté m'a cependant commandé de vous en écrire, & de vous demander, Monſieur, ce que fera l'armée de la Reine, lorſque Monſieur le Mareſchal de Villars tentera le ſecours de la place, en cas qu'elle ſoit aſſiégée.

Vous voyez que ſi l'on ne convient inceſſamment de la ſuſpenſion, nous pourrons nous trouver indiſpenſablement engagés à quelque grand événement. J'eſpère de votre prudence & de vos ſoins, que nous

l'éviterons, & que rien ne troublera la perfection d'un ouvrage auſſi prés de ſa fin.

J'eſpère auſſi que les réponſes * que j'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à votre mémoire, ne formeront aucun nouvel embarras, & que la Reine, qui a reçu

* " *Reponſes du Roi au mémoire envoyé de Londres, le 5me Juin, V.S.* 1712.

" Article *première*, Sa Majeſté conſent de céder à la Reine de la Grand Bretagne l'île de Terreneuve avec la ville de Plaiſance, fortifiée, mais l'artillerie & les munitions dont cette place eſt pourvue, en ſeront retirées, & ne ſeront pas compriſes dans la ceſſion qui ſera faite de la place & de l'île, car elles ne ſont attachées ni à l'une ni à l'autre, &, pour uſer d'une comparaiſon commune, on peut regarder l'artillerie & les munitions d'une place, comme les meubles d'une maiſon qu'un particulier emporte lorſqu'il cède cette même maiſon par un contrat volontaire. Les îles adjacentes à celle de Terreneuve, n'ont été ni demandées ni promiſes, par les articles ſignés à Londres, au mois d'Octobre dernier : comme ils ont ſervi de règle au commencement & au progrès de la négociation préſent, l'intention du Roi eſt de ſuivre exactement cette même règle, comme la plus ſûre pour parvenir à la concluſion du traité, & ſa Majeſté eſt perſuadée que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, fidelle à ſa parole, n'inſiſtera pas ſur une demande nouvelle, & qui ne ſe trouve pas dans la convention ſignée au nom de cette Princeſſe. Le Roi veut bien ajouter à cette convention la ceſſion de l'Acadie ſelon ſes anciennes limites, ainſi qu'elle eſt demandée par la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

" *Seconde*, Les articles ſignés à Londres réſervent aux ſujets du Roi la faculté de pêcher & de ſécher les morues ſur l'île de Terreneuve ; une diſpoſition faite de gré à gré ne ſe peut reſtraindre ni recevoir de changement que ceux qu'on juge réciproquement être conformes à l'utilité commune. Sur ce fondement, le Roi offre à l'Angleterre de lui laiſſer l'artillerie & les munitions de Plaiſance, les îles adjacentes à celle de Terreneuve, d'entredire aux François la liberté de pêcher & de ſécher la morue ſur la côte de cette île, même ſur la partie nommée le Petit Nord, d'ajouter à ces conditions la ceſſion des îles de St. Martin & de St. Barthelemy, voiſines de celle de St. Chriſtophe, ſi, moyennant cette offre nouvelle, la Reine de la Grande Bretagne conſent à reſtituer l'Acadie, dont la Rivière de St. George feroit déſormais les limites, ainſi que les Anglois le prétendoient autrefois. Il eſt donc au choix de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, ou de s'en tenir aux articles ſignés à Londres, ou d'accepter l'échange que ſa Majeſté propoſe. En ce dernier cas, ſa Majeſté apporteroit toutes les facilités qui dépendroient d'elle pour terminer, à la ſatisfaction de l'Angleterre, l'affaire de ce rançon de l'île de Niéves.

" *Troiſième*, Comme un des principaux fruits de la paix ſera, s'il plaît à Dieu, l'intelligence parfaite que le Roi ſe propoſe d'établir entre ſes ſujets & ceux de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, il faut écarter toutes les propoſitions capables de troubler cette heureuſe union ; l'eſpérance n'a fait que trop voir, qu'il étoit comme impoſſible de la conſerver dans les lieux poſſédés en commun par la nation Françoiſe & la nation Angloiſe ; ainſi cette ſeule raiſon ſuffiroit pour empêcher ſa Majeſté de conſentir à la propoſition de laiſſer les Anglois poſſéder en commun l'île du Cap Bréton avec les François. Mais une raiſon plus forte s'oppoſe encore à cette propoſition, & comme on ne voit que trop que les nations les plus amies deviennent ſouvent ennemies, il eſt de la prudence du Roi de ſe reſerver la poſſeſſion de la ſeule île, qui lui ouvrira déſormais l'entrée de la rivière de Saint Laurent. Elle ſeroit abſolument fermée aux vaiſſeaux de ſa Majeſté, ſi les Anglois, maîtres de l'Acadie & de Terreneuve, poſſedoient encore l'île du Cap Bréton en commun avec les François, & le Canada ſeroit perdu pour la France au premier événement qui renouvelleroit entre les deux nations la guerre, que Dieu détournera pour long-tems ! mais le moyen le plus aſſuré de la prévenir eſt de penſer ſouvent qu'elle peut renaître.

" *Quatrième*, On ne diſſimulera pas que c'eſt par la même raiſon que le Roi veut ſe reſerver la liberté, naturelle & commune à tous les ſouverains, d'élever dans les îles du Golphe & dans l'embouchure de la rivière de Saint Laurent, auſſi-bien que dans l'île du Cap Bréton, telles fortifications que ſa Majeſté jugera néceſſaires. Ces ouvrages, faits uniquement pour la ſureté du pays, ne pourront

a reçu tant de marques de la bonne foi du Roi, continuera de prendre la même confiance en ſa Majeſté, ſans inſiſter ſur des demandes qui ne ſerviroient

ront jamais nuire aux îles & aux provinces voiſines. Il eſt juſte que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, ait la même liberté d'élever les fortifications, qu'elle jugera néceſſaires, ſoit dans l'Acadie, ſoit dans l'île de Terreneuve, & ſur cet article le Roi ne prétend rien exiger de contraire aux droits que la propriété & la poſſeſſion donneront naturellement à cette Princeſſe.

" *Cinquième*, Le Roi veut bien par une conſidération particulière pour la Reine de la Grande Bretagne lui laiſſer le canon & les munitions de guerre qui ſe trouveront dans les forts & places de la Baie & des Détroits d'Hudſon, nonobſtant les fortes raiſons que ſa Majeſté auroit de les retirer, & de les tranſporter ailleurs.

" *Article du Commerce.*

" Comme le Roi deſire ſincèrement que toute cauſe de diviſion entre ſa Majeſté & la Reine de la Grande Bretagne ceſſe au plutôt, il lui ſeroit très agréable de voir terminer à Utrecht entre ſes Plénipotentiaires & ceux d'Angleterre toute diſpute ſur le commerce; mais s'il eſt impoſſible que les difficultés ſur cette matière ſoient aplanies avant la concluſion de la paix, plutôt que de la retarder, ſa Majeſté conſent aux deux demandes faites au nom de cette Princeſſe.

" La première, de nommer des Commiſſaires, qui s'aſſembleront à Londres pour examiner & régler les droits & impoſitions qui ſeront payés dans chaque royaume.

" La ſeconde, que la France & l'Angleterre s'engagent réciproquement à donner aux ſujets de l'une ou de l'autre couronne, les mêmes priviléges & avantages dont elles favoriſeront quelque nation étrangère que ce ſoit.

" *Article de la Suſpenſion d'Armes.*

" Un terme auſſi court que celui de deux mois, laiſſeroit aux ennemis de la paix l'eſpérance de pouvoir troubler encore la négociation avant la fin de la campagne. Le Roi, perſuadé des bonnes intentions de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, eſtime qu'il eſt du bien commun d'étendre ce terme à quatre mois:

" *Première*, Il doit ſuffire pour achever de ſurmonter toutes les difficultés du traité, la principale étant déjà levée par la réſolution ferme que le Roi d'Eſpagne a priſe de renoncer, pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans, à la couronne de France, & de conſerver l'Eſpagne & les Indes, & cette renonciation ſera inſérée dans le traité de paix.

" *Seconde*, Après avoir rétabli le recommencement & le cours de la négociation, ſur la bonne-foi & ſur une confiance mutuelle, dont on reſſent les heureux effets, il faut en bannir la défiance & juſqu'à l'apparence de ſoupçon lorſqu'on approche du but, où, de part & d'autre, on s'eſt propoſé de parvenir. Le Roi laiſſe à l'équité de la Reine d'Angleterre de juger ſi la demande de mettre garniſon Angloiſe dans Dunkerque, pendant la ſuſpenſion d'armes, n'a rien d'offenſant pour lui, & ſi le public n'en regarderoit pas la propoſition comme un doute de l'exactitude de ſa Majeſté à ſatisfaire à ſes promeſſes. Elle ſait que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne eſt bien éloignée de cette penſée, ayant reçu trop de preuves au contraire. Auſſi le Roi la conſidérant depuis long-tems comme amie malgré la continuation de la guerre, eſt perſuadée qu'elle ſe déſiſtera d'une pareille demande, non-ſeulement inutile, mais capable de produire un effet entièrement oppoſé aux intentions de cette Princeſſe. Car il eſt certain, que l'objet qu'elle ſe propoſe, eſt d'obliger les Hollandois à donner promptement au Roi un équivalent des fortifications de Dunkerque, que ſa Majeſté promet de faire démolir. Il faut donc vaincre leur opiniâtreté, & leur faire voir, que s'ils perſiſtent, le dommage en tombera ſur eux. Mais ce n'eſt pas une menace à leur faire, que leur déclarer que les troupes Angloiſes garderont la ville, la citadelle, & les forts de Dunkerque, juſqu'à ce que les Etats-Généraux aient donné au Roi un équivalent dont ſa Majeſté puiſſe être ſatisfaite. Elle porteroit ſeule la peine des nouveaux obſtacles qu'ils ſuſciteroient à la paix, & c'eſt par des voies oppoſées qu'il faut contraindre cette république à devenir plus flexible. Comme l'intention du Roi eſt véritablement de preſſer la démolition de Dunkerque généralement, ſa Majeſté propoſe qu'immédiatement après la ſignature du traité de paix avec la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, un corps de troupes Angloiſes vienne camper ſous Dunkerque, & que ces troupes, dont le nombre ſera fixé, travaillent conjointement

ſerviroient qu'à marquer des ſoupçons, dont je ſuis perſuadé que le cœur de ſa Majeſté Britannique eſt incapable.

Vous pouvez l'aſſurer, Monſieur, que le Chevalier eſt prêt à partir d'un moment à l'autre, il ne reſte plus que de ſavoir où il doit aller, & en quel lieu il ſera en ſureté. Je vous avoue que je ne ſais nul Prince qui veuille le recevoir, dans la crainte de déplaire à la Reine ou à d'autres puiſſances. Quelque explication ſur ce ſujet ſeroit abſolument néceſſaire, & je vous ſupplie de me la faire ſavoir par l'Abbé Gaultier, ſi vous ne jugez pas à propos de me la donner vous-même.

Je ſuis plus que perſonne, & très parfaitement,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 6me Juin, V.S. 1712.

JE vous renvoie La Vigne, qui m'a apporté votre lettre du 8me Juin, N.S. dans laquelle vous marquez que le Roi Philippe s'en tenoit à la première propoſition, ſavoir, de conſerver l'Eſpagne & les

conjointement avec les ſiennes à raſer toutes les fortifications. La condition d'en combler le port & de ruiner les écluſes, dépend, comme le Roi s'en eſt expliqué, de la reſtitution que ſa Majeſté a demandée de Tournay & de Tourneſis. Elle renouvelle encore le même engagement. La ruine des écluſes cauſera celle du pays des environs de Dunkerque, amis & ennemis en ſouffriront également. Le Roi ſouhaiteroit d'épargner cette déſolation inutile, que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne n'a peut-être pas aſſez conſidérée. Sa Majeſté veut qu'elle lui ſoit encore expoſée, quoique réſolue à faire, ſur cet article, ce qui conviendra le plus à cette Princeſſe, moyennant la reſtitution de Tournay & de Tourneſis.

"*Troiſième*, La paix eſt néceſſaire à toute l'Europe, le Roi la deſire comme un bien général, & ſa Majeſté regarde la ſuſpenſion d'armes comme un moyen preſque néceſſaire pour y parvenir. Mais elle refuſeroit toute ſuſpenſion, elle romperoit même la négociation de la paix, ſi l'une & l'autre dépendoient d'admettre une garniſon Hollandoiſe dans Cambray, pendant quelque intervalle de tems que ce peut être. Elle ne conſentira jamais à une propoſition auſſi contraire à ſon honneur, à ſon intérêt, & au bien de ſon royaume.

"Fait à Marli, le 1ome Juin, 1712. "DE TORCY."

Indes,

Indes, & de renoncer, par la paix, pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans, à ſes droits ſur la couronne de France.

J'ai auſſi reçu votre lettre du 10me de ce mois, en réponſe à celle que je me ſuis donné l'honneur de vous écrire le 24me du mois paſſé, V.S.

La Reine, Monſieur, m'a commandé de vous faire ſavoir, que quoique votre dernier mémoire n'ai pas répondu, ſelon ſon attente, aux demandes que je vous ai fait; ſa Majeſté n'a pas laiſſé de ſe rendre aujourd'hui au Parlement, & de lui faire toutes les déclarations néceſſaires pour rendre cette nation unanimement portée à la paix, & pour ôter à tous ceux qui en ont l'inclination, le pouvoir de plus traverſer la concluſion de notre grand ouvrage.

La Reine n'a point parlé aux deux Chambres de la ſuſpenſion d'armes, mais elle m'a commandé de vous communiquer là-deſſus, & ſur quoi ſes réſolutions ſont fondées.

Le commencement & le cours de cette négociation ont été établis ſur la bonne foi de part & d'autre: la Reine ſe repoſe entièrement ſur celle du Roi; elle croit lui en avoir donné des preuves, elle eſt prête à lui donner des nouvelles; mais il y a des certains cas, où entre les parens les plus proches, entre les amis les plus intimes, la prudence demande qu'on prenne toutes les précautions les plus exactes.

L'expédient pour prévenir la réunion des deux monarchies de France & d'Eſpagne, eſt le point capital de notre négociation; & ſa Majeſté ſe départiroit plutôt de tous ceux dont nous ſommes convenus, que de laiſſer celui-ci dans l'incertitude.

Elle en eſt réponſable à ſes peuples, à ſes alliés, au ſiècle préſent, & à la poſtérité.

Sur ce fondement, Monſieur, la Reine eſpère que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne ne trouvera rien offençant dans les demandes qu'elle ſe

trouve obligée de renouveller, & qui ſont contenues dans le mémoire ci-joint *.

Je dépêche un courier à Monſieur le Duc d'Ormonde avec la copie de ce que j'ai l'honneur de vous communiquer, En cas que le Roi trouve à propos d'accorder ce que la Reine demande, vous n'aurez, Monſieur, qu'à ſigner ces articles, & les envoyer à ce Général, qui, en même-tems qu'il prendra poſſeſſion de Dunkerque, déclarera aux alliés qu'il a ordre de ne plus agir contre la France.

* " *Articles propoſés par ſa Majeſté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne pour une ſuſpenſion d'armes entre les armées qui ſont préſentement dans les Pays-Bas.*

" Article *premier*, La Reine conſentira à une ſuſpenſion d'armes pour le terme de deux mois, leſquels pourront être prolongés à trois ou à quatre mois.

" *Seconde*, Pendant le terme de cette ſuſpenſion, on tâchera de conclure le traité de la paix générale ; au moins l'article qui regarde la réunion des deux monarchies ſera ponctuellement éxécuté ; c'eſt à dire, le Roi Philippe renoncera dans cet eſpace de tems, dans toutes les formes, pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans, à la couronne de France ; cette renonciation ſera acceptée par le Roi Très Chrétien, & ratifiée de la manière la plus ſolennelle par les états du royaume de France. La ſucceſſion à la dite couronne ſera déclarée & adjugée après le Dauphin & ſes deſcendans à Monſeigneur le Duc de Berry & ſes deſcendans, & ſucceſſivement aux autres Princes de la Maiſon de Bourbon, à l'excluſion abſolue du Roi Philippe & des ſiens.

" Le Duc de Berry & le Duc d'Orléans renonceront, pour eux & pour leurs enfans, à tout droit ſur la couronne d'Eſpagne ; les états de ce royaume accepteront & conſentiront à cette renonciation, de la manière qu'il conviendra (1).

" Toutes les parties ci-deſſus mentionnées conviendront, par des actes authentiques, de reconnoître pour ſucceſſeur à la couronne d'Eſpagne après le Roi Philippe & ſes deſcendans, le Prince dont on tombera d'accord dans le traité de la paix future.

" *Troiſième*, La garniſon Françoiſe ſortira de la ville & citadelle de Dunkerque, & des forts qui en dépendent, & les troupes de la Reine y entreront du jour que la ſuſpenſion d'armes commencera ; & cette place demeurera entre les mains de la Reine, juſqu'à ce que les Etats-Généraux aient conſenti à donner à ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne un équivalent pour la démolition de cette place, dont elle ſoit contente. Bien entendu que dans ce cas, ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne ſera obligée de démolir toutes les fortifications de cette place, de combler le port, & de ruiner les écluſes, de la manière que les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine l'ont demandé.

" *Quatrième*, Comme les demandes de la Reine n'ont pour objet que d'avoir une eſpèce de gage pour aſſurer l'exécution de l'article qui regarde la réunion des deux monarchies, ſa Majeſté ne prétend pas en aucun façon ſe mêler ni troubler le gouvernement civil de la ville de Dunkerque ; mais au contraire, elle m'ordonne de promettre de ſa part, qu'elle donnera tous les ordres qui ſeront néceſſaires, afin que toutes les choſes demeurent & ſoient ſur le même pied qu'elles ſont actuellement ; que les vaiſſeaux du Roi, & ceux des particuliers, auront la liberté de ſortir & d'entrer dans le port toutes les fois qu'il leur conviendra, ſans qu'on les en puiſſe empêcher ſous quelque prétexte que ce puiſſe être ; & que tous les vaiſſeaux du Roi, & autres appartenants aux particuliers, & tous leurs effets, ſeront autant en ſureté qu'ils ſont préſentement.

" Fait à Whitehall, ce 6me Juin (V.S.) 1712.

" H. St. JEAN."

(1) N.B. Voyez la lettre de Monſieur de Torcy, écrite de Marli, le 8me Avril.

Le Comte de Strafford partira dès le commencement de la ſemaine prochaîne pour ſe rendre à Utrecht: les inſtructions qu'il portera avec lui mettront les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine en état de ne plus garder les méſures, aux quelles ils ont été juſqu'ici obligés de ſe ſoumettre. Ils pourront dorénavant ſe joindre ouvertement à ceux de ſa Majeſté Très Chrètienne, pour donner la loi à tous ceux qui ne voudront pas ſe ſoumettre à des conditions juſtes & raiſonnables. C'eſt auſſi ce qu'ils ne manqueront pas de faire, & c'eſt par ce moyen que nous pourrons en peu de tems parvenir à la fin de tous nos travaux.

Je vous dépêcherai un autre courier dans le tems que le Comte de Strafford quittera la cour, pour vous informer des ordres dont il ſera chargé. Je ſuis, &c.

H. St. Jean.

Je ne doute point que la paix ne ſe puiſſe faire à peu près ſur le plan que l'Abbé Gaultier nous a apporté.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Whitehall, June the 7th, 1712.

ALL your Grace's letters are come ſafe to my hands, and have been laid before her Majeſty. I am now to anſwer ſuch parts of them as I have received the Queen's orders upon.

The firſt point I am to mention is the ſatisfaction with which her Majeſty hears the account of that exact obedience which your Grace has paid to her orders.

The Queen commanded me particularly to take this notice to you,

and to expreſs her confidence that you will proceed in the ſame manner.

Incloſed your Grace will receive copies of two letters, and a memorial, which will be diſpatched this day to the Marquis de Torcy. They have been prepared by the Queen's order, in anſwer to the laſt expreſs which came from France, and you will perceive by them, my Lord, that her Majeſty inſiſts on the execution of the article relating to Spain, and on the delivery of Dunkirk, as points without which ſhe will not declare for a ceſſation of arms in the Netherlands. At the ſame time your Grace will find that her Majeſty is poſitively reſolved to continue no longer on the preſent foot. This matter, therefore, is now brought to a very ſhort iſſue. If theſe conditions are accepted, and ſent ſigned by Monſieur de Torcy, and Dunkirk put into your poſſeſſion, you are publicly to own, that you can no longer act againſt the French. If they are not conſented to, you are entirely free from reſtraint, and at liberty to take all reaſonable meaſures that are in your power for annoying the enemy.

My Lord Strafford will be going hence in the beginning of next week, and we hope he will find the Dutch become more tractable than hitherto they have been; in which caſe the Queen will do her utmoſt to ſettle the terms of a ceſſation, and a peace too, in the beſt manner for them. It is with the greateſt regret, that her Majeſty finds herſelf conſtrained to come to ſuch extremities with her allies. But what remedy has ſhe left, when either ſhe muſt follow this courſe, or ſubmit to be uſed worſe than any petty Prince, and have the negociation wreſted out of her hands, for no other reaſon, but becauſe ſome benefit is likely to accrue to her ſubjects by the peace?

I obſerve by your Grace's letters, that you have been preſſed, I may ſay indecently, to give an account what orders you had received. The

Dutch

Dutch Miniſter queſtioned me in much the ſame manner, but I anſwered him, by demanding what the private inſtructions are which the States have given to their Deputies and Generals.

It is probable that Mareſchal de Villars may receive the orders which will be ſent him from Verſailles, within a day after this letter may come to your hands. Your Grace will therefore loſe no time in acquainting him, that you are in expectation of receiving from his court that which muſt determine your proceedings; and that, according to the King's reſolution, you are either to look upon yourſelves on both ſides as freed from any reſtrictive orders, and in full liberty of acting againſt each other, or that you are openly to declare for a ceſſation, whilſt the beſt means poſſible are uſed to prevail on the reſt of the allies to do the ſame; but the Queen's declaration, however, is to be poſitive.

Your Grace is, to be ſure, informed of the endeavours uſed by the States to debauch the troops in her Majeſty's pay from her, and to borrow money for carrying on their ſubſiſtence. She makes no doubt but your Grace is on your guard, and that you will take the beſt precaution to make them ſteady to her Majeſty's intereſt, and to prevent any ſurprize. I ſhall not fail to let the ſeveral Miniſters know, in what manner the Queen will reſent any ſtep of this kind; and I believe your Grace will do well to ſpeak the ſame language to the Generals of the foreign corps paid by the Queen. Among other things, they will, I believe, reflect twice on the arrears which are due to moſt of them.

Theſe, my Lord, are all the inſtructions which I am at preſent directed to tranſmit to your Grace, and theſe are of ſuch a nature, that I loſe no time in ſending the courier away, though he for France is not yet gone.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

P.S. I forgot to ſay in my letter, and therefore I ſay it here, that in caſe France agrees with the Queen, and your Grace, by conſequence,

refuſes publicly to act againſt them, I think the allies will have little reaſon to complain, ſince Dunkirk is ſomething more valuable than Queſnoy, and ſince a town delivered up, is more cheaply acquired than a town taken by ſiege.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, June the 7th, 1712.

I RECEIVED this morning, with my Lord Privy Seal's, the favour of your's of the 14th inſtant, N.S. from Utrecht.

Time has lain heavy no doubt on your hands; Holland is never, I believe, a very agreeable place to one of your temper, but in this ferment, it muſt be particularly diſagreeable to you on many accounts.

Our whole attention has been given for ſeveral days, to the ſecuring of the negociation in the Queen's hands, which the grateful Dutch, and the honeſt Whigs (for the Imperialiſts are not worth naming) make ſo many efforts to wreſt from her. At the ſame time, we have been working with France to ſecure a public ſuſpenſion of arms, a private one being neither ſafe nor honourable to continue any longer. My diſpatches to my Lord Privy Seal, and the papers from the office, will ſufficiently apprize you how theſe matters at preſent ſtand. I am ſanguine enough to believe, that all will go well, but ſurely never negociation laboured under ſo many unnatural, as well as unneceſſary difficulties.

I thank you for your intelligence from Amſterdam, and am glad to hear that Hop ſucceeded no better in his embaſſy *; this ſeems to be the utmoſt pitch that paſſion and rage can carry thoſe people to, unleſs

* To Prince Eugene, to concert with him the beſt means of gaining over the Generals of the auxilliary troops in the Flanders army, and to provide for their ſubſiſtence.

they ſhould go, as ſome have been ſaucy enough to inſinuate, ſo far as to attempt ſeizing the Britiſh troops in Flanders. The provocation indeed is great, the Queen treats for herſelf and them, when they refuſe to concert with her; and this peace, if it takes effect, will contain ſome articles beneficial to Britain. I ſhould have been glad you had ſpecified who the Miniſters are that conſented to take their maſters troops from the Queen, one of them I can eaſily gueſs at. All I know is, that in this caſe the Queen may very juſtly think herſelf freed from all obligations of treaty, or of any other kind; and I think ſhe will gain more by the breach, than ſhe could by the union with ſuch allies. I have informed my Lord Treaſurer that you are alive; he received the news with much ſatisfaction. The Houſe of Lords is this moment in debate on the Queen's ſpeech, and his Lordſhip, while I am writing to you, may very probably be employed in wiping off ſome of the dirt, which that ſcavenger Wharton throws at him. I go to him from hence, and perhaps he may write to you by this meſſenger.

By Tueſday's poſt, you will receive your orders to proceed to Hanover, and you will have another letter for the Elector; what inſtructions her Majeſty may think fit to ſend you, ſhall be ſent at the ſame time.

I have ordered my brother to ſtay and wait on you to Hanover; I hope you will forgive the liberty I take, of putting the young fellow under your protection.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June the 11th, 1712.

I DISPATCH this meſſenger in haſte to your Grace, with ſome additions to, or rather explanations of, the laſt orders which I had the honour to tranſmit to you. On the ſuppoſition that your Grace will receive, from the court of France, an acceptance of the conditions propoſed by her Majeſty for a ſuſpenſion of arms; the Queen directs that your Grace ſhould conſider with yourſelf, how to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, in the ſafeſt and beſt manner, and this not only with reſpect to the enemy, but to the allies. Her Majeſty thinks it proper and neceſſary, that your Grace ſhould likewiſe know of Mareſchal Villars, what facility he can give on his part to your Grace in this matter, and how you may beſt obviate ſuch difficulties as Prince Eugene and the Deputies may create.

What has paſſed lately here, makes the Queen ſo abſolutely miſtreſs of her own conduct, and cuts off to ſuch a degree all hopes of breaking through her meaſures, that we hope to find, at the army and every where elſe, more eaſe and compliance than we have hitherto met with; but however, it is good to ſuppoſe the worſt, and to omit no precaution in an affair ſo nice in its nature, of ſo great importance to the Queen's honour, and to the intereſt of her kingdoms.

Should the French not comply with the articles propoſed by her Majeſty, your Grace then underſtands yourſelf to be at liberty to act, as if no reſtrictive orders had been ever ſent you, and you will let the Mareſchal know as much.

I have time to add no more, but my aſſurance of being with the utmoſt ſincerity,

My Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June the 14th, 1712.

MY former letters will have apprized your Lordſhip of the Queen's laſt declarations to France, about a ceſſation in the Netherlands; and with this packet I am to acquaint you, that France has agreed to our propoſals, making only one alteration, and one addition, which are not conſiderable.

The Duke of Ormond, may, therefore, probably make a detachment to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk; and, in that caſe, the alarm will not be feigned, but real on the part of the Dutch: a pledge given to the Queen and none to them, and that pledge, Dunkirk, will, I ſuppoſe, be a morſel of hard digeſtion. They have, however, no reaſon to make complaints againſt any, but their Whig allies; deluded by whom into falſe hopes of breaking her Majeſty's meaſures, they are likely to ſuffer in reputation, and perhaps otherways.

Give me leave to congratulate with your Lordſhip on the preſent happy ſituation of affairs, and on the figure which our miſtreſs makes; who from a ſtate of ſubjection to her allies, is come to give them the law, and to carry the fate of Europe in her hand; who obliges France to enter into engagements, and to give pledges to her, and is herſelf under none to France.

I hope the proceedings of our Houſes of Parliament, and the ſurrendering of Dunkirk into her Majeſty's hands, will effectually undeceive the States, and humble their pride; in which caſe, the Queen will do her utmoſt for them; and although the ambitious views, which they have propoſed of late years to themſelves, will not be anſwered,

yet

yet much more will come to their ſhare, than they had reaſon to expect, or was ever intended for them even by the late King.

Leaſt any difficulty ſhould ariſe, to oppoſe the Duke of Ormond's taking poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, we are *à la ſourdine*, getting ſome few battalions and ſhips ready, to do it from hence, and perhaps this had been the beſt method we could have reſolved upon at firſt.

Many reports have come to me, like thoſe contained in the letter writ to your Lordſhip from Amſterdam; and although I can very eaſily believe, that ſuch extremities may have been thought of, yet I confeſs, I cannot apprehend that the projectors will dare to attempt to execute what they contrive. It is however good to be on one's guard, and in ſo critical a conjuncture, the Queen's ſervants cannot be too vigilant.

I am, with ſincere reſpect,

My Lord, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Whitehall, June the 14th, 1712.

THOUGH my letter is ſhort, yet I thought the importance of it deſerved to have a meſſenger diſpatched on purpoſe.

Your Grace has ſeen what I writ by the Queen's order to France, on the ſubject of the ceſſation; the courier returned laſt night, and her Majeſty's demands are complied with to her ſatisfaction. If therefore, my Lord, your Grace has any difficulties, as we foreſee ſeveral which may ariſe, in taking poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, you may keep your army entire, and our meaſures are ready here for ſending over troops for that ſervice.

Nothing

Nothing can be more dreadful to the Dutch, than this town in Engliſh hands. Conſider, therefore, the temper they are in, and if you are likely to have the leaſt diſturbance on this account, keep the ſecret, ſend your accounts to the Queen, and, in the mean time, the troops ſhall be ready to enter the place from hence. We will find means of concerting things ſo, that your declaration for a ſuſpenſion ſhall be exactly timed with the evacuation of Dunkirk. We expect impatiently to hear from you. Monſieur de Torcy having ſent me word, that he diſpatched copies to your Grace of what he writ to me.

If you have taken poſſeſſion, well; if you have not, we ſhall be able to do it from hence; and, perhaps, in the ferment, you had better lie ſtill, and let Dunkirk be poſſeſſed firſt, and the clamour happen afterwards. On your next letters, we ſhall take our meaſures; I hope they may come to-morrow.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Whitehall, June the 20th, 1712.

THE inſtructions neceſſary, in this critical conjuncture, to be given to your Grace, are ſuch as her Majeſty has thought to deſerve ſending the Earl of Strafford on purpoſe to the army. He will ſet out to-morrow, and make all poſſible haſte to your Grace, but in the mean time, I thought it expedient to ſend Smith back to you with this notice, and the account of what has been done here upon your letters, and the diſpatch received at the ſame time from the Marquis de Torcy. Beſides what you will find in my letter* to this Miniſter, I told the gentlemen who were with me this morning, that the

* Dated June 20th, 1712.

Queen would look upon herſelf as acquitted from all obligations of arrears of ſubſidies or pay, to that Prince whoſe troops ſhould refuſe to obey your orders without heſitation, and that your Grace would be directed on the receipt of my letter, to declare as much to them, and to require a poſitive anſwer from them. And as your Grace will be more fully apprized of the meaſure you are to obſerve on the Earl of Strafford's arrival, and on the account you ſhall receive from France, ſo I believe the beſt uſe you can make of the intermediate time, will be to continue vigilantly on your guard, and to ſpeak in the plaineſt and moſt reſolute manner to the ſeveral generals of the foreign corps.

I incloſe to your Grace a ſtate of the ſeveral troops, by which you will ſee which are in the entire pay, and which in the joint pay of the Queen and the States; thoſe of the firſt ſort muſt obey you in the whole, and thoſe of the latter in the ſame proportion in which they are paid.

Your Grace will, I believe, think fit to give the Mareſchal * notice of the endeavours uſed by the Queen to ſubdue the obſtinacy of thoſe who refuſe to obey; of the expectation you are in to hear from him on an expreſs ſent from hence to the Court of France, and of the Earl of Strafford's coming to the army with freſh inſtructions from her Majeſty. Your Grace will farther obſerve by my letter to Monſieur de Torcy, that the Queen has altered her intention concerning the manner of taking poſſeſſion of Dunkirk. She thinks that ſending the troops from hence, will be a method liable to fewer accidents, than making a detachment from your Grace's army, or even marching with all the troops which will obey your orders to the ſea. If, therefore, you receive an account from the Court of France, that her Majeſty's laſt propoſals are agreed to, and orders are diſpatched for the ſurrendry of Dunkirk, your Grace will have no more to do than to declare the ſuſpenſion between Great Britain and France, and to keep the

* De Villars.

whole

whole body which ſhall obey your orders entire, and to withdraw in the beſt manner which the circumſtances you ſhall be in will allow.

As to the troops in the town and caſtle of Ghent*, I have no particular directions; neither is it eaſy, in the preſent conjuncture, to give any. Your Grace will advertiſe them to be upon their guard, and I hope we ſhall ſoon be able to bring not only them, but all the reſt of the Queen's troops out of that country.

Your Grace will excuſe me for uſing another hand than my own, but, in the preſent hurry of buſineſs, it is impoſſible to do otherwiſe; and I hope your Grace will not ſtand on the ceremony of writing with your own hand to me.

I am, &c.

I need not caution your Grace, that the incloſed to the Marquis de Torcy, is fit to fall under the eyes of no perſon whatſoever but your Grace.

[Mem. The following was in cyphers, and incloſed in a letter to Mr. Harley, of June 18th, 1712.]

As little a fellow as Robethon† is, I have reaſon to believe that moſt of the ill impreſſions which have been given at that Court, have chiefly come from him; and as I know him to be mercenary, I doubt not but he has found his account in this his management. You will obſerve him particularly, and endeavour to counterwork his inſinuations with the Elector and his miniſter.

* The Duke of Ormond, upon his withdrawing his army from that of the allies, had been refuſed admittance into many of the conquered towns.—He then changed his rout, and aimed at the poſſeſſion of Ghent, then the firſt town of the Spaniſh Netherlands.

† A Frenchman, who has worked his way into the councils of the Elector.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Marli, le 22me Juin, 1712.

JE reçus hier, par le courier que vous m'avez renvoyé, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 6me de ce mois, V.S. & le mémoire contenant les articles propoſés par la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, pour une ſuſpenſion d'armes entre les armées qui ſont préſentement dans les Pays-Bas.

J'ai lu au Roi ce mémoire & votre lettre, & je vous aſſure, Monſieur, qu'il falloit toute la conſidération, & tous les égards, que ſa Majeſté a pour les demandes de la Reine, pour faire paſſer l'article de Dunkerque, de la manière que vous perſiſtez à le demander; mais il n'y a pas moyen de reſiſter aux inſtances d'une grande Princeſſe, qui déclare auſſi hautement ſes ſentimens pour le rétabliſſement du repos général de l'Europe; & quoique vous marquiez avec beaucoup de raiſon, qu'il y a des cas où la prudence demande qu'on prenne les précautions les plus exactes entre les parens les plus proches, & entre les amis les plus intimes. Cette maxime ſi ſage & ſi vrai, cède au deſir ſincère que le Roi a d'obliger une Reine, que ſa Majeſté ne peut encore traiter publiquement comme amie, quoiqu'elle ait déjà pour cette Princeſſe les ſentimens que l'amitié la plus étroite inſpire, encore plus que les liaiſons du ſang. Ainſi, Monſieur, le Roi conſent à faire ſortir ſes troupes de la ville & citadelle de Dunkerque, & des forts qui en dépendent, à laiſſer entrer en leur place les troupes Angloiſes de la Reine, du jour que la ſuſpenſion d'armes commencera, & à laiſſer Dunkerque entre les mains de la Reine, juſqu'à ce que les Etats-Généraux aient conſenti à donner au Roi un équivalent pour la démolition de cette place, dont ſa Majeſté ſoit contente.

Enfin,

Enfin, elle approuve le reſte de l'article troiſième, & le quatrième de votre mémoire, qui regarde Dunkerque. Elle me commande ſeulement d'y ajouter, que les officiers François, commis à la garde de ſes magazins, tant de terre que de mer, demeureront dans la ville, & qu'ils continueront d'exercer leur emploi, pendant le ſéjour que les troupes Angloiſes y doivent faire. Cette clauſe eſt une ſuite de la parole que la Reine donne, de laiſſer toutes choſes ſur le même pied où elles ſont actuellement, & de la ſureté qu'elle promet pour les vaiſſeaux du Roi, ceux des particuliers & leurs effets. Sa Majeſté compte donc, qu'elle ne propoſe rien de nouveau en étendant un peu cet article.

Comme elle croit ne pouvoir donner à la Reine une preuve plus évidente de ſa confiance abſolue, ſa Majeſté lui déclare que ce ſeroit perdre entièrement tout le fruit d'une négociation conduite heureuſement juſqu'au point de la concluſion, que d'inſiſter ſur la clauſe de l'article ſeconde, qui porte que la renonciation du Roi d'Eſpagne, pour lui & ſes deſcendans, à la couronne de France, ſera ratifiée par les états du royaume. Les états en France ne ſe mêlent point de ce qui regarde la ſucceſſion à la couronne; ils n'ont le pouvoir ni de faire, ni d'abroger les lois. Quand les Rois les convoquent, on marque dans les lettres que c'eſt pour oüir les plaintes des bonnes & fidelles ſujets, & pour chercher des remèdes aux maux préſens.

Les examples des ſiècles précédens ont fait voir que ces ſortes d'aſſemblées ont preſque toujours produit des troubles dans le royaume, & les derniers états tenus en 1614 finirent par la guerre civile; comme le Roi croit être aſſuré des véritables intentions de la Reine, ſa Majeſté eſt perſuadée que cette Princeſſe cherche ſeulement une ſureté pour la renonciation, & qu'il ſuffit, par conſéquent, d'en indiquer une plus conforme à nos uſages, & qui ne ſera pas ſujette aux inconvéniens de l'aſſemblée des états, qui, n'ayant point été convoqués depuis près de cent ans, ſont en quelque manière abolis dans le royaume.

Cette

Cette ſureté ſera, Monſieur, de faire publier & enrégîtrer, dans tous les parlemens du royaume, la renonciation que le Roi d'Eſpagne aura faite pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans, à la couronne de France. Les édits & les déclarations revêtus de ces formalités ont force de lois ; les François ſont accoutumés à cet uſage, il ſe pratique à l'égard des traités faits avec les puiſſances étrangères ; & l'intention du Roi eſt de faire, en même-tems, tirer & ôter publiquement des régîtres du Parlement, les lettres-patentes que ſa Majeſté fit expédier en faveur du Roi d'Eſpagne, pour lui conſerver les droits de la naiſſance, lorſqu'il partit de France, pour aller à Madrid ; la révocation & l'anéantiſſement de ces lettres ſera la ſuite, & comme une eſpèce de confirmation de la renonciation que ce Prince eſt réſolu de faire de ſes droits à la couronne de France pour lui & ſes deſcendans.

Voilà, Monſieur, l'unique addition & le ſeul changement que le Roi veuille faire à votre mémoire, l'addition regarde la permiſſion à Dunkerque pour les officiers commis à la garde des magazins de terre & de mer, & je ſuis perſuadé, qu'elle ne fera nulle difficulté. Le changement regarde l'aſſemblée des états ; permettez-moi de vous dire, qu'il ſeroit également contraire à l'autorité du Roi, à la paix du royaume, au bien même de la paix générale que nous nous propoſons, d'accepter cette propoſition ſujette à mille inconvéniens trop longs à expliquer ; & qu'il y a lieu de croire, que lorſqu'on a demandé l'aſſemblée des états, on n'a connu ni l'inutilité de cette précaution, ni le mal que leur convocation pourroit produire.

Le Roi envoie, Monſieur, à Monſieur le Maréchal de Villars, la copie de votre mémoire & des réponſes, & comme ſa Majeſté accorde, dans le fond, tout ce que la Reine demande, elle ne doute pas que Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond n'exécute les ordres qu'il a reçus au ſujet de la ſuſpenſion. Elle compte auſſi que ce Général déclarant qu'il a ordre de ne plus agir contre la France, empêchera d'agir non-ſeulement les

Anglois, mais encore toutes les troupes étrangères qu'il a ſous ſon commandement, & que les meſures ſeront priſes de manière que les Hollandois ne pourront, comme ils s'en vantent, prendre à leur ſolde les troupes qui ſont actuellement à la ſolde de la Reine.

J'eſpère, Monſieur, que lorſque vous aurez reçu la lettre que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire, rien ne tardera plus le départ de Monſieur le Comte de Strafford, & que vous lui donnerez les inſtructions néceſſaires pour ſe joindre aux Plénipotentiaires du Roi, en ſorte qu'ils puiſſent de concert impoſer la loi à ceux qui refuſeront d'accepter des conditions de paix juſtes & raiſonnables. Je vous ſupplie auſſi de croire que je ſuis,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monſieur de Torcy.*

MONSIEUR,

A Marli, le 22me Juin, 1712.

VOUS verrez par la lettre que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire, juſqu'à quel point le Roi porte ſa confiance pour la Reine; examinez, je vous ſupplie, non comme miniſtre d'Angleterre, mais comme étant d'une autre nation, ce que c'eſt pour la France que de remettre Dunkerque entre les mains des Anglois, avant que la paix ſoit faite, & ſans autre aſſurance que celle de la parole de ſa Majeſté Britannique; le Roi eſt perſuadé qu'elle eſt inviolable, & ſa Majeſté donne une preuve bien réelle, & bien évidente de l'opinion qu'elle en a. Mais encore une fois, Monſieur, permettez-moi de vous demander, ſi vous lui donneriez un pareil conſeil, n'étant ni Anglois, ni dans le poſte que vous occupez?

* Evidently a private letter.

J'eſpère

J'eſpère cependant que la paix ſera le fruit de la réſolution que le Roi prend, & une paix honorable pour la Reine & pour l'Angleterre. Je n'y vois plus qu'une difficulté, que je ſuis perſuadé que vous applanirez aiſément; car il eſt certain que l'aſſemblée des états, hors d'uſage préſentement en France, eſt inutile pour la fin que vous vous propoſez; qu'elle ne ſerviroit qu'à retarder la paix, non-ſeulement pour le tems qu'il faut employer à convoquer & à tenir ces ſortes d'aſſemblées, mais encore par les troubles qu'elles peuvent produire, comme l'example des tems paſſés ne l'a que trop appris. Il eſt de la prudence d'éviter les longueurs & les embarras, quand on peut, par des voies plus abrégées, faire les mêmes choſes encore plus ſurement. Rien n'eſt plus authentique que l'enrégîtrement que le Roi propoſe, principalement quand toutes les puiſſances, intéreſſées au traité de paix, ſeront garantes des renonciations que vous demandez & que ſa Majeſté promet.

J'eſpère donc, Monſieur, apprendre inceſſamment, par le retour du courier, que la Reine, contente de tout ce que le Roi accordera, la ſera auſſi des moyens qu'il propoſe pour aſſurer la validité des renonciations, & pour les rendre ſolennelles ſuivant nos uſages.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer une lettre de la main de ſa Majeſté *,

Copie de la lettre de la main du Roi à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, le 22me Juin, 1712, à Marli.

" MADAME MA SŒUR,

" JE fais pour vous ce que je n'aurois accordé aux inſtances de perſonne, mais je ſuis bien aiſe de vous donner de nouveaux moyens d'avancer l'ouvrage de la paix; & je veux, en même-tems, marquer à tout le monde, la confiance entière que je prends en vous. Je ne puis en donner des preuves plus certaines, qu'en vous remettant, pendant la ſuſpenſion d'armes, la garde de ma ville, citadelle, & fort de Dunkerque.

" Je ſouhaite que cette marque de mon eſtime & de mon amitié pour vous, jointe à la renonciation que le Roi d'Eſpagne fait, pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans, de ſes droits à ma couronne, acheveront de rétablir l'union parfaite, que je veux toujours entretenir avec vous, étant très véritablement,

" Madame, ma Sœur,

" Votre bon Frère,

" LOUIS."

& je

& je me rapporte à ce que l'Abbé Gaultier vous dira ſur le départ du Chevalier. Je vous ſupplie, en même-tems, de croire que je ſuis plus que perſonne,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Marli, le 27me Juin, 1712.

EN même-tems que je fis partir le courier, qui vous aura remis la lettre que j'eus l'honneur de vous écrire le 22me de ce mois, un autre courier fut dépêché à Monſieur le Maréſchal de Villars, pour lui porter, comme je vous l'avois marqué, la copie de votre mémoire, & celle des réponſes que je vous avois faites, par ordre du Roi.

Monſieur le Maréſchal de Villars les ayant communiqués à Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond, ce Général lui répondit, le 25me de ce mois, qu'il alloit trouver le Prince Eugène, & les Députés des Etats-Généraux, étant obligé de garder des meſures juſqu'à la fin ; qu'il tâcheroit de les engager de quitter l'enterpriſe du Queſnoy, & qu'il leur déclareroit, en cas de refus, qu'il ſeroit obligé de retirer l'armée de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne. Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond ajoutoit qu'il feroit marcher le lendemain un détachement pour entrer en Dunkerque, & que la ſuſpenſion auroit lieu conformément au troiſième article de votre mémoire. Il demandoit un ordre en forme pour le Gouverneur ; enfin il promettoit de faire ſavoir les dernières réſolutions de Monſeigneur le Prince Eugene & des députés des Etats-Généraux, auſſitôt qu'il en ſera lui même informé.

Les ordres du Roi étoient expédiés pour laiſſer entrer les troupes Angloiſes dans Dunkerque, lorſque ſa Majeſté a reçu, par Monſieur le Maréſchal de Villars, la copie d'une ſeconde lettre de Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond dattée comme la première du 25. Il écrit qu'il revenoit de conférer avec Monſeigneur le Prince Euègne & avec les députés des Etats-Généraux, mais que ces Meſſieurs ne goûtoient point les propoſitions qu'il leur avoit faites, qu'il avoit lieu de craindre que les Généraux des troupes auxiliaries, qui ſont dans l'armée de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, quoique payées par cette Princeſſe, ne fiſſent quelque difficulté de s'éloigner de l'armée du Prince Eugene, ſans des ordres particuliers de leur maîtres, & nonobſtant un différent auſſi eſſentiel à la condition fondamentale de votre mémoire, Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond perſiſte à demander que Dunkerque ſoit remis au Général qu'il enverra pour en prendre poſſeſſion.

Auſſitôt que le Roi a vu cette lettre, ſa Majeſté m'a commandé, Monſieur, de vous dépêcher un courier, & de vous rappeller le titre même du dernier mémoire que vous m'avez envoyé; il porte que les articles que ce mémoire contient ſont propoſés par la Reine de la Grande Bretagne pour une ſuſpenſion d'armes entre les armées qui ſont préſentement dans les Pays-Bas, c'eſt en vue de cette ſuſpenſion entre les armées actuellement dans les Pays-Bas, que cette Princeſſe demande que la garde d'une place, auſſi importante que celle de Dunkerque, lui ſoit remiſe. C'eſt par la même conſidération que le Roi veut bien la confier à ſa Majeſté Britannique; le motif de la demande & celui du conſentement eſt le deſir commun d'empêcher que quelque événement entre les armées ne trouble les diſpoſitions que de part & d'autre on a mis réciproquement à la concluſion d'une bonne paix. Il faut pour parvenir à ce but que la ſuſpenſion ſoit générale, & ſi les ennemis de la paix ont la force, les moyens, & la liberté d'agir, la condition ſous laquelle

quelle le Roi veut bien remettre Dunkerque à la Reine d'Angleterre, n'eſt pas accomplie de la part de ſa Majeſté Britannique.

Si vous répondez, Monſieur, qu'elle n'eſt pas maîtreſſe de la volonté de ſes alliés, je conviendrai avec vous, qu'on ne voit que trop leur ingratitude à ſon égard, & le peu de déférence qu'ils ont à ſes ſentimens; & c'eſt auſſi par cette raiſon que le Roi ne prétend pas la rendre garante des réſolutions ni du Prince Eugene ni des Etats-Généraux, mais ſa Majeſté a toujours eu lieu de croire que la Reine de la Grand Bretagne diſpoſeroit au moins des troupes qui compoſent ſon armée, & ſi cette opinion eut été ſuſceptible de la moindre incertitude, Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond auroit levé tous les doutes, en promettant, comme il fait par ſa première lettre, qu'il déclareroit en cas de refus, qu'il ſeroit obligé de retirer l'armée de la Reine ſa maîtreſſe. Cette armée ſuivant les mémoires que les Hollandois ont donné imprimés au public, & ſignés de vous, Monſieur, conſiſte en 65 bataillions & 94 eſcadrons. Le Roi a donc ſujet de croire que toutes ces troupes doivent ſuivre abſolument les ordres de Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond.

Sa Majeſté auroit de plus lieu de prétendre, que la condition de remettre Dunkerque aux troupes Angloiſes eſt attachée à celle d'une ſuſpenſion générale entre toutes les armées qui ſont dans les Pays-Bas. Mais elle veut bien porter ſa conſidération pour la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, juſqu'au point de ſe contenter que les troupes qui compoſent véritablement l'armée de cette Princeſſe, ſuivant vos propres états exécutent les ordres de ſa Majeſté Britannique auſſi ponctuellement que les troupes nationales d'Angleterre, & que toutes unanimement obſervent la ſuſpenſion.

Si Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond bornoit aux ſeules troupes Angloiſes l'armée qu'il commande, en vérité, Monſieur, je crois que le Prince Eugene, ayant moins d'égard à la valeur qu'au nombre des bataillions, ſe conſoleroit de la ſéparation de l'armée d'Angleterre, & que demeu-

rant ſeul à commander un grand nombre de troupes, il hazarderoit tout pour en venir à une action ; car il lui importeroit peu de ſacrifier des gens qu'il ne paye pas, & qui ne ſerveroient ſous ſes ordres que pendant le reſte de la campagne.

Jugez, s'il vous plaît, des ſuites qu'on en doit prévoir pour la paix, & ſi elles répondroient à toutes les démarches que la Reine à fait juſqu'à préſent pour l'avancer. Auſſi, Monſieur, le Roi eſt perſuadé que cette Princeſſe donnera, ſans perdre de tems, des ordres bien clairs & bien précis à Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond de retirer généralement toutes les troupes qui ſont à la ſolde de ſa Majeſté Britannique, & qui compoſent l'armée qu'il commande actuellement en Flandres, auſſitôt que ces ordres ſeront exécutés, & que les troupes Angloiſes & à la ſolde d'Angleterre, ſe ſépareront & s'éloigneront toutes de l'armée du Prince Eugène, le Roi fera remettre, comme ſa Majeſté à promis, la ville, la citadelle, & les forts de Dunkerque aux troupes Angloiſes de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, conformément à la réponſe que j'ai faite, par ordre de ſa Majeſté, à l'article troiſième de votre mémoire.

Vous voyez, Monſieur, combien les momens ſont précieux dans une conjoncture où le ſiège du Queſnoy peut produire quelque contretems fâcheux ; car il paroît que les ennemis veulent le preſſer plus vivement depuis la déclaration que Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond leur à faite ; j'eſpère donc que la Reine donnera les ordres néceſſaires pour achever heureuſement ce qu'elle a commencé, & qu'elle connoîtra que ce ſeroit changer abſolument le plan de la ſuſpenſion que de la réduire aux ſeules troupes nationales d'Angleterre, après avoir déclaré qu'elle ſeroit entre les armeés qui ſont dans les Pays-Bas.

Je vous ſupplie de croire que je ſuis très parfaitement,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monſieur

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 20me Juin, 1712.

LE 14me de ce mois, V.S. j'ai reçu par la Vigne vos dépêches du 22me du même mois, N.S. & je n'attendois que les lettres du Duc d'Ormond pour vous envoyer ma réponſe. Ces lettres ſont arrivées ce matin, & en même-tems votre courier m'a remis celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 27me de ce mois. Le détail que le Duc d'Ormond donne de ce qui s'eſt paſſé, eſt entièrement conforme à ce que vous me marquez, & je n'ai pas manqué de faire la lecture de toutes ces dépêches à la Reine. Sa Majeſté, Monſieur, me commande de vous dire que c'eſt avec le plus ſenſible déplaiſir qu'elle voit que les ennemis de la paix trouvent encore les moyens d'en retarder la concluſion, en expoſant la négociation qui nous y doit conduire à de nouvelles difficultés & à de nouveaux dangers; mais comme ſa Majeſté a pris une réſolution ferme & inébranlable de ne céder en aucune façon aux obſtacles qu'on ſuſcitera, & de continuer au contraire à travailler conjointement avec le Roi à rétablir le repos général, elle ne doute point que nous ne ſoyons en état de rendre inutile ce dernier effort de ceux qui voudroient acheter leurs avantages, ou ſatisfaire à leurs reſentimens particuliers au prix de prolonger toutes les misères de la guerre. Je crois qu'après avoir fini la lecture de ma lettre, vous ſerez convaincu de cette vérité.

Je viens dans ce moment de parler par ordre de la Reine, à tous les Miniſtres qui ſe trouve préſentement ici des Princes dont les troupes ſont ou à la ſolde de ſa Majeſté ſeule, ou à ſa ſolde conjonctement avec celle de l'Etat. Je leur ai déclaré, au nom de la Reine, qu'elle regardera la conduite des Généraux de leurs maîtres dans cette conjonc-

ture

ture comme une déclaration de ces Princes, ou pour ou contre elle, puiſqu'il ne s'agit que de ſuivre le plan que la Reine a formé pour aſſurer la paix, ou de ſuivre celui que l'Empéreur & les Etats-Généraux ont formé pour rompre les négociations. Que ſa Majeſté ne pouvoit ſe perſuader qu'après y avoir encore une fois réfléchi, leurs Généraux héſiteroient un moment à obéir aux ordres du Duc d'Ormond. Mais que je leur déclarois qu'en cas qu'ils le fiſſent ſa Majeſté ne fourniroit plus au payement de ces troupes.

Je leur ai fait entendre que le courier que je dépêche ce ſoir à l'armée portera les lettres qu'ils trouveront à-propos d'écrire à leurs officiers généraux ſur ce que je venois de leur dire ; & qu'il étoit bien tems qu'ils priſſent leur parti, puiſque par le même courier, le Duc d'Ormond recevroit les ordres de la Reine, non-ſeulement de faire les mêmes déclarations, mais en cas qu'ils refuſaſſent de lui obéir de mettre ces déclarations en exécution.

La Reine, Monſieur, ſe perſuade que ce procédé peut à peine manquer de ſortir ſon effet ; mais elle me commande, en même-tems, de vous communiquer la réſolution qu'elle a priſe, en cas que quelques-unes des troupes étrangères perſiſtaſſent à reſter avec l'armée du Prince Eugène : dans ce cas, Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond ſe retirera avec les troupes Angloiſes, & toutes celles qui voudront marcher avec lui, leſquelles ne ſeront pas apparemment la moindre partie, & déclarera que la Reine ne veut plus agir contre la France, ni payer ceux qui le feront. Et ſa Majeſté qui juſques-ici a gardé des meſures avec ſes alliés, pouſſée par eux à des extrémités comme celles-ci, ſe croira juſtifiée devant Dieu & les hommes en continuant les négociations ou à Utrecht ou ailleurs, ſans ſe ſoucier s'ils concourrent ou non.

Ainſi, Monſieur, vous devez compter, & j'ai ordre de vous promettre au nom de ſa Majeſté, que ſi le Roi Très Chrétienne mette la ville, citadelle, & forts de Dunkerque entre les mains de la Reine, quoique

toutes les troupes étrangères, ou une partie de ces troupes refuſent d'obéir aux ordres du Duc d'Ormond, & de ſe retirer avec lui, ſa Majeſté ne balancera plus à conclure ſa paix particulière, laiſſant aux autres puiſſances un terme dans lequel elles pourront ſe ſoumettre aux conditions du plan dont la Reine conviendra avec ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne. Voici, Monſieur, la paix entre les mains du Roi, ſi toute l'armée du Duc d'Ormond conſent à la ſuſpenſion d'armes, notre premier projet ſur lequel nous ſommes d'accord a ſon effet, ſi elle n'y conſent pas, les troupes Angloiſes ſe détacheront de celles des alliés, & les troupes étrangères n'auront qu'à s'adreſſer pour leur entretien aux Etats-Généraux, qui bien loin de pouvoir fournir à de nouvelles dépenſes, ne ſont pas capables de ſoutenir celles qu'ils ont déjà ſur le bras. En un mot, la Grande Bretagne ſe retire du théâtre de la guerre, n'y laiſſant que des puiſſances fort peu en état de tenir tête à la France ; & la paix entre ces deux royaumes peut être conclue en très peu de ſemaines. Ce ſont, Monſieur, les propoſitions que la Reine m'a commandé de vous faire, & elle croit que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne trouvera ſon compte pour le moins autant ſur le dernier, que ſur le premier plan.

Si le Roi accepte ces propoſitions, il ſemble à la Reine convenable aux intérêts des deux nations de travailler inceſſamment à une ſuſpenſion générale, tant par mer que par terre, entre la Grande Bretagne & la France, pour ſuivre celle qu'on aura établie dans les Pays-Bas.

J'attendrai avec impatience le retour de ce courier ; car, Monſieur, je tombe d'accord avec vous que les momens ſont précieux dans une jonćture comme celle-ci. Vous dépêcherez, s'il vous plaît, en même-tems, un exprès à Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond, afin qu'il ſache à quoi s'en tenir, & comment régler ſa conduite. Si vous lui marquez que le Roi a donné ordre à l'officier qui commande dans Dunkerque, d'y laiſſer entrer les troupes de la Reine, Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond fera immédiatement tout ce que je viens de vous dire, & dans ce cas ſa

Majeſté

Majeſté enverra d'ici quelques régimens pour prendre poſſeſſion de la place; par lequel moyen nous éviterons pluſieurs obſtacles qui pourroient être formés ſi cela ſe faiſoit par un détachement de l'armée du Duc d'Ormond comme nous avions deſſein de la faire.

Depuis que j'ai écrit cette lettre, ſa Majeſté a pris la réſolution d'envoyer le Comte de Strafford tout droit à l'armée, & il partira d'ici demain au ſoir, ou tout au plus tard Dimanche matin.

Je ſuis, Monſieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Honourable James Bridges.*

SIR,

Whitehall, 21ſt June, 1712.

HER Majeſty has thought fit to order that payment ſhould be ſtopt of all pay or ſubſidies to the foreign troops in her ſervice, till farther directions, which you will be pleaſed to ſignify without loſs of time to Mr. Sweet, and at the ſame time to direct him to iſſue no pay to any of the foreigners ſerving in the Low Countries, till he ſhall receive directions ſo to do from his Grace the Duke of Ormond, and from the Earl of Strafford, who is going away to-morrow, to the army in Flanders. The orders muſt be poſitive, and her Majeſty expects they ſhould be punctually complied with. My Lord Treaſurer deſires me to ſignify this to you, and at the ſame time to acquaint you that the meſſenger who goes to Holland, ſtays at my office for your letter, which he is to carry with him. You will pleaſe, therefore, as ſoon as this comes to your hands, to write accordingly to Mr. Sweet†, and to

* Paymaſter-general of the forces. † Deputy-paymaſter to the army in Flanders.

ſend your letter to my office, that the meſſenger may be diſpatched with it.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

H. St. John.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

Monsieur,

A Marli, le 5me Juillet, 1712.

JE reçois par la Vigne la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 20me Juin, V.S. & comme vous attendez ſon retour avec impatience, connoiſſant combien les momens ſont précieux dans la conjoncture préſente, le Roi me commande de ne pas perdre un inſtant à vous le renvoyer.

Vous ne ſerez pas fâché de le revoir arriver, puiſqu'il vous porte un conſentement général de ſa Majeſté aux demandes de la Reine, que vous m'expliquez par votre dernière lettre. Vous marquez, Monſieur, les ordres qu'elle a donnés à Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond, les déclarations qu'il doit faire, & le parti qu'il prendra de ſe retirer avec les troupes Angloiſes & toutes celles qui voudront marcher avec lui, pourvu que le Roi remette entre les mains de la Reine, la ville, citadelle, & forts de Dunkerque, quand même toutes les troupes étrangères actuellement à la ſolde (ou ſeule ou conjointement avec celle des Etats-Généraux) ou bien une partie de ces troupes, ſe ſépareroient des Anglois pour demeurer ſous les ordres de Monſieur le Prince Eugène.

Ma dernière lettre contenoit, Monſieur, les juſtes raiſons que le Roi avoit de prétendre que toutes les troupes étrangères à la ſolde de l'Angleterre, ſuiviſſent les ordres & les mouvemens de Monſieur le Duc

d'Ormond, comme une condition néceſſaire pour l'exécution de la promeſſe que ſa Majeſté faiſoit à la Reine de lui remettre la garde de Dunkerque; mais comme il paroît par votre lettre, que ſa Majeſté Britannique, en cas de refus de la part de ſes alliés, ne veut plus garder des meſures avec eux, qu'elle ſe croit juſtifiée devant Dieu & devant les hommes, qu'elle ne balancera plus à conclure ſa paix particulière, laiſſant aux autres puiſſances intéreſſées dans la guerre, un terme pour ſe ſoumettre aux conditions du plan dont elle conviendra avec le Roi, que cette paix ſe peut conclure en très peu de ſemaines; & qu'enfin la Grande Bretagne, jouiſſante d'une paix glorieuſe, laiſſera tout le poids de la guerre à des puiſſances que l'animoſité fait encore agir contre la France, mais qui ſeront alors peu en état de lui tenir tête. Toutes ces raiſons, auſſi nettement expliquées dans votre lettre, qu'elles ſont conformes aux ſentimens de ſa Majeſté, l'ont déterminé à donner ſes ordres pour laiſſer entrer les troupes de la Reine en Dunkerque.

Le courier, chargé des mêmes ordres, part pour les porter à Monſieur le Mareſchal de Villars, en même-tems que je vous renvoie la Vigne; & vous pouvez compter que Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond en recevra l'avis demain, 6me de ce mois.

J'eſpère que Monſieur le Comte de Strafford pourra être alors auprès de lui, & que la concluſion d'une bonne paix, au moins entre la France & la Grande Bretagne, ſuivra de près ſon arivée à Utrecht. Je vous en fais mes complimens, Monſieur, & je le fais avec autant plus de confiance, que je vois, par votre lettre, qu'il ne reſte plus de difficultés.

Le Roi approuve fort, Monſieur, la propoſition que vous faites de convenir inceſſamment d'une ceſſation générale de toutes hoſtilités entre les deux nations tant par mer que par terre. On ne peut aſſez tôt faire goûter la douceur de la paix à des peuples qui ſouffrent depuis tant d'années le poids & les malheurs de la guerre. Il me ſemble que

cette

cette convention doit être ſignée à Utrecht, & je compte que vous enverrez les ordres de la Reine à ſes Plénipotentiaires, à moins que vous ne jugiez qu'il y ait quelque moyen plus prompt pour terminer cette affaire.

C'eſt avec plus de plaiſir que jamais que je vous aſſure qu'on ne peut être plus parfaitement que je ſuis,

Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Duke of Ormond.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 27th, 1712.

INCLOSED is a copy of the letter* which I received yeſterday, from the Marquis de Torcy, and I ſuppoſe you had, about the ſame time, communication from the Mareſchal de Villars of the contents of it.

I am now to tell your Grace, that Sir James Abercrombie and Colonel King were laſt night diſpatched to Dunkirk, to prepare every thing for the reception of the Queen's troops, and for the evacuation of that place by the French; and they will inform your Grace of their arrival there, and of their proceedings in the execution of her Majeſty's commands.

Sir John Leake is gone to the Downs, where a conſiderable ſquadron of ſhips for this ſervice is aſſembled, and I hope that in the very beginning of next week, the fleet and forces will be ready to ſail.

* This letter was dated July 5th, and refers to Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Monſieur de Torcy, 20th June. BOLINGBROKE.

The Earl of Strafford's going by the way of Holland, inſtead of going by that of Oſtend, as was at firſt intended, and as I writ to your Grace, will make him arrive at the army later than were to be wiſhed; and your Grace, no doubt, muſt be impatient to receive thoſe lights and informations for your guidance in this nice conjuncture of affairs, which he is amply inſtructed to give you. I hope, however, that his Lordſhip will come up to your Grace before this letter can reach you.

Upon hearing from Sir James Abercrombie and Colonel King, that the orders for evacuating Dunkirk are received by the Governor, and that he is ready to admit the Queen's troops into the place, your Grace is, without loſing a moment, if you ſhall not already have done it, to declare a ſuſpenſion of arms, and to withdraw with the Britiſh troops, and ſuch others as ſhall obey your orders, according to her Majeſty's commands, which I had the honour to ſignify to your Grace in mine of the 20th inſtant.

Your Grace will obſerve that this order is poſitive, and I am commanded to explain to you the reaſons upon which it is founded, and why no caſe can poſſibly happen in which her Majeſty will allow that any other meaſure ſhould be taken:—If my Lord Strafford ſhould bring your Grace word that the Dutch do abſolutely agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, then this order is proper, and Engliſh and Dutch, and all the other allies, will retire together. If he brings word to your Grace, that they abſolutely refuſe the ſuſpenſion, then this order is neceſſary, ſince we are not in circumſtances to ſuffer the law to be impoſed upon us. And laſtly, if my Lord Strafford ſhould bring your Grace an account that the States agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms conditionally, and under reſtrictions either as to time or manner, her Majeſty muſt look upon ſuch an agreement to be more dangerous even than a refuſal, ſince it can have no other conſequence or deſign than to break the Queen's

meaſures,

meaſures, by gaining of time, and to make us loſe the opportunity of taking poſſeſſion of Dunkirk.

On Saturday laſt, an order was diſpatched to Mr. Sweet, that he ſhould make no farther payments to any of the foreign troops. But as my Lord Strafford was empowered to treat with the Miniſters, and your Grace directed to expoſtulate with the generals, ſo upon directions from your Grace, or from his Lordſhip, Mr. Sweet is to diſpenſe with the general order, and to advance to you ſuch as you ſhall judge proper, and think deſerve this diſtinction at the Queen's hands.

I forgot to tell your Grace, that Mr. Hill is appointed by her Majeſty to command the trooops that go over, and in the town of Dunkirk.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur Marſchalch.

De Whitehall, ce 27me Juin, V.S. 1712.

ON nous a ſuſcité depuis peu, mon cher Monſieur, tant d'affaires, qu'il ne ſeroit pas étonnant, ſi un homme beaucoup plus capable que je le ſuis, ſe trouvoit obligé de demander pardon à ſes amis, & à ſes correſpondans les plus intimes, de ce qu'il avoit négligé de leur écrire. Pour moi, je compte tellement ſur la bonté que vous m'avez toujours témoignée, que je ne doute pas que vous ne m'excuſiez.

Nous voici, Monſieur, venus à ce point, que je vous ai ſouvent prédit. Les Miniſtres de l'Empereur & d'Hollande ſe flattans, malgré tout ce qu'on leur pouvoit dire, qu'ils n'avoient qu'à continuer dans leur oppoſition à la Reine, & dans leurs intrigues avec nos factieux, pour nous obliger à changer de conduite, & à leur laiſſer le pouvoir abſolu de faire la guerre ou la paix à leur façon, & à nos dépens, ont à

la

la fin pouſſé la Reine au bout. Elle eſt encore prête à vivre avec eux comme les bons alliés doivent vivre enſemble, mais elle eſt réſolue de ne ſe laiſſer plus amuſer. Elle va droit à la paix, ceux qui concourent avec elle, ne manqueront pas d'avoir toute la ſatisfaction qu'ils peuvent eſpérer ; ceux qui veulent la guerre, courent riſque d'avoir ſur le dos un poids qu'ils ne ſont pas en état de ſoutenir.

Les grands politiques en Hollande ont cru avoir fait un coup de maître, quand ils ont trouvé les moyens de perſuader aux troupes étrangères de refuſer d'obéir au Duc d'Ormond, &, par conſéquent, de nous empêcher de prendre poſſeſſion de Dunkerque : mais ils ſe trompent ; Dunkerque ſera mis entre les mains de la Reine, les troupes qui refuſent ne ſeront plus payées par nous, & les Etats-Généraux n'auront qu'à chercher les fonds pour leur entretien. Après cela, Monſieur, je dois vous dire, & même par ordre de la Reine, que le Roi peut s'aſſurer qu'elle ſoutiendra ſes intérêts comme les ſiens propres, & qu'il n'y a point lieu de douter que la paix ne ſe faſſe à ſon contentement ; en revanche, la Reine eſpère que le Roi voudra envoyer des ordres bien précis au Prince d'Anhalt, de ne plus ſe joindre au Prince Eugène, ni aux Généraux d'Hollande, en s'oppoſant au Duc d'Ormond. Comme il peut arriver que le Duc de Savoye ſuivra le plan de la Grande Bretagne, il ſeroit à-propos que votre général, qui eſt en Italie, eut des ordres ſecrets de régler ſa conduite ſur celle de ce Prince, & qu'il lui obéit généralement en toutes choſes. Monſieur Breton parlera en conformité de ce que je viens d'écrire. Ecrivez, s'il vous plaît, dans le même ſens, & ſoyez aſſuré que le Roi aura tout ſujet d'être content de notre procédé. Quant aux affaires du Nord, je vous en parlerai dans une poſte ou deux. Adieu,

Mon cher ami, à vous, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, July 5th, O.S. 1712.

THE joint diſpatch from your Lordſhip and the Lord Privy Seal, came to my hands on the 2nd, and by that we can compute that you could not join the Duke of Ormond till Wedneſday laſt.

Your Lordſhip eaſily conceives the impatience we muſt be under, to hear again from you, from the Duke, and from Sir James Abercrombie, and Colonel King, who are at Dunkirk. We hope, and indeed take it for granted, that there can be no room on the part of France, to heſitate about the ſurrender of this place, ſince, as you very well know, this is to be done whether the allies conſent to the ſuſpenſion or not. We likewiſe hope, there can on our part, have been no room to ſtop declaring this ſuſpenſion, the Queen's orders having been given very clearly and poſitively.

Your Lordſhip ſees better than any one, of what importance it is to have this point over; how uncertain a bottom we ſtand upon till then, and how glorious a game we ſhall have in our hands afterwards; if, therefore, any difficulties have ariſen, exert all your ſkill, all your diligence, and all your reſolution, to remove or overcome them; and depend on this, that no man ever had ſuch an occaſion of ſhowing himſelf.

I ſend Barton with theſe letters, whom you will keep or order back, as you ſee good.

The moment we hear that the enemy is ready to evacuate Dunkirk, we ſhall order the troops who lie ready in the Downs to proceed; at the ſame time, inſtructions will go to your Lordſhip, and Lord Privy

Seal, for ſettling a general ceſſation, and for concluding the Queen's part of the peace.

God bleſs you, and proſper you! We have paſſed the Rubicon, and we muſt triumph or ſink!

I am ever, &c.

A Monſieur Marſchalch.

De Whitehall, ce 9me Juillet, V.S. 1712.

JE vous avoue, mon cher Monſieur, que la Reine ſera fort ſurpriſe de voir que ſa Majeſté Pruſienne puiſſe eſpérer de mieux trouver ſon compte en ſe rangeant avec des puiſſances qui prétendent faire ce qu'elles ne ſont pas en état de ſoutenir, qu'en continuant étroitement unies avec une Princeſſe qui eſt en état de faire réuſſir ſes deſſeins, & qui n'en a aucun qui ne ſoit conforme aux vues du Roi votre maître.

Vous ſavez, Monſieur, auſſi-bien que moi, que la diſpute n'a jamais roulé ſi nous aurions une paix ou non, & beaucoup moins ſur quelles conditions cette paix ſe feroit: l'unique but des Impériaux & des Hollandois, a été de forcer la Reine, en ſe liguant avec les plus factieux de ſes ſujets, de pourſuivre une guerre inutile à la cauſe commune, onéreuſe & inégale particulièrement à la Grande Bretagne, & après cela de commencer une nouvelle négociation avec la France, dans le cours de laquelle ſa Majeſté auroit aſſurément eu l'honneur de traiter ſous leurs auſpices, mais elle n'auroit pas eu celui d'avoir voix en chapitre.

On a pouſuivi ce beau plan, avec une telle opiniâtreté, que la diviſion s'eſt miſe parmi les alliés, & ce grand avantage a été donné à l'ennemi, plutôt que de vouloir conſentir que la Reine conduiſit la négociation, ou que ſes peuples euſſent quelque dédommagement par la paix, pour tout ce qu'ils ont ſouffert pendant la guerre. Dans une telle conjoncture

que pouvoit faire notre maîtreſſe ? Elle a porté la France à faire des offres qui montrent aſſez évidemment, que ſi l'on veut traiter de bonne foi, une ſatisfaction juſte & raiſonnable ſera donnée à tous les confédérés ; il ne tient donc qu'à eux de renouveller les conférences à Utrecht ſur ce plan, & de ſe tenir unis avec la Reine, qui certes ne ſera pas moins en état de ſe faire valoir, ayant Dunkerque entre les mains.

Quant aux intérêts du Roi votre maître, j'ai ordre de la Reine de vous dire, & Monſieur Breton ne manquera pas de donner les mêmes aſſurances à ſa Majeſté Pruſſienne, que les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne vous ſeconderont dans toutes vos demandes ; & puiſque les Miniſtres de France déclarent qu'ils ne faut qu'une déclaration ſolennelle de la part de la Reine pour vous faire obtenir tout ce que vous ſouhaitez, vous devez compter que vous l'avez obtenu.

Au nom de Dieu, Monſieur, travaillez fortement à tenir nos deux cours unies. Si le Roi ſe range du côté de la Reine, l'unanimité ſe remettra d'abord parmi les alliés, puiſqu'il n'y a eu que la roideur des Etats qui y a mis la diviſion. Mais perſonne ne peut répondre des ſuites d'une déclaration du Roi contre les meſures de ſa Majeſté. On continuera la campagne, me direz-vous, ſans l'aſſiſtance de la Reine : en Flanders, je tombe d'accord, qu'on la continuera ; mais ſongez un peu à l'Eſpagne, au Portugal, à l'Italie, & ſur-tout ſongez aux moyens de continuer une autre campagne ſans les ſept millions que la Grande Bretagne fournit toutes les années.

Le Roi de France, tout ennemi qu'il eſt, vient de confier à la Reine une place auſſi importante que Dunkerque, ſans traité, ſans convention. Sera-t-il dit que le Roi de Pruſſe ne ſe fiera point à des promeſſes ſi ſouvent réitérées, à une bonne foi dont il a eu l'expérience tant d'années ? Un courier portera mes dépêches à mon ami Breton, aidez-le de vos lumières, ſecondez ſes inſtances par les vôtres, & comptez qu'il s'agit d'aſ-

ſurer une paix bonne & honorable, ou de plonger l'Europe dans de nouveaux malheurs, peut-être pires que ceux qu'elle vient d'eſſuyer.

Adieu, dans la hâte j'écris ſans me ſervir du chiffre, auſſi cette lettre vous ſera rendue par un courier de la Reine qui va à Berlin.

Je ſuis du fond de mon ame, cher Marſchalch,

A vous, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, July 12th, 1712.

THIS letter accompanies a very formal one from the office, and and ſerves to tell you, that we are not at all concerned, as to the Queen's intereſt abſtractedly, at what has happened in Flanders, but we are very much at a loſs to imagine, what the Princes can mean or propoſe to themſelves, to whom theſe troops belong. A beggarly German General commands the troops, which have been ſo many years paid by her Majeſty, and which are actually ſo at this time, to *deſert* from the Queen, and to leave her ſubject-forces, for ought they knew, expoſed to be attacked by the enemy; this, I confeſs, is ſurprizing, and what very few inſtances can be produced to parallel.

I aſſure you, that the matter will be carried high here. I think the Queen and all who ſerve her, are determined to reſent this inſult offered to the Britiſh nation by our *mercenaries*. We ſhall have money to ſpare, and I believe ſhall employit to make thoſe fear our force, who have not been gained upon by our kindneſs.

The Northern Miniſters, begin already to be alarmed at the equipment of a very ſtrong ſquadron for the Baltic; they will ſoon diſcover

that

that the States, who were to invade us, cannot fit out one fleet to cope with our Channel guard.

I long to hear from you; has the elector no one man that knows any thing of this country, or who is endowed with more ſagacity than Shults * and Bothmar, the pooreſt tools, next to Blaythwait †, that ever dirtied paper?

Adieu, let us ſee Couchman's face as ſoon as you ſee and know the *carte de pais.*

A Monſieur Marſchalch.

De Whitehall, ce 12me Juillet, V.S. 1712.

LA dernière fois que je vous écrivis, mon cher Monſieur, j'ai tâché de vous exciter à prévenir les inconvéniens que je prévoyois devoir naître, en cas que le Roi votre maître voulut abandonner la Reine, qui ne demande qu'une paix raiſonnable, unique but de la guerre, pour s'attacher à ceux qui veulent jouer un rôle qu'ils ne peuvent pas ſoutenir. Depuis ce tems-là ſa Majeſté a vu avec beaucoup de regret par les lettres du Duc d'Ormond du 17me de ce mois, N.S. que les troupes Pruſſiennes ont été de spremières à quitter l'armée Britannique, pour ſuivre le Prince Eugène, qui n'a pas daigné ſeulement communiquer au général de la Reine à quel endroit il d'irigoit ſa marche, ou quel deſſein il avoit en vue. Je crains que l'honneur que le Prince d'Anhalt rapportera au ſiège de Landrecy ne dédommagera pas la cauſe commune des malheurs qu'elle va ſouffrir par le faux-pas que ce Prince a fait en contribuant à offrir à la Reine un affront auſſi outrageant que celui dont je viens de parler. Sa Majeſté ne veut faire aucunes plaintes;

* Envoy-extraordinary from Hanover.
† Had been a Commiſſioner of trade and Secretary-at-war.

Monſieur Breton a ſeulement ordre de ne rien dire du contenu de ma dernière lettre, qui étoit remplie d'aſſurances de la part de la Reine au Roi votre maître. Je crois que nous nous attacherons à nous faire valoir par nos forces, où l'amitié & la bonne volonté ont été de nul effet. Je ne vous dis rien des affaires du Nord, ce qui s'eſt paſſé depuis peu de jours en Flandres change tout-à-fait notre ſyſtème. Mais, en ami ſincère, je vous confierai mon opinion, qui eſt que la Reine parlera par la bouche de ſon Amiral dans ces quartiers. Vous venez de nous ôter une furieuſe dépenſe qui nous peſoit extrêmement; une partie de ce que nous épargnerons ſera appliqué à la marine.

Adieu, cher ami.

To Mr. Hill.

SIR,

Whitehall, 12th July, 1712.

COLONEL Diſney arrived here Thurſday the 10th inſtant, and brought us the good news of your having taken poſſeſſion of Dunkirk in the beſt order, and without the leaſt diſturbance. This officer will be ſent back to you in a few days; by him I ſhall write to you again, and you will receive from me and from Sir William Windham *, an account of all which is done or doing for the garriſon where you command.

The occaſion of my writing to you at preſent is to let you know, by her Majeſty's order, that the Duke of Ormond will, in all probability, march with his body of troops to Dunkirk; in which caſe, you will not want for any reinforcement from hence for artillery, gunners, ſtores, &c. As ſoon as we hear that his Grace bends towards you, we ſhall take the proper meaſures for ſupplying the troops from hence with what they may ſtand in need of.

* Appointed Secretary-at-war, vice Lord Landſdowne, made Comptroller of the Houſehold.

Though her Majeſty makes no doubt of your diſcreet behaviour, yet I am commanded to deſire, that you would be particularly careful not to give the Duke of Ormond the leaſt occaſion even of unreaſonable umbrage; but, on the contrary, that you would affect to be at his command in every thing. You will readily enter into the meaning of this direction, and conſider that a man of his character, who comes from the head of a great army, and from the ſight of his enemy, to retire under the walls of Dunkirk with 18,000 or 20,000 men, cannot be in very good humour.

Our correſpondence with you will ſoon grow very frequent and very eaſy, ſince, before the end of next week, I hope our packet-boats will begin to ſail betwixt Dover and Calais.

I am, &c.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainbleau, le 19me Juillet, 1712.

AVANT que de recevoir la lettre que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire par ordre du Roi, vous aurez été informé de la publication que Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond a faite dans ſon armée, d'une ceſſation d'armes entre la France & la Grande Bretagne, de ſa marche, & du refus que les Généraux des troupes auxiliaires, ſoit à la ſolde de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne ſeule, ſoit à la ſolde commune, ont fait de ſe joindre aux troupes Angloiſes, & de le ſuivre.

Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez auſſi reçu la nouvelle de l'entrée des bataillons Anglois dans Dunkerque, ſuivant les ordres que le Roi avoit donné de les y recevoir. Ainſi, Monſieur, les premières meſures priſes pour parvenir à la paix étant accomplies de la part de ſa Majeſté

jeſté & de celle de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, vos alliés ayant auſſi déclaré nettement par leur réponſes, que les effets ont confirmés, le parti qu'ils vouloient prendre de continuer la guerre ; il ne reſte plus, ſuivant ce que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, par votre lettre de 20 Juin, & 1 Juillet que de conclure la paix en très peu de ſemaines, entre la France & la Grande Bretagne.

Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond a déjà ſatisfait à ce que la Reine a promis en ſe retirant avec les troupes Angloiſes, quoique ſeules, & en déclarant que ſa Majeſté Britannique ne veut plus agir contre la France, ni payer ceux qui ne ſe conformeront pas à ſon example.

Vous m'avez mandé, Monſieur, que ſe voyant pouſſée par ſes alliés, à de telles extrémités, & ſe croyant juſtifiée devant Dieu & devant les hommes, elle ne balánceroit plus à conclure ſa paix particulière, laiſſant aux autres puiſſances engagées dans la guerre, un terme pour ſe ſoumettre aux conditions du plan dont elle conviendra avec le Roi. Il s'agit donc de l'exécution de cette promeſſe, qui paroît déſormais bien facile, toutes les conditions de la paix avec l'Angleterre étant réglées, & les intentions du Roi, ſur la paix générale, étant connues à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, & je crois pouvoir dire, approuvées de ſa Majeſté Britannique.

Je ne vous dirai rien, Monſieur, pour exciter ſon reſſentiment ſur la conduite de ſes alliés. Ils ne font que trop voir leur animoſité, & leurs mauvais deſſeins contre la Reine ; bien loin d'animer l'eſprit de guerre & de diviſion, je ſouhaiterois qu'on peut inſpirer l'amour de la paix à ceux qui tentent toutes ſortes de voies pour la traverſer. Mais comme rien ne ſera plus capable de rétablir le repos général, malgré leurs oppoſitions, que de confirmer & d'aſſurer ſolidement ce qui a été fait juſqu'à préſent entre la France & la Grande Bretagne, le Roi à déjà envoyé ſes ordres à Meſſieurs ſes Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht pour convenir inceſſamment de la ſuſpenſion générale, tant par mer que

par

par terre, & pour la ſigner avec Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne.

Sa Majeſté eſtime qu'il eſt à-propos de ſuivre les diſpoſitions du traité de Ryſwick pour régler les termes de la ſuſpenſion par mer ; par conſéquent, que les vaiſſeaux, marchandiſes, effets, pris dans la Manche, & dans les mers du Nord, après l'eſpace de douze jours, à compter depuis la ſignature & la publication de la ſuſpenſion, ſeront de part & d'autre reſtitués réciproquement. Que le terme ſera de ſix ſemaines pour les priſes faites depuis la Manche, les mers qui entourent les iſles Britanniques, & les mers du Nord juſqu'au Cap St. Vincent. De dix ſemaines depuis & au-delà de ce cap juſqu'a la ligne, ſoit dans l'océan, ſoit dans la mer Méditerranée. Enfin de ſix mois au delà de la ligne, & dans tous les autres endroits du monde, ſans aucune exception ni autre diſtinction plus particulière de tems ou de lieu.

En attendant que la ſuſpenſion par mer ſoit réglée & ſignée, on pourroit, Monſieur, pour le bien réciproque des François & des Anglois, donner des paſſeports pour aſſurer le commerce ; je ne vous fait point remarquer l'avantage que l'Angleterre retirera, ſoit de ces paſſeports, ſoit d'une ſuſpenſion particulière ; je vous dirai ſeulement, Monſieur, que le Roi n'eſt point fâché que la nation Angloiſe puiſſe faire librement ſon commerce, ſans avoir à craindre d'aucun ennemi, quoique ſes propres ſujets ne jouiſſent pas du même avantage, ayant à ſe garantir des armateurs Hollandois, ſi la ſuſpenſion n'eſt pas générale.

Quoiqu'il y ait lieu de croire par la conduite que tiennent les Etats-Généraux qu'ils différeront à ſe ſoumettre le plus long-tems qu'il leur ſera poſſible, le Roi donne cependant ſes ordres & ſes pouvoirs à ſes Plénipotentiaires pour convenir avec eux, de concert avec les Plénipotentiaires de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, d'une ſuſpenſion d'armes & par mer & par terre. Enfin ils ſont également autoriſés à

convenir de la même ſuſpenſion avec tous vos alliés, non-ſeulement au nom du Roi, mais encore au nom du Roi d'Eſpagne.

Permettez-moi, Monſieur, de vous faire obſerver, que pendant qu'elle durera, ſoit particulière, ſoit générale, il ne doit pas être libre de tranſporter ni troupes ni munitions de guerre & de bouche en Portugal, en Catalogne, enfin dans aucun des lieux où la guerre ſe fait préſentement. Je crois cette réflexion inutile, mais il ne peut nuire de l'avoir faite.

Le Roi me commande encore de vous propoſer d'envoyer, ſans perte de tems, les ordres de la Reine en Portugal & en Catalogne, afin que la ſuſpenſion y ſoit publiée & obſervée entre les troupes d'Angleterre, celles du Roi d'Eſpagne, & les troupes auxiliaires de France. Vous pourriez même, pour plus de diligence, faire paſſer par la France le courier que vous dépêcheriez en Catalogne.

J'attendrai, Monſieur, avec beaucoup d'impatience, vos réponſes, quoique je ne doute pas de ce qu'elles contiendront, les effets ayant toujours ſuivis ce que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire ; mais vous voyez combien les momens ſont précieux, & vous pouvez prévoir les événemens qui arriveront peut-être en Flandres plus aiſément que jamais, depuis la retraite de vos troupes.

Il ſeroit, ce me ſemble, très néceſſaire, dans une pareille conjoncture, de faciliter le paſſage des lettres, afin de ſe communiquer plus fréquemment les choſes qu'il eſt eſſentiel de ſavoir de part & d'autre. On pourroit pour cet effet rétablir, dès à préſent les paquet-bôts de Dovre à Calais comme ils étoient établis avant l'interdiction du commerce. Je prendrai la liberté de vous dire, que vous y trouverez encore un autre avantage pour le ſervice de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne. Les malles d'Angleterre qu'on envoie d'Oſtende à Anvers paſſent par les mains du nommé Jaupin, dont vous n'ignorez pas, Monſieur, l'attachement pour la régence d'Hollande, pour le Prince Eugène,

& j'ajouterai

& j'ajouterai pour votre précédent Général. Vous devez ſavoir auſſi l'uſage qu'il fait de la diſpoſition qu'il a de ces malles. Au commencement de la campagne, il avoit propoſé au Maître de la Poſte de Rouſſelar, de les conduire d'Oſtende à Tournay, parce que Jaupin demeurant dans l'armée ennemie, ou dans quelque ville des environs, auroit eu plus de facilité de s'inſtruire, & de rendre compte à Monſeigneur le Prince Eugène des ordres que vous enverriez à Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond. Si vous croyez néceſſaire de lui en ôter abſolument la connoiſſance, on conviendra facilement, lorſque les paquet-bots ſeront rétablis, des moyens de faire porter les malles de Calais à Lille en paſſant par Dunkerque & par y près.

J'attends tous les jours le retour de la Vigne, & je vous ſupplie d'être perſuadé qu'on ne peut être plus parfaitement que je ſuis,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, le 12me Juillet, 1712.

JEUDI, 10me de ce mois, V.S. nous reçumes la nouvelle de l'entrée des troupes de la Reine dans Dunkerque, & le même jour il arriva un officier de l'armée, qui nous apporta les lettres du Duc d'Ormond, du 17me de ce mois. Alors, Monſieur, la Reine ſe vit en état de donner ſes derniers ordres à Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires de ne plus perdre un moment à conclure avec les Miniſtres de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, la convention pour une ſuſpenſion générale, tant par mer que par terre, & même le traité de paix entre la Grande Bretagne & la France.

Le Conſeil s'eſt aſſemblé hier, & on mettoit la dernière main à ces inſtructions, quand l'Abbé Gaultier me rendit la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 19me de ce mois (N.S.) par laquelle j'ai vu avec beaucoup de plaiſir, que les ſentimens de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne, & les ordres qu'elle à donnés, ſont conformes à ceux dont la Reine a trouve à-propos de me charger. Vous y répétez, Monſieur, ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire par ma lettre du 20me du mois paſſé, & j'oſe vous répondre que dans cette occaſion comme dans toutes les autres, les effets ne manqueront pas de ſuivre les promeſſes que je vous ai données au nom de la Reine & par ſon ordre.

Il eſt vrai, Monſieur, que la conduite de ſes alliés ne répond en aucune manière aux obligations qu'ils ont reçues, ni à celles qu'ils auroient pu ſe promettre de la part de la Reine: mais, Monſieur, vous entrez entièrement dans notre penſée quand au lieu d'animer l'eſprit de guerre & de diviſion, vous ſouhaitez d'inſpirer l'amour de la paix à ceux qui tentent toute ſorte de voies pour la traverſer.

C'eſt une eſpèce de frénéſie qui s'eſt répandue dans le monde; il faut empêcher ceux qui en ſont attaqués, de nous faire du mal; & la charité nous oblige en même-tems de contribuer tout ce que nous pouvons pour leur guériſon. Commençons avec le premier point, & afin de rétablir le repos général, malgré toutes les oppoſitions, confirmons & aſſurons ſolidement ce qui a été fait juſqu'à préſent entre la Grande Bretagne & la France.

La Reine, Monſieur, conſent que les vaiſſeaux, marchandiſes, effets pris dans la Manche & dans les mers du Nord, après l'eſpace de douze jours à compter depuis la ſignature & la publication de la ſuſpenſion, ſeront de part & d'autre reſtitués réciproquement.

Que le terme ſera de ſix ſemaines pour les priſes faites depuis la Manche, les mers qui entourent les Iſles Britanniques, & les mers du Nord, juſqu'au Cap St. Vincent.

De dix ſemaines depuis & au-delà de ce cap juſqu'à la ligne, ſoit dans l'océan, ſoit dans la Mer Méditerranée.

Enfin, de ſix mois au-delà de la ligne, & dans tous les autres endroits du monde, ſans aucune exception ni autre diſtinction plus particulière de tems ou de lieu.

Et qu'en attendant que la ſuſpenſion par mer ſoit réglée & ſignée, on donne, pour le bien réciproque des deux nations, des paſſeports pour aſſurer le commerce.

Le ſentiment de la Reine a été qu'il ſeroit utile d'abréger le terme de dix ſemaines dans la Mer Méditerranée particulièrement, & Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires ont été inſtruits de propoſer le terme de ſix ſemaines tant pour les priſes faites depuis la Manche, les mers qui entourent les Iſles Britanniques, & les mers du Nord, juſqu'au Cap St. Vincent, que depuis & au-delà de ce Cap, juſqu'à la ligne, ſoit dans l'océan, ſoit dans la Mer Méditerranée; mais un différent de cette nature n'arrêtera pas la concluſion de la ſuſpenſion.

L'obſervation que vous faites, Monſieur, touchant le tranſport de troupes, ou de munitions de guerre & de bouche en Portugal, en Catalogne, ou dans aucun des lieux où la guerre ſe fait préſentement, ne peut ſouffrir aucune difficulté; la Reine en convient, & cet article ſera exécuté de notre côté avec la dernière exactitude. Je dois cependant, Monſieur, vous dire que la Reine ne croira pas contrevenir à cette règle en envoyant des troupes ou des munitions à Gibraltar & au port Mahon; en retirant les troupes Portugoiſes qui ſervent en Catalogne, pour les tranſporter chez eux; en faiſant tranſporter les troupes Allemandes, ou autres qui ſont au ſervice de l'Empereur, d'Eſpagne en Italie, & enfin en retirant les troupes Angloiſes, & généralement tout ce qui appartient à la Reine, pour les conduire à l'Iſle de Minorque, ou même à la Grande Bretagne.

Je viens, Monſieur, de vous parler de retirer les troupes Angloiſes qui reſtent en Catalogne : les ordres de la Reine ſont déjà donnés à cet effet, & comme ſa Majeſté a auſſi pris la réſolution de ne plus fournir la moindre choſe aux frais de cette guerre, la ſuſpenſion s'exécutera d'elle-même ; & je crois que les troupes de l'Empereur qui ſont en Catalogne s'eſtimeront aſſez heureuſes de pouvoir ſortir librement du pays, & d'être tranſportées chez eux. Comme le Duc d'Argyle, ou quelque autre officier, ſera immédiatement dépêché pour tenir la main à l'exécution de ces ordres, il eſt certain qu'en le faiſant paſſer par la France, comme nous avons deſſein de faire dans cinq ou ſix jours, nous gagnerions beaucoup de tems.

Les ordres néceſſaires pour établir la ſuſpenſion d'armes en Portugal ſeront donnés, mais comme le Miniſtre qui ſe trouve ici n'eſt pas inſtruit ni autoriſé de concerter aucune meſure là-deſſus, il faut en parler aux Plénipotentiaires du Roi de Portugal qui ſont à Utrecht.

De tous ſes alliés il n'y a aucun dont les intérêts tiennent plus au cœur de ſa Majeſté que ceux du Duc de Savoye ; & elle eſpère que le Roi Très Chrétien, de concert avec elle, ne négligera rien qui puiſſe engager ſon Alteſſe Royale à entrer dans toutes nos meſures, & la mettre à couvert de toute inſulte de la part des Impériaux, lorſqu'elle y ſera entrée.

Les diſputes ſurvenues par rapport à la barrière de ce Prince, ſe réduiſent à quatre points : le droit de garniſon en Monaco, avec la ſupériorité & direct domaine de Monton & de Rocabruna, les villages au-delà du Rhône, Briançon, & le fort de Barreau.

La Reine, Monſieur, ſouhaite que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne veuille bien montrer de la facilité ſur des articles ſi peu importans à une puiſſance telle que la ſienne, & d'une auſſi grande conſéquence à ſon Alteſſe Royale, dont le pays eſt plus ouverte que jamais par la démolition de tant de fortereſſes.

Il n'eſt de l'intérêt ni de la Grande Bretagne ni de la France que le Royaume de Sicile ſoit donné à la maiſon d'Autriche; ſon Alteſſe Royale eſt le Prince ſur la tête duquel la Reine ſouhaite de voir placer cette couronne; elle ne peut pas ſe déſiſter de cette demande, elle la propoſe à ſon Alteſſe Royale comme une condition de la ſuſpenſion d'armes du côté de l'Italie, & elle lui fait ſavoir que c'eſt un article ſur lequel je vous ai écrit par ſon ordre. Le courier qui va à Turin paſſera par la France, de ſorte que les propoſitions que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne voudra faire à ſon Alteſſe Royale pourront accompagner celles de la Reine.

Il ne me reſte ſur le ſujet de la ſuſpenſion que de vous dire que d'abord qu'elle ſera déclarée en Eſpagne, la Reine demande que le blocus de Gibraltar ſoit levé, & que tant la garniſon que les marchands qui s'y trouveront, pourront en toute liberté vivre & négocier avec les Eſpgnols.

Les paquet-bots ſeront établis ſans perte de tems de Dovre à Calais. Je crois même qu'ils pourront commencer à faire ce voyage dès la ſemaine prochaine. Vous aurez, s'il vous plaît, la bonté de faire expédier les paſſeports & les ordres néceſſaires.

Je ſuis fort bien inſtruit du caractère de Jaupin & je ne manquerai pas de prendre avec vous des meſures pour que nos lettres ne paſſent pas par ſes mains. Celles que nous écrivons dorénavant au Duc d'Ormond ne doivent point courir aucun riſque, puiſque ce Général prendra apparemment le parti de ſe retirer du côté de Dunkerque; dans cette ſituation il n'aura beſoin ni des Hollandois ni des Flamands; pendant qu'il y reſte, on fournira d'ici tout ce dont les troupes auront beſoin, & quand ſa Majeſté trouvera à-propos de les faire tranſporter dans la Grande Bretagne, ce tranſport ſe fera de Dunkerque avec plus de commodité que d'aucun autre endroit.

Le

Le Duc d'Ormond a ordre de concerter ſa marche avec Monſieur le Maréſchal de Villars, & d'aſſurer ce Général (comme j'ai ordre de la Reine de vous promettre, Monſieur) que les troupes payeront régulièrement pour tout ce qui leur ſera fourni par les ſujets de la France, & que toute la ſatisfaction poſſible ſera donnée à ces derniers, ſi par quelque accident la moindre injuſtice leur fut faite.

Quand je vous ai parlé de la ſuſpenſion d'armes, j'ai oublié de vous dire que la Reine conſentira à l'étendre ou à la prolonger de la manière que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne trouvera à-propos ; mais qu'elle eſpère, & même qu'elle ne doute pas, que le Roi ne faſſe pleinement exécuter l'article qui regarde la réunion des deux monarchies, s'il eſt poſſible, pendant le terme de deux mois. La Reine ſouhaiteroit de ſavoir quelles meſures ont été priſes pour cet effet ; vous aurez la bonté de me les communiquer, & vous me ferez la juſtice de croire qu'on ne peut pas être plus parfaitement que je le ſuis,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

B.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

A Fontainbleau, le 26me Juillet, 1712.

LES nouvelles de Flandres vous apprendront, Monſieur, que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne commence à être vengée du peu d'égards que ſes alliés ont eu pour ſes ſages conſeils, & du refus que les troupes auxiliaires ont fait de ſuivre Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond. Il ſeroit inutile de vous envoyer le détail de ce qui s'eſt paſſée le 24me de ce mois à l'attaque du camp de Denain, où Monſieur le Comte d'Albemarle a été forcé, pris, & les troupes qu'il commandoit entièrement défaites, par Monſieur le Maréſchal de Villars. Je ſuis perſuadé que

vous

vous en ſaurez toutes les circonſtances avant que de recevoir ma lettre ainſi, Monſieur, j'aurai ſeulement l'honneur de vous dire que le Roi compte que les avantages que ſes troupes remporteront, feront d'autant plus de plaiſir à la Reine, que ce ſeront de nouveaux motifs pour vaincre l'obſtination des ennemis de la paix. Leur animoſité paroiſſoit plus vive que jamais, ſuivant les dernières lettres d'Hollande. J'eſpère que ſa Majeſté Britaunique achevera de les mettre à la raiſon, en convenant inceſſamment avec le Roi, des dernières meſures à prendre pour achever un ouvrage auſſi avancé. Elle en a les moyens entre ſes mains, ſi elle veut faire uſage des villes de Gand & de Bruges que ſes troupes occupent, & particulièrement de la première ; car il dépend de celui qui en eſt le maître dans la conjoncture préſente, de faire échouer les deſſeins des Généraux ennemis, & de donner la loi aux Hollandois.

Il dépend auſſi de la Reine d'arrêter l'exécution des projets que Monſieur le Comte de Staremberg peut former du côté de la Catalogne, les troupes Angloiſes occupant préſentment Tarragone. Je ne doute pas, Monſieur, que le commandant n'ait des ordres bien précis de garder cette place ſans la remettre au pouvoir des Allemands, & rien n'empêchera qu'elle demeure entre les mains de ſa Majeſté Britannique juſqu'à ce que la paix ſoit conclue & ratifiée.

J'attends vos réponſes à la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire le 19me de ce mois, au ſujet de la ſuſpenſion par mer & par terre, à faire inceſſamment entre la France & l'Angleterre.

Le Roi a ſu depuis peu que les vaiſſeaux de l'eſcadre commandée par Monſieur l'Amiral Jennings, ſervoient actuellement à tranſporter les troupes & les chevaux que l'Archiduc fait paſſer du côté de Gennes en Catalogne. Sa Majeſté eſt perſuadée, que dans l'état où ſont les affaires, un pareil tranſport eſt abſolument contraire aux intentions de la Reine, & par conſéquent, que cette Princeſſe jugera néceſſaire d'envoyer inceſſamment ſes ordres pour le faire ceſſer.

Le

Le courier qu'elle dépêcheroit pour cet effet, gagneroit beaucoup de tems en paſſant par la France. Il en aura la liberté entière ſi vous voulez l'envoyer par cette voie.

Enfin, Monſieur, nous ſommes en de telles circonſtances qu'il ſemble qu'on ne doit plus chercher de part & d'autre que l'avantage réciproque des deux nations; ainſi le Roi n'héſite pas à propoſer à la Reine d'envoyer auſſi des ordres exprès, & par la voie la plus courte, aux vaiſſeaux Anglois partagés pour croiſer en différens endroits de la Méditerranée, de laiſſer paſſer librement les vaiſſeaux François, qui reviennent du Levant, dont pluſieurs doivent apporter des bleds en Provence.

Je vous ſupplie de croire, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

A Whitehall, le 17me Juillet, 1712.

DANS la dernière lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire, je vous ai marqué, Monſieur, que de tous les alliés, il n'y en avoit aucun dont les intérêts tenoient plus au cœur de la Reine, que ceux du Duc de Savoye, & qu'elle eſpéroit que le Roi Très Chrétien, de concert avec elle, ne négligeroit rien qui pourroit engager Son Alteſſe Royale à entrer dans toutes nos meſures pour la mettre à couvert de toute inſulte de la part de l'Empereur, lorſqu'elle y ſeroit entrée.

Je vous ai fait ſavoir dans la même lettre, que les différents par rapport à la barrière de ce Prince, ſe réduiſoient à quatre points, & que la Reine ſouhaitoit que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne voulut bien montrer de la facilité ſur des articles ſi peu importants à une puiſſance telle que la ſienne, & d'une auſſi grande conſéquence à ſon Alteſſe Royale, dont

dont le pays eſt plus ouvert que jamais par la démolition de tant de fortreſſes.

J'ai ajouté qu'il n'étoit de l'intérêt ni de la Grande Bretagne ni de la France, que le royaume de Sicile fût donné à la maiſon d'Autriche, que ſon Alteſſe Royale étoit le Prince ſur la tête duquel la Reine ſouhaitoit de voir placer cette couronne, qu'elle ne pouvoit ſe déſiſter de cette demande, qu'elle la propoſoit à ſon Alteſſe Royale comme une condition de la ſuſpenſion d'armes du côté d'Italie. Qu'elle lui faiſoit ſavoir que c'étoit un article ſur lequel je vous avois écrit par ſon ordre, & que le courier qui alloit à Turin paſſeroit par la France, de ſorte que les propoſitions que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne voudroit faire à ſon Alteſſe Royale, pourroient accompagner celles qui lui ſeroient faites d'ici. C'eſt ſur ce fondement que je vous écris, Monſieur, aujourd'hui, par ordre de la Reine.

Il n'eſt pas néceſſaire que j'explique toutes les raiſons qui ſervent à montrer combien il eſt important dans la conjoncture préſente d'avoir la concurrence du Duc de Savoye & dans la ſuſpenſion d'armes & dans le traité de paix, qui ſeront tous deux faits, ſelon les apparences, entre la Grande Bretagne, la France, & l'Eſpagne, ſans l'intervention des autres alliés. Ces raiſons ne vous échappent pas, & la Reine ſe perſuade que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne prendra la réſolution de s'aſſurer, ſans perte de tems, d'un Prince dont la déclaration ſera un coup de maître, & viendra d'autant plus à-propos, que la conduite du Roi de Pruſſe n'a point de tout répondu à ce que la Reine avoit lieu d'eſpérer de lui*.

Je ne vous parlerai plus ſur les diſputes ſurvenues ſur les demandes de ſon Alteſſe Royale qui regardent la France plus particulièrement.

* Bolingbroke had been very urgent with the King of Pruſſia's Envoy, Marſchalch, to gain the approval of his maſter to the plans of the Britiſh cabinet, but the continental engagements of Pruſſia prevailed, and the Prince of Anhalt, with his forces, joined Prince Eugene.

Ce Prince n'inſiſtera pas ſur des demandes qui ne ſont pas néceſſaires à la ſureté de ſes états; & la Reine ne doute pas que le Roi Très Chrétien ne lui accorde celles qui le ſont. Mais il y a deux autres articles, ſur leſquels il faut qu'il ſoit bien éclairci, pour le déterminer à prendre ſon parti ſans délai; & je me bornerai à vous communiquer ce que ſa Majeſté juge néceſſaire pour l'établiſſement du droit de ſon Alteſſe Royale, après le Roi Philippe & ſes deſcendans, à la couronne d'Eſpagne & des Indes, & pour aſſurer à ſa dite Alteſſe Royale la poſſeſſion du Royaume de Sicile.

Vous ſavez, Monſieur, que la Reine eſt convenue avec le Roi votre maître, qu'on tombera d'accord, dans le traité de paix futur, du Prince qui ſuccédera à la couronne d'Eſpagne après le Roi Philippe & ſes deſcendans; & que toutes les parties, mentionnées dans les articles propoſés pour une ſuſpenſion d'armes, conviendront par des actes authentiques de reconnoître tel Prince pour ſucceſſeur à la dite couronne: or, Monſieur, la Reine propoſe que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne déclare dès à cette heure, qu'elle reconnoît le droit de ſucceſſion du Duc de Savoye à l'Eſpagne & aux Indes, après le Roi Philippe & ſes deſcendans; qu'elle promette que tant le Roi Philippe, que les états d'Eſpagne le reconnoîtroient auſſi; que les Princes de France, & ſpécialement les Ducs de Berry & d'Orléans approuveront, ratifieront, & confirmeront tout ce qui ſera fait pour la reconnoiſſance du dit droit de ſucceſſion: que ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne promette de plus à ſon Alteſſe Royale, tant pour lui que pour le Roi Philippe, l'exécution de tout ce qui ſera trouvé néceſſaire pour aſſurer à ſa dite Alteſſe Royale, & à ſa famille, la ſucceſſion de la couronne d'Eſpagne & des Indes, après le ſuſdit Roi Philippe & ſes deſcendans; & particulièrement qu'elle s'engage que le Roi Philippe diſpenſera, de ſa propre volonté, & par ſon autorité royale, ſes ſujets de tous ſermens contraires qu'ils peuvent avoir prêtés, & qu'à ces fins il les révoquera & annullera de

même

même que toutes les déclarations, telles qu'elles ſoient, qu'il a faites en faveur de tout Prince de ſon ſang.

Le tems le plus propre pour l'exécution de ce qui eſt deſſus, paroît être celui auquel on eſt convenu que tout ce qui regarde l'article de la réunion des deux monarchies ſera accompli.

C'eſt auſſi dans ce tems-là, que la ceſſion de la Sicile, & de ſes dépendances, doit être faite par le Roi Philippe en faveur de ſon Alteſſe Royale; & ſa Majeſté propoſe au Roi Très Chrétien d'envoyer, dès à cette heure, des aſſurances fort préciſes à ſa dite Alteſſe Royale, que cette ceſſion ſe fera par un acte authentique dans toutes les formes requiſes; que par le même acte de ceſſion, le Roi Philippe déclarera qu'il tient le royaume de Sicile & ſes dépendances, pour, & au nom ſeulement, de ſa dite Alteſſe Royale, & qu'elle en pourra prendre la réelle poſſeſſion toutes fois, & quantes qu'il lui plaira en vertu du ſuſdit ſeul acte de ceſſion. Que le Roi Philippe diſpenſera, en même-tems, les Siciliens de tout ſerment de fidélité à ſon égard, & qu'il leur ordonnera de reconnoître ſa dite Alteſſe Royale pour leur Roi & Souverain légitime.

Que les galères & autres bâtimens appartenans à la Sicile, avec leurs équipages, ſeront cédés & relâchés à ſon Alteſſe Royale, avec le dit royaume; & que tous les titres, papiers, & documens, qui concernent le royaume de Sicile lui ſeront auſſi remis.

Sa Majeſté Très Chrétienne promettant à ſon Alteſſe Royale, comme la Reine le lui propoſe, les avantages & les ſuretés que je viens, Monſieur, de vous marquer, il n'y a pas lieu de douter que ce Prince ne ſuive d'abord l'exemple de la Grande Bretagne, & que la paix ne puiſſe être faite en très peu de tems, entre la Reine, le Roi Très Chrétien, le Roi d'Eſpagne, & le Duc de Savoye.

Dans ce traité l'on pourra inſérer des clauſes pour garantir ſon Alteſſe Royale dans la pleine jouiſſance du royaume de Sicile, & de ſes

dépendances; du droit de ſucceſſion à la couronne d'Eſpagne & des Indes, qu'on aura établi; & dans la poſſeſſion de tout ce qui lui a été cédé, ou dû être cédé en vertu du traité conclu à Turin, entre feu l'Empereur Léopold, & le dit Duc de Savoye, le 8me Novembre, 1703.

Je dois vous propoſer d'envoyer vos dépêches à Turin par le courier de la Reine, plutôt que par un des vôtres, cela donnera moins d'ombrage pour le préſent; pour l'avenir il eſt facile de prendre avec ſon Alteſſe Royale de telles meſures que vous puiſſiez lui envoyer l'homme de confiance qui devra avoir un plein pouvoir de traiter, & de conclure avec elle.

A Whitehall, ce 18me Juillet, 1712.

J'allois dépêcher ce courier quand j'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 26me de ce mois (N.S.) & dont j'ai fait la lecture à ſa Majeſté.

La Reine ne peut être que très ſenſiblement touchée de voir répandre le ſang, & continuer les malheurs de la guerre, dans une conjoncture où il ne tient qu'à ſes alliés de rétablir le repos de l'Europe; elle eſpère que l'avantage remporté par les troupes du Roi contribuera à vaincre une obſtination qui n'a point d'exemple, & j'ai ordre, Monſieur, de vous aſſurer, que ſa Majeſté ne négligera rien de tout ce qu'elle peut faire avec juſtice & avec honneur, pour mettre à la raiſon ces ennemis de la paix. La meſure la plus eſſentielle à cette fin eſt celle ſur laquelle cette lettre roule principalement, c'eſt à dire, d'engager ſon Alteſſe Royale à faire ſa paix avec la France & l'Eſpagne en même-tems que la Reine.

Quand je vous ai écrit ma dernière lettre du 12me de ce mois (V.S.) nous avons cru que Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond pourroit être obligé de ſe retirer du côté de Dunkerque. Il a mieux réuſſi; & la poſſeſſion de Gand & de Bruges aura ſans doute ſon effet, & ſervira à rendre tant les Impériaux que les Hollandois & les autres alliés plus raiſonnables.

J'ai.

J'ai déjà écrit à ce Général de ſe tenir ſur ſes gardes, & de bien conſerver les poſtes qu'il occupe.

Le deſſein de la Reine étoit de retirer immédiatement toutes les troupes Britanniques de la Catalogne, & de ne plus fournir, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le mander dans ma précédente, la moindre choſe aux frais de cette guerre. Les inſtructions de Monſieur le Duc d'Argyle ont été dreſſées dans cette vue, & il doit partir dans très peu de jours pour tenir la main à l'exécution des ordres que la Reine a trouvé à-propos de donner, pour finir la guerre en Eſpagne; le Duc paſſera par la France, & nous ne croyons pas qu'il ſoit néceſſaire qu'il attende un paſſeport. Il ſe rendra à Paris, & concertera avec vous l'uſage qu'on voudra faire de la conſervation de Terragon. En attendant, les ordres de la Reine ſont envoyés à Monſieur le Comte de Barrymore, Lieutenant-général, ou à l'Officier, tel qu'il pourra être, qui commandera en chef les troupes Britanniques en Catalogne, de tenir ſon corps uni, & de garder la ville de Terragon juſqu'à l'arrivée du Duc d'Argyle, ou juſqu'à nouvel ordre.

La Reine embraſſe avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction, l'occaſion qui ſe préſente de faire plaiſir au Roi; & des ordres poſitifs ſont envoyés à Monſieur l'Amiral Jennings, de laiſſer paſſer librement les vaiſſeaux François qui reviennent du Levant.

Vous jugez bien, Monſieur, que cet officier ne pouvoit avoir aucun ordre de refuſer une eſcorte aux troupes que l'Empereur pourroit faire paſſer de Gènes en Catalogne; mais tant cet Amiral que l'Envoyé de la Reine à Gènes, ont eu des ordres bien précis, il y a déjà quelque tems, de ne point louer de Vaiſſeaux, ou contribuer en aucune manière à ce tranſport. Ils recevront ſans perte de tems de nouvelles inſtructions ſur tout ce qu'ils auront à faire, & enfin, Monſieur, l'arrivée du Duc d'Argyle finira la guerre en Eſpagne.

Par votre courier, qui ſera dépêché Lundi au plus tard, je vous enverrai une cinquantaine de paſſeports en blanc, & je continuerai à

vous

dépendances; du droit de ſucceſſion à la couronne d'Eſpagne & des Indes, qu'on aura établi; & dans la poſſeſſion de tout ce qui lui a été cédé, ou dû être cédé en vertu du traité conclu à Turin, entre feu l'Empereur Léopold, & le dit Duc de Savoye, le 8me Novembre, 1703.

Je dois vous propoſer d'envoyer vos dépêches à Turin par le courier de la Reine, plutôt que par un des vôtres, cela donnera moins d'ombrage pour le préſent; pour l'avenir il eſt facile de prendre avec ſon Alteſſe Royale de telles meſures que vous puiſſiez lui envoyer l'homme de confiance qui devra avoir un plein pouvoir de traiter, & de conclure avec elle.

A Whitehall, ce 18me Juillet, 1712.

J'allois dépêcher ce courier quand j'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 26me de ce mois (N.S.) & dont j'ai fait la lecture à ſa Majeſté.

La Reine ne peut être que très ſenſiblement touchée de voir répandre le ſang, & continuer les malheurs de la guerre, dans une conjoncture où il ne tient qu'à ſes alliés de rétablir le repos de l'Europe; elle eſpère que l'avantage remporté par les troupes du Roi contribuera à vaincre une obſtination qui n'a point d'exemple, & j'ai ordre, Monſieur, de vous aſſurer, que ſa Majeſté ne négligera rien de tout ce qu'elle peut faire avec juſtice & avec honneur, pour mettre à la raiſon ces ennemis de la paix. La meſure la plus eſſentielle à cette fin eſt celle ſur laquelle cette lettre roule principalement, c'eſt à dire, d'engager ſon Alteſſe Royale à faire ſa paix avec la France & l'Eſpagne en même-tems que la Reine.

Quand je vous ai écrit ma dernière lettre du 12me de ce mois (V.S.) nous avons cru que Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond pourroit être obligé de ſe retirer du côté de Dunkerque. Il a mieux réuſſi; & la poſſeſſion de Gand & de Bruges aura ſans doute ſon effet, & ſervira à rendre tant les Impériaux que les Hollandois & les autres alliés plus raiſonnables.

J'ai,

J'ai déjà écrit à ce Général de ſe tenir ſur ſes gardes, & de bien conſerver les poſtes qu'il occupe.

Le deſſein de la Reine étoit de retirer immédiatement toutes les troupes Britanniques de la Catalogne, & de ne plus fournir, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le mander dans ma précédente, la moindre choſe aux frais de cette guerre. Les inſtructions de Monſieur le Duc d'Argyle ont été dreſſées dans cette vue, & il doit partir dans très peu de jours pour tenir la main à l'exécution des ordres que la Reine a trouvé à-propos de donner, pour finir la guerre en Eſpagne; le Duc paſſera par la France, & nous ne croyons pas qu'il ſoit néceſſaire qu'il attende un paſſeport. Il ſe rendra à Paris, & concertera avec vous l'uſage qu'on voudra faire de la conſervation de Terragon. En attendant, les ordres de la Reine ſont envoyés à Monſieur le Comte de Barrymore, Lieutenant-général, ou à l'Officier, tel qu'il pourra être, qui commandera en chef les troupes Britanniques en Catalogne, de tenir ſon corps uni, & de garder la ville de Terragon juſqu'à l'arrivée du Duc d'Argyle, ou juſqu'à nouvel ordre.

La Reine embraſſe avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction, l'occaſion qui ſe préſente de faire plaiſir au Roi; & des ordres poſitifs ſont envoyés à Monſieur l'Amiral Jennings, de laiſſer paſſer librement les vaiſſeaux François qui reviennent du Levant.

Vous jugez bien, Monſieur, que cet officier ne pouvoit avoir aucun ordre de refuſer une eſcorte aux troupes que l'Empereur pourroit faire paſſer de Gènes en Catalogne; mais tant cet Amiral que l'Envoyé de la Reine à Gènes, ont eu des ordres bien précis, il y a déjà quelque tems, de ne point louer de Vaiſſeaux, ou contribuer en aucune manière à ce tranſport. Ils recevront ſans perte de tems de nouvelles inſtructions ſur tout ce qu'ils auront à faire, & enfin, Monſieur, l'arrivée du Duc d'Argyle finira la guerre en Eſpagne.

Par votre courier, qui ſera dépêché Lundi au plus tard, je vous enverrai une cinquantaine de paſſeports en blanc, & je continuerai à

vous

vous en faire tenir par tous les couriers qui partiront d'ici; vous aurez la bonté de faire de même, ſelon la propoſition que vous m'avez faite dans votre lettre du 19me de ce mois (N.S.) & à laquelle la Reine a conſenti par ma lettre du 12me de ce mois, V.S.

Comme le courier qui vous remettra cette dépêche eſt chargé de celle qu'on envoie à Turin, auſſi-bien que des ordres de ſa Majeſté ci-deſſus mentionés à Monſieur l'Amiral Jennings, & au commandant des troupes Britanniques en Catalogne, je dois, Monſieur, vous prier de donner de tels ordres qu'il puiſſe faire ſa courſe dans le moins de tems qu'il ſera poſſible.

Je vous ſupplie de croire qu'on ne peut être plus parfaitement que je ſuis,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

B.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

My Lord,

Whitehall, July 18th, 1712.

FROM the other office your Lordſhip will receive an account of what is doing for the Duke of Savoy's intereſt, in order to keep him united to her Majeſty in thoſe meaſures, which the fury of a faction at home, and the obſtinacy of her allies abroad, will render abſolutely neceſſary.

You will almoſt as ſoon as this letter comes to your hands, receive in cypher a long detail of what has paſſed, and by that you will have as clear an image as I am able to convey of our preſent ſituation, and of the means by which we have been brought into it.

Since, according to that ſyſtem of politics by which our councils have for many years been guided, it is become evident that nothing can be expected but to continue a province to the alliance, it is high time to exert ourſelves, and to give the law, inſtead of ſubmitting to have it given.

To this end, nothing can contribute more than the raiſing the houſe of Savoy, and checking the power of that of Auſtria in Italy, which Britain will be much more able to do than ever, by the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Port Mahon; I may add, by the uſe which we ſhall make of Sicily. If that iſland had gone to the Emperor, as our wiſe miniſters once deſigned, it would have been uſed to mate our power in the Mediterranean, and the Dutch would have made ſome agreement of that kind. The Duke of Savoy will expect, on the other hand, to be ſupported by the maritime force of the Queen, from whoſe generoſity he receives the crown; and thus, I think, Great Britain may depend on making hereafter as great a figure in thoſe ſeas, as ſhe ever did in her own Channel.

May I not add, my Lord, that there ariſes a proſpect of changing the ſcene of future wars, and removing them to a greater diſtance from our Iſland, to a part of the world where we cannot well intervene, unleſs by our fleets, inſtead of running into the extravagant, ruinous ſcheme of maintaining armies on the continent?

The Marquis de St. Thomas *, will forward this expreſs to your Lordſhip wherever you are, and, I ſuppoſe, on the receipt of it, you will immediately repair to Turin?

Your Lordſhip may be aſſured, that in all ſituations either of public or private life, I will live up to the ſtricteſt rules of friendſhip with you, for whoſe perſon I have the warmeſt affection, and for whoſe cha-

* Firſt Miniſter of State to the Duke of Savoy.

racter

racter I have the trueſt eſteem. That opinion of your being in the ſecret of affairs, which your Lordſhip thinks neceſſary to be given to the foreign Miniſters, will of courſe follow from the part which you are going to act. Our circumſtances have been very unfortunate, and in this inſtance among others, that whilſt you was kept idle in a part of the world where there was a daily expectation of employing you, your Lordſhip's aſſiſtance has been wanting in other places.

I ſhall trouble you ſoon with a longer letter, and ſhall therefore add no more to this, but my ſincere wiſhes for your Lordſhip's welfare, and my aſſurances of being,

My Lord, your Lordſhip's, &c.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainbleau, le 28me Juillet, 1712.

LES lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 12-23me de ce mois, confirment parfaitement ce que vous avez écrit précédemment par ordre de la Reine, & le Roi ne doute pas, Monſieur, que l'effet ne ſuive bientôt les ordres que vous avez envoyés à Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne, ſoit pour convenir d'une ſuſpenſion générale par mer & par terre, ſoit pour conclure inceſſamment la paix particulière entre la France & l'Angleterre.

Il n'y aura point de motif plus preſſant pour inſpirer enfin à vos alliés, l'amour de la paix; lorſque le premier dépit commence à s'amortir, on fait ordinairement des réflexions plus ſérieuſes ſur l'avenir, & ceux qui s'oppoſent encore au rétabliſſement de la tranquillité publique, ont aujourd'hui bien de raiſons qui devroient les guerir de cette manie.

Mais

Mais en attendant que les corrections ſont leur effet, il eſt très néceſſaire de confirmer & d'aſſurer ſolidement, comme vous le propoſez, ce qui a été fait juſqu'à préſent pour parvenir à la paix entre la France & la Grande Bretagne. Et comme la ſuſpenſion générale par mer & par terre entre les deux nations eſt le premier pas à faire, le Roi conſent à tous les articles dont le détail eſt contenu dans votre lettre.

Sa Majeſté approuve auſſi les changemens que la Reine propoſe de faire à quelques-unes des conditions marquées dans la lettre que j'eus l'honneur de vous écrire le 19me de ce mois, & généralement toutes les obſervations que vous faites ſur le même ſujet, par ordre de ſa Majeſté Britannique : ainſi, Monſieur, le terme de dix ſemaines, que j'avois marqué pour les priſes qui ſeront faites dans la Mer Méditerranée, ſera réduit à ſix ſemaines, & l'on renfermera dans ce terme de dix ſemaines toutes les priſes faites tant depuis la Manche, les mers qui entourent les iſles Britanniques, & les Mers du Nord juſqu'au Cap St. Vincent, que depuis & au-delà de ce Cap juſqu'à la Ligne, ſoit dans l'océan ſoit dans la Mer Méditerranée.

Vous jugez bien, Monſieur, que l'intention du Roi n'a jamais été de prétendre que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne s'abſtint d'envoyer des troupes ou des munitions à Gibraltar & à Port Mahon ; elle fera certainement plaiſir aux Portugais & aux Allemands de contribuer à les retirer de la Catalogne, mais le Roi conſent qu'elle rende encore ce bon office à des alliés, qui ne méritent guères d'ailleurs la charité qu'elle a pour eux.

Vous gagnerez beaucoup de tems & vous procurerez un paſſage commode à Monſieur le Duc d'Argyle, ou à tel autre Officier que vous enverrez en Eſpagne pour l'exécution des ordres de la Reine, en les faiſant paſſer par la France ; j'eſpère avoir l'honneur de voir ici celui que ſa Majeſté Britannique dépêchera, & de lui offrir tous les ſervices qui dépendent de moi pour la facilité de ſon voyage.

Le Roi envoie un courier en Eſpagne pour informer le Roi Catholique, de toutes les meſures priſes avec ſa Majeſté Britannique. Vous pouvez compter que le blocus de Gibraltar ſera levé, & que la garniſon & les marchands de cette ville auront une entière liberté de vivre & de négocier avec les Eſpagnols.

Je m'attends auſſi, Monſieur, que le Roi recevra inceſſamment le projet de l'acte de renonciation que le Roi d'Eſpagne doit faire à la couronne de France, pour lui & pour ſes deſcendans. Vous ſavez qu'il a déclaré à ſes conſeils, la réſolution qu'il avoit priſe ſur ce ſujet & qu'elle a été reçue avec de grands applaudiſſemens.

L'acte de renonciation du Roi d'Eſpagne à la couronne de France ſera ſolennellement enrégîtré, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le mander, dans tous les Parlemens du royaume.

Ce ſont, Monſieur, les meſures que le Roi a priſes, & comme vous ſavez, de concert avec la Reine, pour établir ſolidement la ſéparation des monarchies de France & d'Eſpagne, & pour empêcher qu'elles ne ſoient jamais réunies ſur la tête du même Prince.

J'eſpère que le terme de deux mois ſuffira pour avoir la renonciation du Roi d'Eſpagne & pour la faire enrégîtrer dans les parlemens.

Il faudra plus de tems pour faire aſſembler les cortes de la Monarchie d'Eſpagne, mais le principal, & même l'eſſentiel eſt que la renonciation du Roi Catholique ſoit donnée & enrégîtrée en France dans les tribunaux où elle doit demeurer.

Quant à la prolongation de la ſuſpenſion d'armes, j'eſpère, Monſieur, qu'elle ne ſera pas néceſſaire, & qu'une bonne paix préviendra l'expiration du terme de deux mois. Il faut lever au plutôt toute incertitude ſur le rétabliſſement d'une parfaite intelligence entre la France & l'Angleterre, & l'on ne peut aſſez promptement terminer définitivement une affaire, dont la concluſion eſt deſirée & regardée comme avantageuſe de part & d'autre.

En attendant qu'elle puiſſe être conduite à ce point, le Roi me commande de vous envoyer vingt paſſeports, non-ſeulement pour les paquet-bots, que la Reine ſouhaite, avec raiſon, d'établir dès cette ſemaine de Dovre à Calais, mais encore pour d'autres vaiſſeaux Anglois à qui vous jugerez à-propos de les diſtribuer. Je vous prie auſſi, Monſieur, de m'envoyer le même nombre de paſſeports de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, afin que les François & les Anglois commencent à jouir du bien de la paix, avant qu'elle ſoit encore achevée.

Ces premiers effets d'une bonne intelligence feront peut-être ouvrir les yeux aux ennemis du repos public, & la crainte des ſuites d'une correſpondence parfaite peut les rendre plus dociles que toutes les bonnes raiſons, employées juſqu'à préſent inutilement, pour leur perſuader.

Le Roi juge, comme je vous l'ai déjà marqué, qu'il n'y en a point de plus forte, que de faire un bon uſage des villes que vous occupez dans les Pays-Bas. Ainſi ſa Majeſté croit que bien loin de rappeller en Angleterre Monſieur le Duc d'Ormond, & les troupes qu'il commande, il faut les laiſſer en Flandres juſqu'à ce que la paix générale ſoit faite.

Les ordres du Roi, contenans les conditions de la ſuſpenſion, furent envoyés à Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht, le 18me de ce mois; le courier ordinaire qui les portoit juſqu'à Valenciennes, quoique muni d'un paſſeport des ennemis, fut arrêté auprès de cette ville par quelque houſſards de l'armée de Monſeigneur le Prince Eugène; les lettres dont il étoit chargé furent priſes, & comme elles n'avoient pas encore été rendues il y a deux jours, ce retardement empêchera que Meſſieurs les Plénipotentiaires ne ſoient inſtruits des intentions de ſa Majeſté, lorſque ceux de la Reine recevront les ordres que vous leur avez envoyés. J'eſpère que le courier que le Roi me commande de leur dépêcher aujourd'hui, paſſera plus heureuſement, & que ce retardement ſera réparé.

Auſſitôt que la convention pour la ſuſpenſion générale par mer & par terre ſera ſignée, ſa Majeſté expédiera des bâtimens pour la faire publier dans toutes les colonies de l'Amérique. Elle compte auſſi, Monſieur, qu'il en ſera uſé de même de la part de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

Après vous avoir informé de tout ce que le Roi veut faire pour la ſatisfaction de ſa Majeſté Britannique, je voudrois pouvoir paſſer ſous ſilence l'article qui regarde Monſeigneur le Duc de Savoye, car il eſt preſque impoſſible que les refus ne ſoient déſagréables & à celui qui les fait, & à celui qui les reçoit. Je vous aſſure, Monſieur, que la Reine n'y ſeroit pas expoſée, ſi les demandes qu'elle fait en faveur de ce Prince n'étoient directement contraires aux intérêts, à la juſtice, & à l'honneur du Roi.

Ce ſeroit ouvrir le royaume, en donner les clefs à Monſeigneur le Duc de Savoye, & laiſſer le Dauphiné à ſa diſpoſition, que de lui abandonner ce qu'il demande au delà du Rhône, Briançon, & le fort Barraux. Prenez la peine, Monſieur, d'examiner ſeulement la carte du pays, & vous jugerez vous-même, ſi ſa Majeſté pourroit, avec ſureté pour ſes provinces, accorder de pareilles prétenſions.

Il ſeroit contre la juſtice de tranſiger du bien de Monſeigneur le Prince de Monaco, en cédant les droits qui lui ont toujours appartenus ſur Menton & ſur Roquebrune, & ce ſeroit le livrer au reſſentiment que Monſieur le Duc de Savoye conſerve depuis long-tems contre lui, que de retirer la garniſon Françoiſe de Monaco, au préjudice des traités, pour y laiſſer entrer une garniſon Piémontoiſe, & donner à Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, un moyen facile d'exercer pleinement ſa vengeance.

Outre ces conſidérations, on doit regarder Monaco comme un poſte dont le Roi doit conſerver la garde pour la ſureté de la Provence.

Monſieur le Duc de Savoye connoît trop l'importance de ces places pour eſpérer que ſa Majeſté les lui cède ; & je puis vous aſſurer, Mon-

ſieur, qu'en même-tems qu'il les repréſente à la Reine comme peu conſidérable, il n'inſiſte pour les obtenir, que dans l'eſpérance qu'il a que la Sicile lui ſera donnée comme une eſpèce d'équivalent.

Mais vous ſavez quels ſont les engagemens du Roi avec l'Electeur de Bavière, & ſa Majeſté a trop bonne opinion des Miniſtres de la Grande Bretagne, pour croire qu'aucun d'eux la preſſe d'agir contre ſa parole & contre ſon honneur. Elle a jugé que la Reine, inſtruite de ſes intentions ſur la Sicile, n'avoit d'autre vue pour les avantages de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, que de le ſubſtituer, lui & ſes deſcendans, au Roi d'Eſpagne & aux deſcendans de ſa Majeſté Catholique, ſi malheureuſement ils venoient à manquer dans la ſuite de tems ; mais jamais le Roi n'a pu ſe perſuader que le deſſein de la Reine fût d'ôter en même-tems, à l'Electeur de Bavière les Pays-Bas que le Roi d'Eſpagne lui a cédés, & le royaume de Sicile que ſa Majeſté regardoit comme un dédommagement de ces provinces. Si l'Electeur étoit obligé de les abandonner pour le bien de la paix, il eſt également de l'intérêt de la France & de l'Angleterre, que le royaume de Sicile ne retombe pas au pouvoir de la maiſon d'Autriche, mais il eſt de l'honneur du Roi que l'Electeur de Bavière ſoit dédommagé, & ſa Majeſté y eſt obligée par les engagemens qu'elle a pris avec ce Prince.

Il faut donc de deux choſes l'une : ou que l'Electeur de Bavière obtienne, par la paix, la propriété & la poſſeſſion des Pays-Bas, tels qu'ils lui ont été cédés par le Roi d'Eſpagne, outre la reſtitution de ſon électorat, ou bien que le royaume de Sicile lui ſoit donné comme un équivalent des Pays-Bas.

Dans le premier cas, le Roi ſe feroit fort d'obtenir du Roi d'Eſpagne la ceſſion de la Sicile en faveur de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye. Sans cette condition, ſa Majeſté eſt engagée à procurer la Sicile à l'Electeur, comme elle s'en eſt expliquée il y a long-tems à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

Si vous dites, Monſieur, qu'il n'eſt pas au pouvoir de ſa Majeſté Britannique d'aſſurer les Bays-Bas à l'Electeur de Bavière, vous me permettrez de vous répondre, que ce Prince eſt déjà maître de Luxembourg, de Namur, de Charleroy, & de Nieuport; que Monſieur le Duc d'Ormonde eſt en Flandres avec une bonne armée; qu'il ne tient qu'à la Reine d'avoir des troupes dans Gand & dans Bruges, comme elle en a déjà dans Dunkerque. Que l'Electeur de Bavière conſentira volontiers de voir ces places gardées par les troupes Angloiſes.

Ainſi, la Sicile ſeroit donnée à Monſieur le Duc de Savoye; mais il eſt néceſſaire de vous avertir que l'incertitude de la deſtinée de ce royaume, donne préſentement à la maiſon d'Autriche de nouvelles armes pour le faire ſoulever.

L'agitation eſt grande dans cette île; & les Siciliens, actuellement inquiets, ſe porteront facilement à quelque réſolution favorable aux Allemands, ſi l'on ne décide promptement du Prince à qui ce royaume doit appartenir.

Vous jugerez aiſément, Monſieur, que, les choſes en cet état, je ne pourrai rien écrire à Turin par le courier que vous devez faire paſſer par la France. Il y auroit, ce me ſemble, d'autres avantages à procurer à Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, du côté du Milanès, & l'opiniâtreté de la Cour de Vienne devroit y donner lieu. Songez-y, s'il vous plaît, ſongez auſſi que la Reine a déjà beaucoup fait pour des alliés ingrats, qu'il ſeroit de ſa gloire de contribuer au bonheur d'un Prince plein de mérite tel que l'Electeur de Bavière, & dont la reconnoiſſance égalera certainement les bienfaits qu'il recevra.

Je vous demande pardon d'une auſſi longue lettre, & je vous prie de croire qu'on ne peut être plus abſolument que je ſuis,

Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

De

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainbleau, le 28me Juillet, 1712.

COMME on ne peut finir trop promptement les affaires dont la concluſion eſt également ſouhaitée de part & d'autre, le Roi a jugé que ce ſeroit un moyen d'abréger l'affaire de la ſuſpenſion, que de vous envoyer le traité tout dreſſé, & que ſa Majeſté m'a commandé de ſigner. Si la Reine approuve cet expédient, elle aura la bonté de donner ſes ordres pour le faire ſigner auſſi en ſon nom. Ainſi, Monſieur, je vous envoyerois la ratification du Roi ſur l'exemplaire que je recevrois de vous, par le retour du courier que je vous dépêche, & par ce moyen, on avanceroit de pluſieurs jours la publication & l'exécution de la ſuſpenſion.

Le Roi laiſſe, donc, à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne à décider ſi ce traité doit être ſigné de la manière que je vous le propoſe, ou bien à Utrecht. Je crois que vous ne trouverez pas de difficulté ſur les conditions, car j'ai ſuivi très exactement ce que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire par votre dernière lettre.

Je vous ſupplie de croire que je ſuis,

Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

J'ai laiſſé en blanc l'eſpace de tems que doit durer la ſuſpenſion, le Roi remettant à la Reine de le remplir. Il paroît cependant néceſſaire d'obſerver, qu'une ſuſpenſion de deux mois ſeulement n'auroit point de rapport avec les termes qu'on ſtipule pour la reſtitution réciproque des effets qui ſeront pris ſur mer. Si la Reine veut que le traité que je

vous

vous envoie, Monſieur, ſoit ſigné à Londres, ainſi que le Roi m'a commandé de le ſigner ici, je vous ſupplie, outre l'exemplaire que je vous demande pour y mettre ma ſignature, de m'envoyer auſſi, en même-tems, la ratification de ſa Majeſté Britannique; auſſi-tôt que je l'aurai reçue, je vous enverrai la ratification du Roi par un courier.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

Fontainbleau, le 28me Juillet, 1712.

JE n'ai pas voulu, Monſieur, mêler dans les lettres d'affaire le compliment très ſincère que je vous fais ſur la juſtice que la Reine a bien voulu faire aux ſervices importants que vous lui rendez. J'oſe vous aſſurer que perſonne n'y ſauroit être plus ſenſible que je ſuis, & ne ſouhaite d'avantage que cette grâce ſoit ſuivie de toutes les récompences que vous méritez. Vous le devez attendre, Monſieur, d'une Princeſſe auſſi éclairée, qui connoît auſſi parfaitement votre zèle pour ſa gloire, & votre capacité.

Je vous ſupplie auſſi de croire que je m'intéreſſerai toujours à votre ſatisfaction, auſſi véritablement que je ſuis,

Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

J'eſpère que Monſieur Calandrin me rendra juſtice auprès de vous, Monſieur. Il ſait que je n'omets rien pour faire terminer ſes affaires; il ſait auſſi, qu'on eſt bien diſpoſé à lui faire plaiſir, & j'eſpère qu'enfin les effets répondront aux bonnes intentions.

A Mon-

A Monſieur de Torcy.

De Whitehall, ce 21me Juillet, 1712.

ON ne peut pas être plus ſenſible que je ſuis, Monſieur, à toutes vos bontés, & je vous rends mes très humbles grâces, de ce que vous prenez ſi obligéamment part à l'honneur que la Reine vient de me faire.

Il n'y a rien que je ſouhaite plus que de mériter votre eſtime, & de la manière dont je ſuis fait, l'amitié d'un homme comme vous, me ſera plus chère que tous les titres du monde. C'eſt de quoi je vous prie d'être perſuadé auſſi-bien que de la vérité avec laquelle je fais profeſſion d'être, Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

B.

Monſieur Calandrini eſt trop heureux d'avoir trouvé un protecteur auſſi généreux & auſſi puiſſant que vous. Son cœur eſt pénétré de toutes vos bontés. J'eſpère qu'enfin les effets répondront à vos bonnes intentions, ce qu'il y a de ſûr c'eſt que je vous en aurai une obligation éternelle.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Whitehall, ce 21me Juillet, 1712.

J'AI reçu hier au ſoir, par la Vigne, l'honneur de votre lettre du 28me de ce mois, N.S. Comme j'allois dans ce tems-à la cour, j'ai voulu y mener avec moi l'Abbé Gaultier, afin qu'il pût voir lui-même l'effet qu'elle produiroit.

Je vous puis assurer, Monsieur, que jamais lettre n'a produit deux effets plus différents.

La Reine a vu avec la plus grande satisfaction du monde que la suspension d'armes étoit réglée, & pouvoit être dans peu de jours publiée, ce qu'elle regarde comme le moyen le plus efficace de rendre particulièrement les Etats-Généraux dociles, & d'augmenter dans ce pays-ci le nombre de ceux qui souhaitent la paix : de l'autre côté sa Majesté a vu avec beaucoup de surprise & de regret, que le Roi Très Chrétien insiste à l'heure qu'il est, ou que les Pays-Bas Catholiques soient cédés au ci-devant Electeur de Bavière, ou que ce Prince soit fait Roi de Sicile.

La première proposition ne peut avoir lieu ; puisque dans les offres que vos Ministres ont faites à Utrecht, & dans le plan de la paix générale que vous avez dressé sur ce qui s'est passé entre Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de la Grande Bretagne & ceux de la France, il est dit, que les Pays-Bas Catholiques hors ce qui en restera au Roi, & l'exception de Gueldre, appartiendront en propriété à la maison d'Autriche ; & puisqu'il faudroit absolument recommencer une nouvelle guerre pour obliger les Impériaux & les Hollandois à y consentir.

Le ci-devant Electeur de Bavière est maître de Luxembourg, de Namur, de Charleroi, & de Nieuport, il ne tient qu'à la Reine d'avoir des troupes dans Gand, & dans Bruges ; mais, Monsieur, les Etats-Généraux sont en possession de tout le reste de ces provinces : l'armée des alliés est très considérable, tant par le nombre que par la bonté de ses troupes, & l'échec qu'elle vient de recevoir au camp de Denain, ne la mettra pas hors d'état de défendre les conquêtes qu'elle a faites, quand elle étoit renforcée & soutenue par la Reine. Enfin, Monsieur, il ne convient ni à l'honneur ni aux intérêts de sa Majesté de faire la guerre contre ses alliés, tout ingrats qu'ils aient été, en faveur d'un Prince dont elle a plaint le sort, & pour lequel elle croit avoir assez

fait en promettant d'inſiſter que par le traité de paix, une partie de ſes états, qu'il a tous perdus par les armes, lui ſoit rendue.

La ſeconde propoſition a été à la vérité faite dans le plan dont je viens de parler, mais la Reine, bien loin d'y conſentir, n'a jamais pu ſe perſuader que cet article ſeroit capable d'accrocher la négociation. Vous me renvoyez, Monſieur, à la carte, ſur un autre ſujet : permettez-moi, s'il vous plaît, de vous y renvoyer ſur celui-ci. Jettez-y ſeulement l'œil, & vous ne manquerez pas de tomber d'accord qu'il y a une très grande incompatibilité dans la propoſition de donner au même Prince, le royaume de Sicile, & l'électorat de Bavière ; une telle diſpoſition cauſeroit des jalouſies continuelles, & deviendroit une ſource de diſputes & de querelles, particulièrement entre ces nations dont l'union étroite & l'amitié indiſſoluble ſont les points de vue auxquels nous avons dirigé nos meſures depuis ſi long-tems.

Les Miniſtres de la Reine ſont bien éloignés de ſouhaiter que le Roi agiſſe contre ſa parole, & contre ſon honneur ; mais, Monſieur, après avoir fait pour ſon allié tous les efforts qu'il peut raiſonnablement exiger, il faut faire quelque choſe pour l'amour de la paix, & il faut que l'intérêt d'un particulier cède à l'intérêt général de l'Europe. Vous ſentirez, ſans doute, la force de cet argument, puiſque vous n'ignorez pas que cette négociation a été commencée & continuée ſur la ſuppoſition que la Reine devoit ſe relâcher de pluſieurs conditions qu'à la rigueur elle étoit obligée de procurer pour ſes alliés.

Je ne vous ennuierai plus, Monſieur, par de longs raiſonnemens. Vous voyez auſſi-bien que moi, de quelle conſéquence il eſt dans la conjoncture préſente, que la paix ſoit faite entre la Grande Bretagne, la France, & l'Eſpagne. Les ſages diſpoſitions de la Providence ont rendu praticable ce qu'on n'auroit pas oſé eſpérer il y quelque tems ; ſervons-nous de l'occaſion, & ne perdons pas le fruit de tous nos travaux.

Il y auroit beaucoup à dire ſur la barrière demandée par Monſieur le Duc de Savoye. Sa Majeſté eſt perſuadée que la France ne peut avoir rien à craindre de ce Prince ; mais il eſt évident qu'à moins qu'on ne lui a déjà offert, il y aura beaucoup à craindre pour lui. La Reine eſt bien éloignée de vouloir l'aggrandir du côté de la France, & aux dépens de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne ; elle ne veut que ſa ſureté, & elle ne doute point que cette ſureté ne puiſſe être établie à la ſatisfaction réciproque du Roi & de ſon Alteſſe Royale, dans le traité de paix qui ſe fera avec elle, auquel traité la diſcuſſion ultérieure de ces points peut être renvoyée ; mais, Monſieur, j'ai ordre de vous dire que la Reine ne veut pas en aucune façon ſe départir de ce qu'elle a propoſé au Roi dans ma lettre du 17 & 18 de ce mois, V.S. touchant le droit de ſon Alteſſe Royale, après le Roi Philippe & ſes deſcendans, à la couronne d'Eſpagne & des Indes ; & touchant la ceſſion immédiate du royaume de Sicile à ſa dite Alteſſe Royale, elle inſiſte & elle inſiſtera toujours là-deſſus ; & après tout ce qu'elle a fait, & tout ce qu'elle doit faire pour aſſurer la concluſion de la paix générale, elle croit devoir s'attendre à une telle facilité de la part de ſa Majeſté Très Chrétienne.

Vous m'avez ſouvent répété, Monſieur, qu'il n'y a point de tems à perdre : j'en tombe d'accord avec vous ; mais nous en perdrons, & nous continuerons à en perdre, juſqu'à ce que ce point ſoit réglé. Nos Plénipotentiaires à Utrecht reſteront dans l'inaction ; le voyage du Duc d'Argyle, qui devoit partir pour l'Eſpagne, & concerter avec vous en y paſſant les moyens néceſſaires pour finir tout d'un coup la guerre dans ce pays-là, ſera différé ; les ordres qui devoient être envoyés demain à Monſieur le Chevalier Jennings, qui commande la flotte de ſa Majeſté dans la Méditerranée, ſeront remis à une autre fois ; & enfin ce tranſport de troupes de la côté de Gènes en Catalogne, dont vous vous plaignez, ſe continuera.

J'attendrai

J'attendrai avec impatience le retour de la Vigne, renvoyez-le s'il vous plaît, Monſieur, avec la dernière diligence, afin que nous ſâchions de part & d'autre à quoi nous tenir.

Il ne ſeroit nullement à propos que les dépêches, dont mon courier qui partit d'ici Samedi paſſé, étoit chargé, allaſſent à Turin, c'eſt pourquoi, Monſieur, je vous ſupplie de lui faire rendre l'ordre ci-inclus, en cas que vous l'ayez retenu ; & ſi par malheur il eût continué ſon voyage ayez la bonté d'envoyer le même ordre après lui par un de vos couriers, qui ſâchant la langue, & connoiſſant mieux la route, ne manquera pas de l'attraper.

Vous avez raiſon, Monſieur, quand vous dites qu'il eſt impoſſible que le refus ne ſoit déſagréable & à celui qui les fait & à celui qui les reçoit. Je n'ai jamais reçu de lettre qui m'a fait plus de peine que celle qui m'a été rendue hier de votre part, & je vous aſſure que je n'en ai jamais écrite avec moins de plaiſir que celle-ci. Je ſuis,

Monſieur, votre, &c.

B.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Whitehall, July 23rd, 1712.

THE other diſpatch contains ſuch matters of buſineſs, as I am directed to write to your Grace upon; this private letter comes only to return you my moſt humble thanks for your obliging compliment. I am like a man on a cheſs-board, and her Majeſty may remove me as ſhe thinks beſt for her game. In the Houſe of Commons, I did the beſt ſervice I could. In the Houſe of Lords my zeal will be the ſame; but that to me is a new world, and, I hope my friends will ſhow

me the way in it. Lady Tug has a great deal of merit, and for her ſake, I hope a favourable report from your Grace will procure a favourable anſwer from the Queen.

I never doubted Mr. Roſs*, he is a man of honour, and I have taken occaſion, from your Grace's letter, to do him juſtice to the Queen, who will be brought, I hope, at laſt, to take ſuch meaſures as may make the army her own. Nothing can contribute more to this end than juſt diſtinctions, and ſteady management.

I am ever, with the trueſt reſpect,

Your Grace's, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

My Lord,

Whitehall, July 23rd, 1712.

I OWN to your Lordſhip, that your letter of the 26th, brought me by Barton from the army, gave me a great deal of uneaſineſs.

I do ſo much juſtice to your merit upon every occaſion, and have a heart ſo warm with zeal for your ſervice, and affection to your perſon, that whenever you ſeem but to doubt thereof, or to take umbrage at any looſe expreſſion which falls, perhaps too negligently, from my pen, I own I am thoroughly ſhocked. You and I, my Lord, have been fellow-labourers in the moſt neceſſary, but at the ſame time, the moſt difficult and perilous negociation, that has ever been carried on. I flatter myſelf that you have diſcovered conſtancy in my proceedings, and firmneſs and ſincerity in my temper. Depend upon it, the ſame character ſhall be ſupported by me in my private life, and I will be as reſolutely true to the intereſt of my friend, as to that of my country.

* Lieutenant-general Roſs, ſoon afterwards appointed Ambaſſador to Verſailles.

Your

Your merit in all the late tranſactions at the army, every creature ſees and acknowledges; and I need not mention the reaſon why I was much more careful in penning my compliment to the Duke of Ormond, than to your Lordſhip: but enough of this; be aſſured, once for all, that in me you have a faithful ſervant, and that no danger, no actual misfortune, could be able to ſeparate me from your Lordſhip.

I am to thank you, my Lord, for the very kind part which you took in the honour her Majeſty was lately pleaſed to confer upon me. It would ill become the friendſhip I profeſs to you, if I did not naturally own what paſſes in my ſoul upon this ſubject, and confeſs to you, what I will do to no one elſe, that my promotion was a mortification to me. In the Houſe of Commons, I may ſay, that I was at the head of buſineſs, and I muſt have continued ſo, whether I had been in court or out of court. There was therefore nothing to flatter my ambition in removing me from thence, but giving me the title which had been many years in my family, and which reverted to the crown about a year ago, by the death of the laſt of the elder houſe *. To make me a peer was no great compliment, when ſo many others were forced to be made to gain a ſtrength in Parliament; and ſince the Queen wanted me below ſtairs in the laſt ſeſſion, ſhe could do no leſs than make me a Viſcount, or I muſt have come in the rear of ſeveral whom I was not born to follow. Thus far, there ſeems to be nothing done for my ſake, or as a mark of favour to me in particular; and yet farther, her Majeſty would not go without a force, which never ſhall be uſed by me. I own to you that I felt more indignation than ever in my life I had done; and the only conſideration which kept me from running to extremities, was that which ſhould have inclined ſomebody to uſe me better †. I knew that any appearance of breach between myſelf and

* The Earldom, granted in 1624, and extinct 1711.

† Harley, in his Brief Account, ſays, when the creation of Peers took place, December, 1711, it was propoſed to the Secretary that if he would be content to remain in the Houſe of Commons that ſeſſion, her Majeſty would create him a Peer, and that he ſhould not loſe his rank.

the

the Lord Treaſurer, would give our common enemies ſpirit, and that if I declined ſerving at this conjuncture, the home part of the buſineſs would, at leaſt for ſometime, proceed but lamely. To friendſhip therefore, and the public good, if I may be pardoned ſo vain an expreſſion, I ſacrificed my private reſentment, and remain clothed with as little of the Queen's favour as ſhe could contrive to beſtow.

The other diſpatch contains all that can ſerve to give your Lordſhip light into our preſent ſituation. I ſhall therefore ſay no more upon that head but this, that it appears evidently to be the intereſt of the Queen, as well as of France, to make uſe of the ill-behaviour of the allies, and to ſettle our affairs before they come to cry *peccavimus*, and to beg the Queen's interceſſion, which ſhe cannot refuſe without reluctancy, nor grant without prejudice.

It is a melancholy conſideration that the laws of our country are too weak to puniſh effectually thoſe factious ſcribblers, who preſume to blacken the brighteſt characters, and to give even ſcurrilous language to thoſe who are in the firſt degrees of honour. This, my Lord, among others, is a ſymptom of the decayed condition of our government, and ſerves to ſhow how fatally we miſtake licentiouſneſs for liberty. All I could do was to take up Hurt, the printer, to ſend him to Newgate, and to bind him over upon bail to be proſecuted; this I have done, and if I can arrive at legal proof againſt the author, Ridpath, he ſhall have the ſame treatment*.

* Hurt was bailed; Redpath, the editor of the Flying Poſt, was taken up a few days after. It appears by a letter of the former, that to make his peace with Government, he promiſed to ſend the communications he ſhould receive from the country, to the Secretary's office. In the following year, a Mr. Bonet offered propoſals for a patent to the following effect: to have the ſole liberty of printing all advertiſements, except ſuch as ſhall be printed in the London Gazette; he alledges that the profit ariſing from advertiſements, is the great encouragement to printers of newſpapers, and that if that benefit were taken from them, moſt of them would ceaſe to print, by which means a great deal of ſcandalous reflections, &c. would be prevented. He propoſes to print every day a paper called the Daily Advertiſer, the price of each advertiſement 3s. 6d. viz. 1s for the duty, and 2s. 6d. for the publiſher. Bonet's paper is dated 19 Auguſt, 1713.

The Queen went yeſterday to Hampton Court, and I think goes this day to Windſor. She is in perfect health; God grant ſhe may long continue ſo: for my own part, I ſee nothing but confuſion after her. Mr. Harley is very ſparing of his letters, but by what he does write, I do not perceive that he makes any great progreſs in couching the eyes of the blindeſt court in Europe.

Adieu, my dear Lord, I am, and ever will be, unalterably, your Lordſhip's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

To the Lord Privy Seal.

My Lord, Whitehall, July 23rd, 1712.

I MOST heartily thank your Lordſhip for the favourable thoughts which you are pleaſed to entertain of me, and for the part you take in the honour which her Majeſty has lately done me. I knew a little of the Houſe of Commons, but the Houſe of Lords is a new ſcene, and I muſt hope for the charitable aſſiſtance of my friends and fellow-ſervants to guide me through it.

Your Lordſhip will very well underſtand, by what is ſaid in my public diſpatch, the ſenſe of the Queen in relation to her allies, and in relation to the utility of making her peace, without ſtaying till they repent, and ſhe conſequently become again embarraſſed by their pretenſions.

It is, my Lord, moſt certain, that if we take advantage of the unjuſtifiable conduct of theſe Princes, and make a ſaving of all the arrears due to them, as well as the growing pay of their troops, we ſhall open the next ſeſſion in ſo popular a manner, as to render it extremely ſhort and eaſy. Whereas, ſhould we yield to pay theſe demands, we ſhall

involve ourſelves in great difficulties, and occaſion among our beſt and ſureſt friends infinite diſcontent.

I confeſs to your Lordſhip that there is another reaſon, which has very great weight with me, and the ſame with my Lord Treaſurer, why we ſhould take advantage of what has happened at the army, and ſtick to the declaration made in the Queen's name to the foreign Miniſters, and that is this: among other misfortunes brought upon us by the ſanguine manner in which we began this war, and the raſh deſperate councils which carried it on, there is none greater than many impolitic, nay even contradictory engagements and guaranties, wherein the crown was from time to time ſcandalouſly dipped, in order to get over ſuch as aroſe, and related more to other people than to us; or in order to raiſe the reputation, and increaſe the profit of particular men, at the expence of pawning the crown, which I take ſomewhat more infamous than ſtealing it, as Blood attempted to do. Now, my Lord, the higher the Queen's reſentment is at this time carried, the longer ſhe holds off from being pacified, the better opportunity ſhe has to free herſelf from theſe ſhackles, and particularly to put herſelf on a foot of purſuing, as to the Northern affairs, the true intereſt of Britain, of the Proteſtant cauſe, and indeed of Europe.

I only touch theſe things, I need ſay no more to one who knows them ſo well as your Lordſhip, and I hope you will excuſe me from ſaying ſo much.

Surely, my Lord, what you did towards moderating the duties on the four ſpecies can have no ill effect, and muſt have the ſame good one as the reſt of your conduct ſince you have been in Holland will have, that, I mean, of throwing thoſe mad politicians ſo much more in the wrong.

I hope the courier diſpatched with my laſt letter to Monſieur de Torcy, will return on Saturday; my opinion is, he will bring us a

ſatisfactory

ſatisfactory anſwer, and in this caſe, the ſuſpenſion of arms will immediately take place, and I hope our peace will be immediately ſigned.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Harley.

SIR,

Whitehall, July 23rd, 1712.

YOUR letter of the 21ſt, N.S. came to my hands on the 19th, O.S. by Couchman, and her Majeſty is very well pleaſed to find the Electoral family ſo juſt to her, as to acknowledge in a manner becoming them, her care of their intereſt. I am ſorry to hear, but not ſurprized, that the Elector's anſwers, when he condeſcends to give any, concerning the peace, are ſuch as his miniſter uſed to honour me with. It is to be hoped, that he will not long reſiſt that conviction, which the truth you do not fail to tell him carries along with it. But be that as it will, her Majeſty purſues, and will continue to purſue the true intereſt, ſo long neglected, and even ſacrificed, of her own kingdoms in the firſt place, and that of her allies, as far forth as they will ſuffer her, in the ſecond.

Surely you judged very rightly in applying yourſelf to the Elector, and not to his miniſters, who are not famous for much capacity, and and who are under the farther diſadvantage of being blinded by prejudice.

As to your return, my Lord Treaſurer has taken that matter out of my hands, and has promiſed to write to you upon it by the next poſt. I underſtood that it was not his intention you ſhould continue in that country, after the Elector goes to the Ghenre *.

* Thus in the copy, it probably ſhould be the Göhrde.

I recommend my brother to your protection, and have directed him to return home when you do.

I cannot help adding, that we ought to be better or worſe with the court of Hanover than we are.

De Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainbleau, le 4me d'Août, 1712.

JE reçus hier, par un de vos couriers, les lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire les 17-28me Juillet ; & ce matin celle du 21me Juillet.....1me Août, m'a été rendue par le courier que je vous avois dépêché le 26me, & que vous m'avez renvoyé avec la Vigne.

Si ma lettre du 28me vous a fait de la peine, je vous aſſure, Monſieur, que je n'en ai pas moins de voir par la réponſe, que les intérêts étrangers arrêtent la concluſion de la paix, dans le tems qu'elle paroiſſoit auſſi prochaine qu'infallible. Je ne pouvois craindre un naufrage à la vue du port, & malgré les nouvelles difficultés, j'eſpère encore que la réponſe que j'attends de vous, Monſieur, à la lettre que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire aujourd'hui, nous conſolera, vous & moi, du chagrin que nos deux dernières lettres nous ont cauſé réciproquement.

Il faut, pour cet effet, contenter la Reine ſur l'article de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, mais il eſt néceſſaire auſſi qu'elle conſidère les engagemens du Roi envers l'Electeur de Bavière, & qu'elle facilite à ſa Majeſté les moyens de ſatisfaire à la parole qu'elle a donnée à un allié, dont la fidelité ne peut recevoir aucune reproche, & qui depuis pluſieurs années ſeroit privé de ſes états pour avoir accompli ſes promeſſes.

Il eſt vrai, Monſieur, qu'il faut faire quelque choſe pour l'amour de la

la paix, & qu'il eſt juſte que l'intérêt particulier cède à l'intérêt général de l'Europe ; mais vous ne diſconviendrez pas auſſi, que le Roi n'ait ſenti la force de cet argument. Les ceſſions que ſa Majeſté a faites, en ſont des preuves, ajoutez-y ce qu'elle offre encore pour la paix générale, la renonciation du Roi d'Eſpagne, le nombre & la conſidération des états qu'il veut abandonner, les aſſurances poſitives & réelles que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne a reçues de la ſincérité du Roi, avant que d'avoir elle-même pris aucun engagement. Vous avouerez, Monſieur, que jamais Monarque n'a tant fait pour l'amour de la paix, ni porté auſſi loin les facilités pour le rétabliſſement du repos général de l'Europe.

Sa Majeſté n'a déguiſé ni ſes engagemens ni ſes intentions, pour l'Electeur de Bavière. Vous rappellerez, Monſieur, le plan de la paix générale qui a été dreſſé par ordre du Roi. Vous y trouverez que lorſque la Sicile a été demandée pour la maiſon d'Autriche par Meſſieurs vos Plénipotentiaires, le Roi a répondu que ce royaume étoit le ſeul dédommagement que cet Electeur peut obtenir, s'il étoit obligé de ſe déſiſter de la ceſſion qui lui a été faite des Pays-Bas, & que ſa Majeſté auſſi-bien que le Roi d'Eſpagne, s'étoient engagés à lui donner un dédommagement de ſes pertes, que ce ſeroit donc à condition d'avoir la Sicile qu'il céderoit ſes droits ſur les Pays-Bas Eſpagnols ; qu'il conſentiroit auſſi, ſous la même condition, à laiſſer à l'Electeur Palatin, ſa vie durant, & après lui au Prince Charles de Neubourg ſon frère, le haut Palatinat, avec la dignité & le rang de premier Electeur, parce que le titre de Roi effaceroit ce qu'il y auroit d'injurieux dans la perte que l'Electeur de Bavière feroit du premier rang qu'il occupoit dans le Collége Electoral.

Voilà, Monſieur, ce que porte le plan que vous avez cité, & que je ne rappelle à mon tour que pour vous faire voir que le Roi n'a point varié ſur les articles qu'il contient. L'Abbé Gaultier doit vous avoir

dit

dit pluſieurs fois, que ſa Majeſté en ayant bien peſé toutes les conditions, ne ſe relâcheroit ſur aucune, & qu'elle croyoit donner à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, une marque particulière de ſa confiance, en lui dépoſant le ſecret de ſes dernières intentions.

Si le Roi demandoit préſentement de nouveaux avantages, les ennemis de la paix ne manqueroient pas de dire, que le ſuccès des armées de ſa Majeſté change ſes ſentimens; mais vous ſavez qu'il y a près de quatre mois que je vous ai mandé la même choſe que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire aujourd'hui, & le Roi croit devoir attendre préſentement, auſſi-bien qu'alors, les marques réciproques de l'envie que la Reine a de lui faire plaiſir. Il eſt certain qu'il n'y aura point de plus ſenſible pour ſa Majeſté, que celui de ſatisfaire à ſes engagemens envers un allié qu'elle ne peut jamais abandonner.

Vous me répondrez que la Reine penſe de même à l'égard de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye: c'eſt auſſi par cette raiſon que j'ai marqué dans le commencement de ma lettre, qu'il faloit contenter ſa Majeſté Britannique ſur l'article de ce Prince, & le Roi a réſolu de faire la principale partie de ce qu'elle ſouhaite, pourvu qu'elle veuille aider auſſi ſa Majeſté en procurant quelque ſatisfaction à l'Electeur de Bavière. Je vous propoſerai dans la ſuite de ma lettre les expédiens qu'on y pourroit employer.

La Reine demande, en faveur de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, que le Roi déclare, dès à préſent, que ſa Majeſté reconnoît le droit de ce Prince à la ſucceſſion de l'Eſpagne & des Indes, après le Roi Catholique & ſes deſcendans; qu'elle promette que le Roi d'Eſpagne, & les états de cette monarchie, le reconnoîtront auſſi; que les Princes de France, ſpécialement Monſeigneur le Duc de Berry, & Monſeigneur le Duc d'Orléans approuveront, ratifieront, & confirmeront tout ce qui ſera fait pour la reconnoiſſance du droit de ſucceſſion: que de plus, ſa Majeſté promette à Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, tant pour elle que

pour le Roi ſon petit-fils, l'exécution de tout ce qui ſera trouvé néceſſaire pour aſſurer à ce Prince, & à ſa famille, la ſucceſſion de la couronne d'Eſpagne & des Indes, au défaut du Roi Catholique & de ſes deſcendans; qu'elle promette particulièrement que le Roi d'Eſpagne diſpenſera de ſa propre volonté, & de ſon autorité, ſes ſujets de tous les ſermens contraires qu'ils peuvent avoir prêtés; qu'il les revoquera, & annullera, de même que toutes déclarations telles qu'elles ſoient qu'ils auroient en faveur des Princes de ſon ſang.

Vous avez vu, Monſieur, par ma lettre du 28me, que le Roi s'attendoit à des demandes, à peu pareilles pour la ſubſtitution de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, & de ſes deſcendans, à la couronne d'Eſpagne. Ainſi ſa Majeſté ne fait nulle difficulté de les accorder, & de s'engager, pour le Roi ſon petit-fils, & pour les Princes de ſon ſang, à faire donner les actes de reconnoiſſance & de confirmation ſpecifiées dans votre lettre du 17-28 Juillet.

Elle conſent auſſi que ces actes ſoient donnés en même-tems que les ſuretés à prendre pour empêcher à jamais la réunion des deux monarchies recevront leur dernier accompliſſement. Mais il faut, pour cet effet, que Monſieur le Duc de Savoye ſoit en paix avec le Roi, & avec le Roi d'Eſpagne; une ſimple ſuſpenſion ne ſouffiroit pas, & il ne ſoit pas juſte d'appeller à la ſucceſſion de la monarchie d'Eſpagne & des Indes, un Prince qui ſeroit encore actuellement au nombre des ennemis de cette couronne.

Il eſt donc néceſſaire que la paix générale ne ſe faiſant pas encore, il s'en faſſe une particulière entre la France, l'Angleterre, l'Eſpagne, & le Duc de Savoye.

Outre la ſubſtitution en faveur de ce Prince, le Roi d'Eſpagne, lui cédera par le même traité de paix particulière, qui eſt l'acte le plus authentique qu'on puiſſe faire, la Sicile. Il déclarera comme vous l'avez propoſé, qu'en vertu de cette ceſſion, il tiendra, juſqu'à la concluſion

de

de la paix générale, le royaume de Sicile, pour, & au nom ſeulement de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye.

Que ce Prince en exécution du traité pourra prendre poſſeſſion de ce royaume toutefois & quantes il lui plaira, auſſi-tôt que la paix générale aura été ratifié.

Qu'en ce même-tems le Roi d'Eſpagne diſpenſera les peuples de ce royaume de tous ſermens de fidélité à ſon égard, qu'il leur ordonnera de reconnoître Monſieur le Duc de Savoye pour leur Roi & Souveraine légitime.

Que les galères & autres bâtimens appartenans à la Sicile, avec leurs équipages ſeront en même-tems cédés & remis à ce Prince, ainſi que tous les titres, papiers, & documens qui concernent le royaume de Sicile.

Les autres clauſes, dont vous me parlez, Monſieur, pour les ſuretés & garanties de toutes conditions, dont on conviendra avec Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, ſeront auſſi inſérées dans le traité, de même que la promeſſe de le maintenir dans la poſſeſſion de tout ce qui lui en a été cédé en vertu du traité conclu à Turin, le 8me Novembre, 1703, avec l'Empereur Leopold.

Voilà, Monſieur, la principale & la plus importante partie des demandes que la Reine fait en faveur de ce Prince, & que le Roi veut lui accorder aux conditions ſuivantes :

La première, que ce ſoit par un traité de paix particulière entre la France, la Grande Bretagne, l'Eſpagne, & le Duc de Savoye, & non en vue ſeulement d'une ſimple ſuſpenſion d'armes pour un tems.

La ſeconde, que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne s'engage à procurer, de concert avec le Roi, le rétabliſſement de l'Electeur de Bavière dans ſes états & dignités, à l'exception du premier rang dans le Collége Electoral, dont l'Electeur Palatin, & le Prince Charles ſon frère, après lui, jouiſſant, leur vie durant, ainſi que je l'ai déjà marqué, & le dédom-

magement de l'Electeur ſuivant l'un des deux expédiens que je vais vous propoſer. Le premier eſt que ce Prince conſerve la ſouveraineté & la propriété des deux provinces des Pay-Bas Catholiques dont il eſt préſentement en poſſeſſion ; ſavoir, le duché de Luxembourg & le comté de Namur, avec les villes & les fortereſſes de ce nom, & généralement, tout ce qui en dépend, auſſi-bien que Charleroi & Nieuport. Le Roi conſentiroit même qu'il fût diſpoſé de Nieuport, ainſi que la Reine le jugeroit le plus à-propos. En acceptant cet expédient elle ne ſeroit pas obligée à faire la guerre à ſes alliés en faveur d'un Prince dont elle plaint le ſort, car il eſt actuellement en poſſeſſion des Provinces & des places que le Roi propoſe de lui conſerver.

Comme il eſt même néceſſaire, ſuivant les règles de la juſtice, qu'il donne ſon conſentement pour laiſſer diſpoſer d'un bien qui lui appartient légitimement, en vertu de la ceſſion que le Roi d'Eſpagne lui en a faite, ſi ce premier expédient ne convient pas, & que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne perſiſte à remettre tous les Pays-Bas à la diſpoſition de ſes alliés, le ſecond expédient que le Roi propoſe, pour obtenir de l'Electeur de Bavière qu'il conſente à céder les provinces & places dont il eſt en poſſeſſion, eſt de lui faire donner en échange le royaume de Sardaigne. Cet équivalent, peu conſidérable en lui-même, donnera ſeulement à l'Electeur un titre de royauté qu'il pourra regarder comme une eſpèce de dédommagement du rang qu'il perdra dans le Collége Electoral.

Malgré la diſtance & le peu de liaiſon de la Sardaigne avec l'électorat de Bavière, il n'y a nulle incompatibilité que le même Prince poſſède l'un & l'autre.

Souffrez, Monſieur, que je vous diſe qu'il n'y en avoit point auſſi à donner à l'Electeur le Royaume de Sicile, & que bien loin de regarder cette diſpoſition comme une occaſion de jalouſie continuelle, & une ſource de querelles entre la France & l'Angleterre, il eſt à craindre

que Monſieur le Duc de Savoye n'en faſſe un uſage contraire aux intérêts des deux nations.

Le bruit ſe répand déjà que ſon deſſein eſt de changer la Sicile contre le Milanès, & je vous ſupplie de vous ſouvenir que vous m'avez écrit, que l'Angleterre n'a pas moins d'intérêt que la France d'empêcher que cette île ne tombe au pouvoir de la maiſon d'Autriche.

La dernière condition que le Roi attache au conſentement que ſa Majeſté donne aux demandes de la Reine en faveur de Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, eſt que ce prince ſe déſiſte de toute prétenſion ultérieure qu'il pourroit former ſous le nom de barrière. Sa Majeſté connoît mieux que perſonne la frontière de ſon royaume & ce qui convient à ſa ſureté. Elle croit avoir beaucoup fait en laiſſant à Monſieur le Duc de Savoye, pour le bien de la paix, les places d'Exilles & de Fenestrelles. Elle ne donnera rien de plus, & comme elle a juſqu'à préſent déclaré ſincèrement ſes intentions à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, il paroîtroit que ce ſeroit contrevenir à la bonne-foi toujours obſervée dans la négociation préſente, que de remettre aux conférences d'Utrecht, la diſcuſſion d'un article que ſa Majeſté eſt bien réſolue de refuſer conſtamment.

Je ne crois pas, Monſieur, que ce ſoit perdre du tems que de vous expliquer ſans aucun détour ce que le Roi penſe, ce qu'il veut faire en conſideration de la Reine, & en même-tems les engagemens de ſa Majeſté envers ſes alliés. Ce deſir d'y ſatisfaire doit être loué par une Princeſſe auſſi ſenſible à la vraie gloire, & auſſi touchée de procurer les avantages des Princes unis avec elle.

La bonne intelligence eſt prête à s'affermir ſolidement, & ſa Majeſté Britannique a déjà reçu tant de marques de la confiance du Roi, que je ne puis croire qu'elle n'entre pas dans les raiſons qui doivent obliger ſa Majeſté à ſatisfaire à ſes engagemens.

Ainſi j'eſpère que les promeſſes que vous m'avez faites par vos lettres précédentes ſeront inceſſamment exécutées. Car il ſeroit fâcheux, que le retardement des ordres que la Reine devoit envoyer en Catalogne, & aux côtes d'Italie, produiſit des inconvéniens qu'il eſt beaucoup plus facile de prévenir que de réparer. Vous en connoiſſez parfaitement les conſéquences, & vous êtes plein de zèle pour le bien de la paix. Ainſi je ne doute pas que vous ne repréſentiez très fortement à la Reine l'importance d'achever l'ouvrage commencé, & ſi près du point de ſa perfection ; il eſt de l'intérêt commun qu'il ne demeure pas ſuſpendu dans le tems qu'il ne s'agit que d'intérêts étrangers, & que le Roi donne aux inſtances de la Reine tout ce que Monſieur le Duc de Savoye peut demander de plus grand & de plus eſſentiel pour lui.

Comme vous m'avez demandé, Monſieur, de preſſer & de faciliter le paſſage du courier que vous avez envoyé à Turin, je crains fort que celui que j'ai dépêché & qui n'eſt parti que dix-huit heures après lui, ne puiſſe le rattraper.

Je ſuis, Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

A Monſieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, le 30me Juillet, V.S. 1712.

J'AI reçu Lundi paſſé la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 4me Août, N.S. & la Reine m'a commandé de vous faire ſavoir, qu'elle m'a donné ſes ordres de me rendre inceſſamment à votre Cour.

Je partirai d'ici Samedi prochain, & je pourrois arriver le Dimanche à Calais, & j'eſpère avant la fin de la ſemaine, ſur les auſ-

pices de l'Abbé Gaultier, avoir la ſatisfaction de vous ſaluer à Fontainbleau.

Vous voulez bien, Monſieur, que je renvoie à ce tems ce que j'ai à vous dire, ſur le contenu de votre dépêche, & que je vous aſſure que j'accepte la commiſſion, dont la Reine m'a chargée, avec d'autant plus de plaiſir que je compte fort ſur la bonté que vous m'avez témoignée depuis que j'ai eu l'avantage de correſpondre avec vous.

Je mène avec moi le Sieur Prior, qui ſe flatte qu'il ſera aſſez heureux de reſter auprès de vous.

Je ſuis, &c.

B.

TRANSLATION

TRANSLATION

OF

FOREIGN LETTERS AND PAPERS, &c.

To Mr. Penſionary Buys. (Page 1.)

SIR,

Windſor Caſtle, October 13th, 1710, O.S.

I RECEIVED the news of your illneſs, through Mr. Drummond, with much concern; I hope it will be of ſhort continuance, and that your health, ſo neceſſary for the welfare of the common cauſe, will be ſpeedily reſtored.

I proteſt, Sir, with all the ſincerity of an honeſt heart, that when I entered the office in which I have now the honour to ſerve her Majeſty, no conſideration was more pleaſing to me than the opportunities I ſhould then have of ſhowing how great has been my eſteem for you ever ſince I knew you in London, and which is ſtill warmly impreſſed on my heart.

I have always looked upon the intereſt of our countries as inſeparable, without injury to both: a principle which has never failed, ever ſince your republic was founded, is, that when our Princes purſued the true intereſt of their kingdoms, they were the friends of Holland; and we never were at enmity with you, but while our Courts were forming projects equally as pernicious to us as to the Lords the States-General. Theſe are maxims which ſhall govern my conduct; and I am willing to hope, that, with your good advice, I may be able to make them, in ſome meaſure, uſeful and advantageous to both nations.

You will think it right that I ſhould occaſionally write to you, at leaſt on the ſubject of our home affairs: you may depend upon the truth, which of late has been diſguiſed with as much malevolence as artifice. I am, &c.

To Marſhal Tallard. (Page 8.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 7th, 1711.

I HAVE had the honour to read to her Majeſty the letter you wrote to me: the Queen cannot at preſent grant you leave to go to France, but ſhe orders me to aſſure you that ſhe is ſenſible of your misfortunes, and that you will, upon a future occaſion, find her diſpoſed to grant the mitigation you requeſt.

I hope, Sir, you will do me the juſtice to believe, that I repreſented your caſe in the beſt manner poſſible; and that, upon all occaſions, you will experience a readineſs to do you every ſervice in my power. I am, &c.

To

To Monſieur de Roberthon. (Page 8.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 10th, 1710.

THE honour you have done me by your letter of the 23d October, deſerved an anſwer by the firſt opportunity; a duty which I ſhould not have failed to perform, had I not been for theſe two weeks paſt ſo over-burdened with buſineſs as to render it impoſſible.

I beg you to believe, Sir, that I accept with all imaginable pleaſure the offer you make me of your correſpondence; to me it muſt be agreeable, and may be beneficial to the two Courts which we have the honour to ſerve.

Baron Bothmar is expected here ſhortly: ſome time ſince, I diſpatched the Queen's orders to the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to ſend a yatch to Holland for him. He may be certain of my humble ſervices on all occaſions; that is, indeed, the ſmalleſt token I can give of the reſpect I have always preſerved, and ſhall ever retain, for the Court whoſe Miniſter he is.

Her Majeſty will very ſoon name her Ambaſſador to his Electoral Highneſs; I hope you will be ſatisfied with him, and I doubt not your granting him your protection.

You will always do me a particular favour in communicating your orders; a truth, of which I beg you to be convinced: and, in the mean time, no one can be more ſincerely, &c.

To Mr. Penſionary Buys. (Page 13.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 17th, 1710, O.S.

THE obliging manner in which you received my offer of a correſpondence, the advantage of which will be wholly mine, engages me to defer no longer my return of thanks.

The maxims you ſo much approve of, are thoſe which I have ever purſued; they are indelibly graven on my heart, and on thoſe of many perſons here, who have probably been repreſented in Holland under a very different character.

The Duke of Shrewſbury and Mr. Harley are much your ſervants, as are alſo thoſe other gentlemen who had the advantage of knowing you during your ſtay here. They have continued in the ſame opinion with regard to the common cauſe, and the intereſts of our two nations, as they then profeſſed; and if, at this time, they have not the ſame connections, nor the ſame intimacies and friendſhips as they then had, I can aſſure you, the change did not take place through any fault of theirs. We ſhall calm the public mind as much as poſſible, and you need not fear that things will be puſhed too far, for that parliament which manifeſted more violence than any ſince the reign of Charles II, has been diſſolved. The allies were alarmed when the Queen thought proper to change her miniſtry, and we perfectly well know the arts practiſed to inflame the minds of men. I am willing to hope, that theſe firſt commotions are over, and dare predict, that what has happened will make known to the world how greatly thoſe have been deceived who imagined, that all our exertions in the common cauſe were attributable to three or four perſons.

Earl Rivers ſpoke of you to me with all the eſteem which you merit; and I can aſſure you, that he was very well ſatisfied with his converſation with you. If he could not give you a poſitive anſwer upon a certain point, I will nevertheleſs give you my opinion upon it, which is, that the ſituation of thoſe who have the honour to ſerve the Queen will depend upon their own conduct.

I intended to have ſpoken to you of two other articles of very great importance, upon which her Majeſty, who deſires in all things to act in concert with the States, and, without reſerve, has given her orders to the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townſhend to ſpeak to their High Mightineſſes; but as my letter is already too long, I will no longer abuſe your patience. I requeſt the continuance of your friendſhip, and the juſtice to believe, that

I am, &c.

To Monſieur de Roberthon. (Page 30.)

SIR,

Whitehall, January 9th, 1710, O.S.

I FEEL a lively gratitude for the honour his Electoral Highneſs has condeſcended to do me. I beg you will repeat to him my aſſurances, that no one can be more devoted to his ſervice,

ſervice, nor to that of his illuſtrious houſe, than I am. In the various ſituations of a life ſufficiently buſy, I have endeavoured to exemplify theſe ſentiments, and were I capable of change, I ſhould conſider myſelf unworthy of the character of a good Proteſtant, a good Engliſhman, or a faithful ſervant of the Queen, my miſtreſs.

Baron Bothmar is now here; I ſhall not fail to live with him in moſt perfect confidence; and he may depend upon all the good offices in my power; I even hope, that I have already ſhown him that ſuch is my intention.

I agree with you, that during Baron Bothmar's ſtay in London, it will be uſeleſs for me to give you the trouble of writing to me. Through him I will pay my compliments to you, and I ſhall ever be, &c.

To Mr. Penſionary Buys. (Page 39.)

SIR,

Whitehall, January 12th, 1710, O.S.

I AM much pleaſed to find you ſatisfied with the opening of our parliament, I dare foretell you will not be leſs ſo with its cloſe.

The perſons you mention well deſerve that epithet of moderate men, which ſome others have unjuſtly arrogated to themſelves, ſince they have more than once put a ſtop to the violence of our parties, and never more opportunely than in the late revolution in the adminiſtration; in the latter inſtance, had it not been for this turn of affairs, we ſhould have become the ſlaves of a faction within, while, without, we were making the utmoſt efforts in the cauſe of the liberties of Europe. It is to be hoped that, in time, all our friends will be ſenſible how much they have beeen impoſed upon by thoſe people who wiſhed to perſuade them, that the welfare of the common cauſe was at ſtake, while, in fact, the intereſt of a few individuals was alone concerned.

Every object of contention ſhould be as far removed as poſſible; in this reſpect we ſhall not be liable to cenſure, but ſtill we muſt never forget, that our parliaments were inſtituted by the wiſdom of our anceſtors, to examine into the diſtribution of public monies, as well as to grant them.

Permit me to refer you to what I have written to Mr. Drummond, concerning the funds we ſhall eſtabliſh for the expences of the war, and the payment of our debts.

The Duke of Malborough is now here; he has choſen to ſubmit in all things to the Queen's good pleaſure, and on this foot he may ſupport himſelf. All thoſe who have the honour to be concerned in public affairs, are ready to take him by the hand, and to do their beſt ſervices for her Majeſty and the common cauſe, in concert with him;—but we muſt march ſtraight forward.

In my firſt letter I gave you my word, and I keep it, for I write to you without reſerve.

The Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, this morning, received the Queen's orders to furniſh the ſums neceſſary for a larger proviſion of forage, and, by this night's poſt, a remittance will be made of 120,000l. ſterling, for the ſervice of the troops in general. Thus you ſee, Sir, that, far from neglecting the war in Flanders, all meaſures are taken, a month or five weeks ſooner than uſual, to ſupport it on that ſide; in fact, the extraordinary preparations of the enemy require us to do ſo. We muſt hope, with the bleſſing of Heaven, ſtill to preſerve that ſuperiority which we have acquired, in ſpite of all the unlucky accidents lately experienced.

With reſpect to a peace, I think with you, that we muſt never conſent to a bad one; and in order to obtain a good one, it appears to me, that we muſt inviolably obſerve theſe two maxims: firſt, never to make advances; and, ſecondly, not to be too inflexible in the rejection of reaſonable propoſals. I am, &c.

To Monſieur Petkum. (Page 56.)

SIR,

March 6th, 1710, O.S.

I RECEIVED your letter of the 6th-17th of laſt month, and accept with pleaſure the offer of your correſpondence.

As

As her Majeſty, the Queen, entered into this war ſolely to obtain and ſecure the peace of Europe, you may be aſſured that ſhe will be happy to hear that the French are willing to make advances that way.

We are very well aware, Sir, of the pains you have taken to accompliſh ſo pious a work as that of peace, and we are perſuaded that you will always act for the welfare of all the allies. I recommend myſelf to the honour of your good favour, and am, &c.

To Mr. Penſionary Buys. (Page 75.)

SIR,

March 23d, 1710, O.S.

I AM extremely obliged to you for the honour you have done me by your letter of the 27th, N.S.

Mr. Harley, thank God, recovers daily, and we hope in a little time he will be able to reſume his labours, for the greater benefit of both nations and of the common cauſe. I cannot help telling you, that the injury ſuſtained in our affairs, as well domeſtic as foreign, during the illneſs of this miniſter, proves plainly how great would have been our loſs, had the blow he received proved mortal.

I hope the difficulties we had to combat are removed: we ſhall furniſh nearly 7,000,000l. ſterling, for the ſervice of the preſent year, and we ſhall find the neceſſary means for the payment of our debts.

I am pleaſed to find that the Duke of Marlborough is ſatisfied with our conduct; it is very certain that, with reſpect to him, we have been very open and ſincere.

We muſt put a good face on a bad game; you do ſo, we do ſo, and the French at leaſt as much ſo as any other power. It appears to me that France wiſhes to ſee the iſſue of thoſe intrigues which ſhe has been ſome time plotting, before ſhe thinks in earneſt of a peace.

I am, &c.

WE are very ſenſible of the difficulties in the affair of the two ſhips, and of our obligations to you in particular. Mr. Drummond is well informed of my ſentiments on that buſineſs. I ſhall have very great pleaſure in labouring conjointly with Monſieur Vryberge to prevent ſuch diſputes in future.

Overture from France. (Page 106.)

THAT, as it could not be doubted but the King was in a condition of continuing the war with honour, ſo it could not be looked on as a mark of weakneſs in his Majeſty to break the ſilence he had kept, ſince the conferences at Gertruydenberg, and that before the opening of the campaign: he now gives farther proof of the deſire he always had to procure the repoſe of Europe. But, after what he hath found, by experience, of the ſentiments of thoſe perſons who now govern the republic of Holland, and of their induſtry in rendering all negociations without effect, his Majeſty will, for the public good, offer to the Engliſh nation thoſe propoſitions which he thinks fit to make, for terminating the war and ſettling the tranquillity of Europe upon a ſolid foundation. It is with this view that he offers to enter into a treaty of peace, founded on the following conditions:

Firſt, the Engliſh nation ſhall have real ſecurities for carrying on their trade in Spain, the Indies, and ports of the Mediterranean.

Secondly, the King will conſent to form a ſufficient barrier in the Low Countries, for the ſecurity of the republic of Holland; and this barrier ſhall be ſuch as England ſhall agree upon and approve; his Majeſty promiſing, at the ſame time, an entire liberty and ſecurity to the trade of the Dutch.

Thirdly, all reaſonable methods ſhall be thought of, with ſincerity and truth, for giving ſatisfaction to the allies of England and Holland.

Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the King of Spain are in ſo good a condition as to furniſh new expedients for putting an end to the diſputes about that monarchy, and for ſettling it to the ſatisfaction of the ſeveral parties concerned: all ſincere endeavours ſhall be uſed for ſur-

mounting the difficulties ariſen upon this occaſion; and the trade and intereſt of all parties engaged in the preſent war ſhall be ſecured.

Fifthly, The conferences, in order to treat of a peace upon theſe conditions, ſhall be immediately opened, and the Plenipotentiaries, whom the King ſhall name to aſſiſt thereat, ſhall treat with thoſe of England and Holland, either alone or in conjunction with thoſe of their allies, as England ſhall chuſe.

Sixthly, His Majeſty propoſes the towns of Aix-la-Chapelle, or Liege, for the place where the Plenipotentiaries ſhall aſſemble; leaving the choice likewiſe to England, of either of the ſaid towns, wherein to treat of a general peace.

Note. (Page 109.)

The Abbé Gaultier to the Marquis de Torcy.

SIR,

London, May 8th, 1711, N.S.

I HAD the honour to inform you on Tueſday, that I had given in the memorial entruſted to me the 23d ultimo: it has been read and examined, and it is now tranſmitted to the States-General. After having proceeded thus far, it is judged reaſonable, that you ſhould explain yourſelf, particularly on the contents of the firſt article, and what you mean by the words '*that the Engliſh nation ſhall have real ſecurities for carrying on their trade in Spain, the Indies, and the ports of the Mediterranean.*' I am ordered to write this to-day, and beg you will have the goodneſs to ſend me an early anſwer. I am, &c.

F. Gaultier.

Gaultier to de la Garde.

London, May 8th, 1711, N.S.

PRAY convey the encloſed to its addreſs as ſoon as you receive it; and ſend me the anſwer as early as poſſible.

The Marquis de Torcy to the Abbé Gaultier.

SIR,

Marli, May 31ſt, 1711.

BY the laſt poſt I informed you, that I had received your letter of the 8th, and that I ſhould immediately anſwer the eſſential parts of its contents. I do this to-day, by giving you the explanation you require, upon the firſt article of the project ſent to you. In truth, it ſhould properly be deferred until the conferences: and you can ſcarce require explanations when we have no aſſurances on your part. We are, however, willing to wave this difficulty, to ſhow not only the good faith and plain dealing, which you deſire, but alſo that confidence, which we place in you. You may then aſſure your employers, that we have received the King of Spain's word for the ceſſion of Gibraltar to the Engliſh, for the real ſecurity of their trade in Spain and the Mediterranean. You will add, that no propoſal has hitherto been made to his Catholic Majeſty, for the ſecurity of the Indian commerce; becauſe we ſhould previouſly know what England may judge proper on that ſubject. Make enquiry then, and as ſoon as you ſhall have informed me, we will make a ſtrong application to the Catholic King, that his miniſters, at the conferences of peace, be inſtructed on ſo important an article, and which cannot be treated as preliminary. We know in general, that he will be diſpoſed to favour the Engliſh, whenever they contribute their endeavours to the reeſtabliſhment of public tranquillity.

I ſpoke to you upon the pretended negociation of the Duke of Loraine, and I told you that Prince, after having ſounded at the Hague, of his own accord had offered his ſervices here; nothing has occurred in this buſineſs, ſince the King's anſwer ſtopped it at the commencement. You may depend upon what is ſtated in the preamble to the memorial I gave you, it depends upon England whether the King ever addreſſes himſelf again to the Dutch, to treat of peace.

There is ſtill leſs foundation for the offers pretended to be made by the Duke of Noailles to the Archduke, than for the negociation ſet on foot by the Duke of Loraine. In a word,

the only one now open for peace is that with you. But make a good uſe of the confidence repoſed in you, for it would be unjuſt that the favourable appearances in another quarter ſhould be loſt. Do not conſider this as a threat, but reflect how imprudent it would be in you to neglect the means of making peace, while we are not certain of any conceſſions on your part.

I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To Marſhal de Tallard. (Page 129.)

SIR;

May 17th, 1711.

I RECEIVED your's of the 5th, and alſo that which your agent brought to me. To ſend you the leave you requeſt would be to me the greateſt pleaſure in the world, and I entreat you to depend upon my word, that nothing on my part ſhall be neglected to obtain it for you. The meſſenger you diſpatched to France was ſent off immediately; in compliance with the uſual forms, I ran over your letters to the King, but gave them to the bearer without delay; and you may be aſſured that I ſhall mention their contents to no one. Your word of honour is ſufficient on that account; I did not ſeal up the packets which your man had in charge, nor on this occaſion have I taken the uſual precautions.

I ſend you a letter which Sir — Walter has deſired me to forward to you. No one is more ſenſible of your misfortunes than, &c.

To the Marquis du Bourg. (Page 144.)

SIR,

June 5th, 1711.

AS you have demanded a communication in writing of what was ſaid to you this morning, by her Majeſty's order, at the conference with the Lords of the Council, I have the honour to notify to you—that the Queen's eſteem and affection for his Royal Highneſs, your maſter, have not been the only inducement to forward his intereſt by every poſſible means in her power; but ſhe conſiders the aggrandizement of the Houſe of Savoy as the moſt certain method of ſupporting that balance of power ſo eſſential to the repoſe and happineſs of Europe. That her Majeſty is reſolved to merit in future, as ſhe believes ſhe has hitherto done, the confidence which his Royal Highneſs places in her; and that the Queen coincides with his ſaid Highneſs in his views, as well in the caſe of incompatibility as in that of the union of the Empire with the Spaniſh Monarchy. That her Majeſty looks upon the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont with the Arch-Ducheſs as the ſureſt and moſt equitable method of averting thoſe dangers to which his Royal Highneſs conceives himſelf expoſed in one caſe, and of ſecuring his pretenſions in the other. That ſhe is ready to propoſe this marriage at a time, and in a manner, moſt agreeable to his Royal Highneſs; but ſhe is of opinion, that, to facilitate this ſcheme, it will be neceſſary that the Arch-Ducheſs ſhould renounce her right to the hereditary countries of the Empire. That her Majeſty will immediately uſe her endeavours to bring her allies into the ſame ſentiments, and will begin, as ſoon as Lord Raby returns to Holland, to adviſe the States-General to adopt the ſame plan. That the Queen, in this critical conjuncture, being diſpoſed to do every thing that his Royal Highneſs can require, the Lords of the Council are ready to confer with your maſter's miniſters, upon the meaſures moſt proper to inſure ſucceſs to his plans.

This is what I was ordered to write to you, and what I explained to you more circumſtantially *viva voce*. I am, &c.

I forbear mentioning Mr. Whitworth's commiſſion at the Court of Vienna, concerning the reinforcement of 8,000 men, as you are already apprized of her Majeſty's orders on that ſubject.

To Count de Wratiſlaw. (Page 153.)

SIR,

June 15th, 1711.

I RECEIVED the letter committed to the care of Mr. Palmes at his departure from Vienna, and feel myſelf extremely obliged by the honour of your remembrance.

The

The plan you have ſent me is perfectly good, but *it appears to us, in our preſent circumſtances*, a little too difficult of execution. Let it be our firſt care to reſtore our ſhattered affairs in Catalonia, to preſs a vigorous war in thoſe parts where it is already kindled; after that it will be time enough to commence new enterpriſes.

Our good nature has hitherto prompted us to do more than could be expected from our ability, and from what the Parliament (which has juſt finiſhed its ſeſſion) has done, I doubt not you are convinced that our good nature will not diminiſh.

I hope Mr. Whitworth is arrived at Vienna, purſuant to the Queen's orders, to execute a commiſſion which to us appears of the utmoſt importance, and in which he will not be without the ſupport of a miniſter ſo zealous and prudent as you are.

I recommend myſelf to the honour of your favour, and ſhall always be, &c.

To the Marquis du Bourg. (Page 172.)

SIR,

July 24th, 1711.

IT muſt be very pleaſing to me to commence a correſpondence with you, ſince I profeſs ſo much eſteem for you, and am as zealous for the ſucceſs of your negociations as it is poſſible for man to be.

According to promiſe, I had written to a friend; probably he had no opportunity of diſcourſing with the Penſionary on the contents of my letter, or perhaps that miniſter wiſhed to avoid acknowledging it, the better to evade entering upon the ſubject with you.

Count Maffei will not fail giving you an exact account of what paſſed at his two conferences with the Lords of the Council a few days ago. The Earl of Orrery, to prevent further loſs of time, is ordered to ſpeak to the Penſionary, not only concerning the marriage, but alſo upon the intereſts of his Royal Highneſs in the two caſes of compatibility and incompatibility. He will explain the Queen's ſentiments, and urge the concurrence of the Dutch, in ſuch a manner as to inform us, by their anſwer, how far we may depend upon the States in this affair.

I am by no means ſurprized at the open jealouſy which you have obſerved in the Penſionary, founded on the current reports about the peace, nor at that which Count Sinzendorf manifeſts with leſs reſerve. But I muſt return you many thanks for the wiſe and correct anſwer you gave to both. If we have not ſupported the war like able politicians, we have at leaſt carried it on like men of honour and perſeverance; and we ſhall not loſe this character in making the peace.

Mr. Whitworth has not been able to obtain a ſingle man to reinforce his Royal Highneſs's army; his errand, however, in my opinion, will not be without its advantage. I beg you will believe that I am, &c.

To Prince Kurakin. (Page 173.)

SIR,

July 24th, 1711.

YOUR letter to the Duke of Queenſberry, arriving after his death, has been tranſmitted to me. As the affairs of the North will in future paſs through my hands, I ſhould have rejoiced to enter upon a negociation with ſo able a Miniſter, and ſo accompliſhed a man as you are. Though it be our misfortune to loſe you, yet I ſtill beg of you to be aſſured, that your orders ſhall always be readily received, and that I will with pleaſure take every opportunity of keeping up the good agreement between the two nations, and of proving my eſteem for your perſon.

This is accompanied by a letter from the Queen, in anſwer to one ſhe received from her Majeſty the Czarina. The illneſs of the late Duke of Queenſbury, his death, and the confuſion inevitable upon ſuch occaſions, have prevented your receiving it before, according to the promiſe made to you. I am, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 175.)

SIR,

Fountainbleau, Auguſt 3d, 1711.

MR. PRIOR'S return to France, after an interval of many years, has given me great pleaſure, and I could have wiſhed that the abilities he poſſeſſes, and of which, I am confident, he would have made a proper uſe, had been leſs reſtricted; I hope, Sir, that Monſieur Meſnager, who accompanies him back, will effect what he could not, and intreat you to believe that upon all occaſions I deſire to prove myſelf, &c.

To Monſieur d'Hervart. (Page 189.)

SIR,

Auguſt 8th, 1711.

YOU know well enough the buſineſs I have in hand, to excuſe me if your letters be not anſwered with the punctuality they deſerve. I intereſt myſelf ſo much in every thing that concerns you, that the death of your ſon has greatly afflicted me. I will not weary you with my conſolations; you are too much a Chriſtian and a philoſopher to want them.

Your reflections on the Penſionary's ſuſpicions appear to me very juſt. Efforts have been made to kindle a jealouſy both here and in Holland. Certain it is, they made no great impreſſion upon us, and I hope the Miniſters of the States will not be more diſtruſtful than we are. That any diſagreement between the maritime powers muſt be fatal to both, is an inconteſtable truth; on our part, nothing will be omitted tending to preſerve the union of the two nations.

The voluntary offer of Monſieur de Torcy, to give up Dunkirk undemoliſhed to us, is very extraordinary. One ſhould look upon it as a miniſterial trick, for the purpoſe of alarming the Dutch. I have often ſpoken of you to the Earl of Strafford, ſo that no inconvenience can happen, ſhould he learn that you receive my letters through the channel of his Secretary. I am, &c.

From the Queen to the Dowager Electreſs of Saxony. (Page 190.)

MADAM AND SISTER,

Windſor, Auguſt, 1710-11.

WHEN I determined upon ſending the Earl of Peterborough to Germany, one of the firſt commiſſions entruſted to him, was to ſee you, to make my compliments to you, and to renew my aſſurances of moſt perfect eſteem and moſt tender friendſhip. I avail myſelf of this opportunity to expreſs to you the extreme ſorrow I felt at the report that the Electoral Prince, my couſin, was about to change his religion: God forbid that we ſhould ever experience ſuch a misfortune, as to ſee the eſtabliſhment of Popery in the Houſe of Saxony, which has at all times been the firm pillar of the Proteſtants.

I hope you will take in good part the frankneſs with which I lay open the inmoſt ſentiments of my heart, and that you will believe me to be,

Madam and Siſter,

Your moſt affectionate Siſter,

ANNE R.

To Marſhal de Tallard. (Page 191.)

SIR,

Auguſt 9th, 1711.

I RECEIVED your letter of the 14th inſt. N.S. together with the duplicate of that which you did me the honour to write three weeks ago. The firſt came in due time, but I muſt ingenuouſly acknowledge, that I could not ſummon reſolution to anſwer it, until I could with certainty promiſe to ſend you the Queen's leave to go to France. Excuſe this delicacy, though you judge it ill-founded, and do me the juſtice to believe that no other motive could influence me in neglecting to write to you. For once truſt a man who has not the honour of being much known to you, but who will deceive nobody. I am in great hopes

hopes of obtaining, in a ſhort time, your liberty upon your parole, and I aſſure you that the obſtacles that have occurred to ſo juſt and equitable a requeſt, did not originate here. I am, &c.

Pleaſe to obſerve that the latter part of this letter is ſolely for yourſelf.

To Baron de Seckingen. (Page 203.)

SIR,

Whitehall, Auguſt 22nd, 1711.

BARON de Forſtner did me great juſtice, when he aſſured you that I ſtill preſerve that friendſhip for you, which I have always avowed ever ſince our firſt acquaintance at Milan. It is true I retired to the country for three years; it is alſo true, that there I paſſed my time in ſtudy and rural amuſements, without ever regretting the Court, or that ſmiling fortune which once flattered my ambition. But when it pleaſed her Majeſty to recal me to her ſervice, I returned to buſineſs with a pleaſure equal to that I experienced in my retirement. Such is my hiſtory; and I thought our old friendſhip required this account from me.

Preſerve your affection for me, and be aſſured that, on my part, I ſhall, during life, retain the pleaſing remembrance of thoſe happy days we paſſed together, and ſhall ever be, &c.

To his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Lorain. (Page 203.)

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Auguſt 22nd, 1711.

MY humble endeavours to ſhow my zeal in your Highneſs's ſervice do not deſerve the honour you have done me by your letter of the 4th of laſt month. The Queen has ſo much eſteem and friendſhip for your Highneſs, and is ſo convinced of the juſtice of your pretenſions, that I muſt not aſſume a merit that does not belong to me; any aſſiſtance of mine in this reſpect would be uſeleſs with her Majeſty.

Monſieur de Steinghens is a miniſter whom I have long known, and for whom I entertain a high conſideration; he will be always welcome to me, but can never be ſo much ſo, as when he affords me the opportunity of ſhowing with how great reſpect and attachment I am, &c.

To Baron de Forſtner. (Page 204.)

SIR,

Whitehall, Auguſt 22nd, 1711.

YOU are too obliging, and pay me compliments ill-ſuited to the little civilities I have been able to ſhow you during your ſtay in London. To do myſelf juſtice, I ſhould be aſhamed that I have not done more to mark the reſpect I have for you, and the character you appeared in, did I not know that the inceſſant ſeries of buſineſs in which I am engaged, would be an excuſe with a perſon ſo conſiderate as you are. Monſieur de Steinghens will have only to afford me the means of being uſeful to the Duke of Lorain; in zeal and good will I ſhall never be deficient.

The Earl of Peterborough, who is going to watch the intereſt of her Majeſty, and of the common cauſe in the empire, has, among others, inſtructions on this ſubject; he will not fail to inſiſt thereupon, and I hope his conduct will meet your approval.

Permit me to renew my aſſurances of eternal remembrance, and of that perfect eſteem which will be preſerved for you by, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 210.)

SIR,

Auguſt 29th, 1711.

I COULD not ſuffer M. Gaultier to leave us, without availing myſelf of the opportunity to thank you humbly for the honour of your letter which Mr. Prior delivered, and to aſſure you that there is nothing I deſire more ardently than the continuance of writing to you, and of receiving your letters.

You will allow me to refer to the account you will have from M. Meſnager in writing, and from M. Gaultier *viva voce*; and I aſſure you that I am, with much eſteem, &c.

From

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 218.)

SIR,

Verſailles, September 18th, 1711.

THE letter you did me the honour to write, and which M. Gaultier conveyed to me, has given me a ſenſible pleaſure. I entreat you to believe that my wiſhes for the ſpeedy return of more peaceable and happier times are not leſs warm than your's. I may then ſtudy the honour of your friendſhip, and endeavour to make known to you how perfectly I am, &c.

To Baron Bothmar. (Page 219.)

SIR,

Whitehall, September 14th, 1711.

I DID not fail to inform the Queen of the ſubſtance of your letter of the 8th inſtant; and her Majeſty judges his Electoral Highneſs's demands and apprehenſions to be ſo well founded, that her orders have been ſent to the Duke of Marlborough to concert means for withdrawing the cavalry and dragoons as inſenſibly, and with as little buſtle as poſſible; an object of very great importance, as it has been well foreſeen by your Court. I beg you will believe that I ſeize with pleaſure every occaſion of ſupporting a correſpondence with you; and that I feel a happineſs whenever I can ſhow my zeal for the ſervice of his Electoral Highneſs. I am, &c.

The Lord Treaſurer did himſelf the honour of anſwering his Electoral Highneſs's letter by the laſt poſt.

To Monſieur d'Hervart. (Page 223.)

SIR,

Whitehall, September 18th, 1711.

I OWE you my acknowledgments for two letters, of which the laſt, that of the 22nd, N.S. arrived this morning. They turn upon two points, the miſſion of M. Buys to this country, and the reports abroad in Holland of a negociation for peace between the Queen and the King of France.

With reſpect to the firſt, I will tell you, that any man whom the Dutch themſelves ſhall judge proper to be ſent, at this juncture, to her Majeſty, ſhall be welcome, and M. Buys as much ſo as any other perſon. Our proceeding will be always plain and clear; and if they are not afraid that we may be truer Engliſhmen than our predeceſſors in the miniſtry, they will not have the ſmalleſt reaſon to apprehend our becoming leſs affectionate or zealous allies.

As to the other point, I can only ſay two words; but I believe you will find them comprehenſive; that the Queen will never make peace with France, as the Dutch did at Nimeguen; ſhe has ſuſtained this war, as well as the laſt, in concert with the States; in like manner, ſhe deſigns to treat of peace; in both ſhe will forward their intereſt as much as lies in her power, and ſhe will not be unmindful of her own. I am, &c.

Since I wrote the above, your's of the 27th, N.S. is come to hand; by which I find that, in all probability, M. Buys will not delay his viſit to us.

In a Note. (Page 224.)

MR. Prior is fully inſtructed and authoriſed to communicate our preliminary demands to France, and to report the anſwer to us.

To Monſieur de Paleotti. (Page 224.)

SIR,

Whitehall, September 21ſt, 1711.

WITH this you will receive a letter from her Majeſty to the Catholic King, in your favour; I hope you will experience from it every ſucceſs that can be expected from ſo powerful a ſupport and ſo ſtrong a recommendation. By the poſt of this evening I ſhall write to the Earl of Peterborough, the Queen's miniſter at Frankfort, on your account; he is in great

great friendſhip with the Duke of Shrewſbury, and will not fail to employ it aſſiduouſly in promoting your intereſt, which I deſire you will believe I have much at heart; and that I ſhall always be with much eſteem, &c.

In a Note. (Page 133.)

The Anſwer of France to the Preliminary Demands for Great Britain, more particularly.

THE King being particularly informed by the laſt memorial which the Britiſh Miniſter delivered to M. Meſnager, of the diſpoſitions of that Crown to facilitate a general peace, to the ſatisfaction of all parties concerned in the war: And his Majeſty finding in effect, as the ſaid memorial declares, that he runs no hazard by engaging himſelf in the manner therein declared, ſince the preliminary articles will be of no force until the ſigning of the general peace, and being beſides ſincerely deſirous to advance, to the utmoſt of his power, the re-eſtabliſhment of the repoſe of Europe, eſpecially by a way ſo agreeable to his Majeſty, as the interpoſition of a Princeſs, whom ſo many ties of blood ought to unite to him, and whoſe ſentiments for the public tranquillity cannot be doubted. His Majeſty, moved by theſe conſiderations, has ordered M. Meſnager, Knight of his Order of St. Michael, Deputy of the Council of Commerce, to give the following anſwers, in writing, to the articles contained in the memorial tranſmitted to him, intituled, Preliminary Demands of Great Britain, more particularly.

Anſwers of the King.	*Preliminary Demands for Great Britain, particularly.*
(1) His Majeſty will acknowledge the King of Great Britain in that quality; as alſo, the ſucceſſion of that Crown according to the preſent eſtabliſhment.	(1) The ſucceſſion to the Crown of theſe kingdoms, according to the preſent eſtabliſhment, ſhall be acknowledged.
(2) The King conſents to make a new treaty of commerce with Great Britain, in a manner moſt juſt, reaſonable, and advantageous to both nations.	(2) A new treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France ſhall be made in the moſt juſt and reaſonable manner.
(3) Although Dunkirk has coſt his Majeſty very large ſums, as well in the purchaſe of it as in its fortifications, and though it be neceſſary ſtill to be at a conſiderable charge to deſtroy the works, the King will nevertheleſs engage to demoliſh them immediately after the concluſion of a peace, provided that, for the fortifications of this place, he receive a proper equivalent; and as England cannot furniſh that equivalent, the diſcuſſion of it ſhall be deferred to the conferences to be held for the negociation of a general peace.	(3) Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſhed.
(4) The King promiſes, in the name of his grandſon, the King of Spain, and purſuant to the power which his Majeſty has received from that Prince, that Gibraltar and Port Mahon ſhall remain in the hands of the Engliſh, who at preſent poſſeſs both.	(4) Gibraltar and Port Mahon ſhall remain in the hands of thoſe who now poſſeſs them.
(5) After the concluſion of peace, the Engliſh ſhall have the treaty of Guinea Negroes to the Weſt Indies, otherwiſe called the Pacte d'Aſſiento, on the ſame conditions as were entered into by the King of Spain with the French; ſo that the company, which will conſequently be eſtabliſhed in England, ſhall be privileged to refreſh, ſell, and diſpoſe of	(5) The Treaty of the Aſſiento ſhall be made with the Engliſh, in the ſame manner as the French hold it at preſent; and ſuch places in Spaniſh America ſhall be aſſigned to thoſe concerned in the traffic, for the refreſhment and ſale of their negroes, as ſhall be found neceſſary and convenient.

their

their negroes in all the towns and ports of America, of the North Sea, in Buenos Ayres, and generally in all places and ports where permiſſion was granted to the veſſels of the company eſtabliſhed in France, under the title of the Aſſiento.

(6) The King promiſes for himſelf and for the King of Spain, according to the power in his Majeſty's hands, that, in caſe a peace is concluded, this article ſhall be granted, in like manner as the preceding; and that it ſhall be punctually executed.

Though the King of Spain, at the beginning of his reign, was induced to favour the French nation, when he wanted ſupplies of money for the expences of an impending war, that prince notwithſtanding granted the privilege of tranſporting negroes to the French, for the term of ten years only; it would therefore be a great favour to the Engliſh to give up to them, for 20 years, a prerogative, of which it ſeems all European nations would wiſh to partake, each in its turn. Nevertheleſs his Majeſty promiſes that the King, his grandſon, ſhall grant to the Engliſh, during twenty ſucceſſive years, the tranſportation of negroes from Guinea to the Weſt Indies,

(6) All advantages, rights, and privileges, now granted, or which may be hereafter granted by Spain to the ſubjects of France, or of any other nation whatever, ſhall be, in like manner, granted to the ſubjects of Great Britain.

(7) And for the better protection of commerce in Spaniſh America, the Engliſh ſhall be there put into poſſeſſion of ſuch places as ſhall be named in the treaty of peace. France having offered a real ſecurity for the trade of her Majeſty's ſubjects in Spaniſh America, no one doubted that ſuch places were intended; and in confirmation of this opinion, France propoſed Gibraltar as a ſecurity to the commerce to Spain and the Mediterranean: the advantages and privileges offered by M. Meſnager cannot be conſidered as real ſecurities; it will always be in the power of Spain to reſume them; therefore it is ſuppoſed that France is under an engagement, either to cauſe to be ceded to Great Britain the places demanded in that article, or to procure for that nation ſome new advantages, ſuch as the love of peace may induce them to look upon as an equivalent; upon this they conſider themſelves as under an obligation to inſiſt that the Miniſter aforeſaid be furniſhed with full powers. And to mark ſtill plainer the ſincerity with which the treaty is carried on, and the deſire of her Britannic Majeſty to promote a general peace, ſhe judges it expedient to declare, that the difficulty which occurs upon that article may be removed by granting to her the following:

That the Pacte d'Aſſiento be made with Great Britain, for the term of 30 years.

otherwiſ

otherwiſe called the Pacte d'Aſſiento, with the ſame conditions, prerogatives, and privileges granted to the French company, and which they do or might enjoy from the 1ſt May, 1702, to the preſent time.

The King conſents to this article.

His Majeſty, in like manner, promiſes, in the name of the King of Spain, the advantages and exemptions from duties mentioned in that article, and which the Engliſh ſhall enjoy immediately after the concluſion of the peace, upon the exchange of the ratifications.

The general peace being effected, an aſſignment ſhall be made to the Engliſh Aſſiento Company of an extent of land on the River de la Plata, where they may not only refreſh their negroes, but keep them in ſafety, until they be ſold, according to the conditions ſtipulated in the agreement to be entered into for the Aſſiento. And to prevent any abuſe of this conceſſion, the King of Spain will nominate an officer as ſuperintendent, to whoſe inſpection thoſe intereſted in the company, and, in general, thoſe employed in their ſervice, ſhall be ſubject.

(8) The diſcuſſion of this article ſhall be deferred to the general conferences for the peace, it being well underſtood that the right of fiſhing and drying cod upon the iſland of Newfoundland be reſerved to the French.

That the entire Iſland of St. Chriſtopher be aſſured to Great Britain.

That the advantages and exemptions from duties promiſed by M. Meſnager, and which he affirms to amount to 15 *per cent.* on all merchandize of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, be effectually allowed.

Great Britain can refreſh the negroes at Jamaica, and there diſtribute thoſe to be ſent to la Vera Cruz, to Portobello, and to the other factories in that part of the Indies. But as on the coaſt of the River de la Plata the Engliſh have no colony, it is required that an extent of land be aſſigned upon this river, where they may not only refreſh their negroes, but keep them in ſafety until they be ſold to the Spaniards. And as in this demand no trick is meant, they ſhall be in this reſpect ſubject to the inſpection of an officer to be appointed for this purpoſe by the King of Spain.

(8) Newfoundland, Hudſon's Bay and Straits ſhall be completely reſtored to the Engliſh. Great Britain and France ſhall reſpectively keep and poſſeſs all the countries, domains, and territories in North America, that each nation ſhall be in poſſeſſion of at the time when the ratification of this treaty ſhall be publiſhed in thoſe parts of the world.

In execution of the King's orders, we, the underſigned, Knight of his Order of St. Michael, Deputy of the Council of Commerce, have ſtated the preſent anſwer to the preliminary demands for Great Britain, to the amount of eight articles, by virtue of authority from his Majeſty, of which we have delivered a copy, ſigned by us; and we promiſe, in the name of his ſaid Majeſty, that the ſaid anſwers ſhall be regarded as conditions which he agrees to grant, the articles of which ſhall be put into the common form of treaties, and explained in the plaineſt and moſt intelligible manner, to the common ſatisfaction of the crowns of France and Great Britain, and this in caſe of the ſigning of a treaty for a general peace. In faith of which we have ſigned and ſealed. Done, &c.

The Moſt Chriſtian King having ſignified to her Majeſty his ſincere deſire for the re-eſtabliſhment of the general tranquillity of Europe, by a peace, definitive, ſure, laſting, and ſuitable to the intereſts of all the allies, and having expreſſed his deſire, that the Queen would promote the negociation of ſuch a peace, it has been found juſt and reaſonable that the intereſts of Great Britain ſhould be, in the firſt place, adjuſted and aſcertained: on this account his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, having ſent over M. Meſnager, Knt. &c. he has ſtated the above eight articles, by authority from his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; a copy of which he has given us, ſigned by him; of which articles we, the underſigned, declare, by virtue of the expreſs order of her Majeſty, her acceptance, as preliminaries, which contain only thoſe ſecurities and advantages which her Majeſty thinks ſhe has a right to expect, whoever be the Prince who may acquire the monarchy of Spain. And theſe articles muſt be regarded as con-

dition which his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty agrees to grant. Theſe articles to be put into the common form of treaties, &c. &c.

Done at London, 27th September, O.S.....8th October, N.S. 1711.

DARTMOUTH,
H. ST. JOHN,
MESNAGER.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 239.)

SIR,

Whitehall, October 2d, 1711.

THIS letter will be preſented to you by M. Meſnager, who, having diſcharged the commiſſion entruſted to him by the King, returns to you, to give an account of his negociation. I doubt not you participate in the pleaſure we feel, when we ſee thoſe difficulties removed which have ſo long impeded the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity. I dare promiſe you our good faith, and our facility, which, if ſeconded by the ſame diſpoſition on the part of France, cannot fail to produce the happy conſequence we expect; but ſuch promiſes muſt be regarded as unneceſſary after thoſe given to M. Meſnagner, by her Majeſty herſelf. The Earl of Strafford to-morrow ſets off for Holland, his propoſal to the States, your Miniſter is well informed of. I am, &c.

In a Note. (Page 250.)

Preliminary Articles on the Part of France for the Attainment of a General Peace.

THE King being willing to contribute all that is in his power to the re-eſtabliſhment of a general Peace, his Majeſty declares;

1ſt, That he will acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain in that quality, as well as the ſucceſſion to the crown according to the preſent ſettlement.

2d, That he will freely, and *bonâ fide*, conſent to the taking all juſt and reaſonable meaſures, to prevent the re-union of the crowns of France and Spain on the head of the ſame Prince; his Majeſty being perſuaded that that exceſs of power would be contrary to the welfare and peace of Europe.

3d, The King's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the preſent war, without excepting any one, may find their reaſonable ſatisfaction in the treaty of peace to be made; that commerce may be re-eſtabliſhed and maintained, for the future, to the advantage of Great Britain, of Holland, and of the other nations who have been accuſtomed to carry it on.

4th, As the King will alſo ſtrictly ſupport the obſervance of the peace, when concluded; and as the object of his Majeſty is to ſecure the frontiers of his kingdom, without moleſting, in the ſmalleſt degree, the neighbouring States; he promiſes to agree, by the future treaty of peace, that the Dutch ſhall have in their poſſeſſion the fortreſſes which ſhall be named in the Netherlands, to ſerve, in future, as their barrier, which may ſecure the quiet of the Republic of Holland againſt any enterprize from France.

5th, The King conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure and convenient barrier ſhould be formed for the empire, and for the Houſe of Auſtria.

6th, Though Dunkirk has coſt the King large ſums, as well in its purchaſe as in its fortification; and though it be neceſſary ſtill to be at very conſiderable expence to raze the works, his Majeſty will nevertheleſs engage to demoliſh them, after the concluſion of the peace, on condition that he do receive a proper equivalent for the fortifications of that place; and as England cannot provide that equivalent, the diſcuſſion ſhall be deferred to the conferences to be held for the negociation of a peace.

7th, When the conferences for the negociation of the peace ſhall be formed, all the pretenſions of the Princes and States engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be there diſcuſſed, *bonâ fide*

fide and amicably, and nothing ſhall be omitted to regulate and terminate them to the ſatiſfaction of all parties.

By virtue of the King's authority, we, &c.

MESNAGER.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 279.)

SIR,

Verſailles, October 21ſt, 1711.

THE letter you honoured me with the 14th inſtant, afforded me as much pleaſure in the reading as it gave you in writing it. I have no doubt of the happy conſequences of that mutual confidence now eſtabliſhing, and I can aſſure you, the King will contribute all in his power to ſtrengthen it. It is an eaſy taſk for thoſe who find their intereſt in public confuſion, to awaken and encourage diſtruſt; but it is likewiſe as eaſy to do it away, when both ſides are deſirous of peace and union. I hope, Sir, we ſhall ſoon experience the happy effect of this reciprocal ſincerity; you ſhall always find it in the explanations you may be pleaſed to require of me, whether at preſent, or in the ſequel of the negociation. In the King you will alſo find that firmneſs which the Queen of Great Britain can deſire, to procure for the Engliſh the enjoyment of the advantages agreed upon.

I am perſuaded that, on the ſide of her Britannic Majeſty, that firmneſs will not be leſs, to accompliſh the work of peace, upon conditions advantageous to France and England, ſo that, in future, the two nations may be united in indiſſoluble bonds. I beg you will believe that no one is more deſirous than I am of making known to you how much I am, &c.

The King has nominated the Mareſchal d'Uxelles, the Abbé Polignac and M. Meſnager, his Plenipotentiaries to the conferences for the peace.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 280.)

SIR,

Verſailles, November 2d, 1711.

AS the preſent ſituation of affairs requires our acting in perfect concert for the accompliſhment of the work begun, I write to M. Gaultier, to know what meaſures the Queen of Great Britain ſhall judge proper to be taken, upon the refuſal of the Dutch to enter into a conference for peace. Permit me to aſſure you, that I am, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 280.)

SIR,

Hampton-Court, October 2d, 1711.

I HAD anſwered your letter of the 21ſt October, N.S. when that of the 2d of November came to hand.

I will not repeat aſſurances of perfect ſincerity; profeſſions are uſeleſs, when occaſions come round to call it to a trial. M. Gaultier, who conveys this letter, will at the ſame time deſcribe to you the preſent ſituation of the affairs of the peace.

It is an eaſy taſk for thoſe who find their intereſt in public confuſion (I uſe your expreſſion, Sir) to awaken and encourage diſtruſt; this is what the diſaffected, here and every where elſe, are labouring at. I am, however, under no great apprehenſion on that account, as it only depends upon the Moſt Chriſtian King to render all their efforts uſeleſs. The explanations you promiſe me will diſpel theſe clouds, and you will believe we ſhall uſe theſe lights with great caution, when I aſſure you, that were the King to offer, as he formerly did, a plan of ſpecific preliminaries, the Queen would never communicate them to her allies. I conclude with an aſſurance, that provided M. Gaultier return with this proof of your confidence, of which I entertain no doubt, you will find our parliament, now about to aſſemble, as much inclined to the peace as it has ever been to the war. I am, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 294.)

SIR,

Verſailles, November 18th, 1711.

I HAVE received the honour of your letter, by M. Gaultier, the 9th inſt. and I believe you will be perſuaded, that the King obſerves, with much pleaſure, theſe freſh inſtances of the Queen's firmneſs for the re-eſtabliſhment of a good and ſure peace.

I hope, Sir, ſuch ſincere and equitable intentions will experience that ſucceſs which we have a right to expect, for the quiet of Europe. You will ſee by the memorial which M. Gaultier will have the honour to deliver, that the King is unmindful of nothing, for the happy accompliſhment of a negociation ſo well begun; and that his Majeſty depends upon the ſecrecy and the proper uſe you will obſerve, in this inſtance, of entire confidence repoſed in the Queen of Great Britain.

The favourable inclinations of the approaching ſeſſions of parliament will complete the downfall of their hopes who are for the continuance of the war, at the expence of the welfare of the nation; and you do your country no ſmall ſervice, by your labours, to conclude a peace, wherein ſhe will find her glory and her advantage. I beg you to believe, &c.

Note. (Page 301.)

Separate Article.

THE King promiſes to reſtore to the Duke of Savoy the domains and territories belonging to that Prince, at the beginning of the preſent war, and at preſent in poſſeſſion of his Majeſty, with a farther aſſurance, that a ceſſion ſhall be made to the Duke of Savoy of ſuch other places in Italy, compriſed in the ſenſe of the treaties between that Prince and his allies.

Purſuant to full authority from the King, we, &c.

MESNAGER.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 305.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 25, 1711, O.S.

THE ſubſequent letter was written at the inſtance of the miniſter of the States-General, who has inſiſted upon receiving the declaration therein demanded, before the paſſports are ſent for your Plenipotentiaries. The Queen has the more readily conſented to this proceeding, as ſhe doubts not his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will inſtantly remove the difficulty, and that, conſequently, the Congreſs will open on the day fixed upon.

Thoſe, Sir, who are deſirous of peace, muſt lend their aſſiſtance on all ſides, and urge on the concluſion of the treaty, before we become ſubject to the events of another campaign. We ſhall do all on our part to fix the pretenſions of the allies; and we hope, by that, to facilitate and ſhorten the buſineſs of the Plenipotentiaries.

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of the 18th inſtant, received by M. Gaultier, and I entreat you to be perſuaded, that the memorial ſent by him ſhall be uſed with great caution, and the ſecret ſhall be inviolably kept. I am, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 306.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 25th, 1711.

THE Lords the States-General having by their reſolves of the 24th inſtant, N.S. concurred with her Majeſty to facilitate the opening of a negociation, for a good and a general peace, I am ordered to communicate to you the reſolutions of her Majeſty and the States upon that ſubject:

Firſt, the place judged moſt proper for the Congreſs is the city of Utrecht.—Secondly, the 12th of January next, N.S. has been fixed upon for the opening the ſaid Congreſs.—Thirdly, it has been reſolved that the miniſters of the Queen and the States ſhall appear there in quality of Miniſters Plenipotentiary, and that they ſhall not take upon them the character of Ambaſſadors

baſſadors' before the day of ſigning the peace, in order to avoid as much as poſſible the embarraſſment of ceremonies, and the delay they occaſion.—Fourthly, the Queen and the States inſiſt that the miniſters of the Duke of Anjou and of the quondam Electors of Bavaria and Cologne ſhall not be admitted to the Congreſs, until the points which concern them be adjuſted: and the Queen and the States are firmly reſolved to delay ſending the paſſports for the miniſters of France until the Moſt Chriſtian King has previouſly declared, that the abſence of the aforeſaid miniſters ſhall be no impediment to the progreſs of the negociation.

Circular letters have been already written by her Majeſty to all the allies engaged in the preſent war, in conformity to the three firſt articles above ſpecified; and the Queen orders me to acquaint you, that, upon receipt of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's declaration upon the laſt of the four articles, the paſſports which are now here in blank, ſhall be ſent to you, with the names of Marſhal d'Uxelles, the Abbé Polignac, and M. Meſnager, inſerted, unleſs the King has made an alteration in the firſt nomination of his Plenipotentiaries communicated to me.

As not only the miniſters of her Majeſty, but alſo many of thoſe of her allies, who are to aſſiſt at the treaty of peace, are at preſent here, I muſt beg of you, Sir, to ſend me the neceſſary paſſports, that they may repair to Holland with the greater ſecurity. I am, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 338.)

SIR,

Verſailles, December 15, 1711.

I RECEIVED the honour of your letter of the 25th November, O.S. and gave an account to the King of the reſolutions entered into between the crown of England and the States-General, to facilitate the opening of the negociations of peace, and his Majeſty has ordered me to reply:—Firſt, he conſents to Utrecht being the place of meeting, conſidering it more proper than any other for holding the conferences.—Secondly, that it will not be his fault, nor that of his Plenipotentiaries, if they do not arrive there time enough to open the conferences the 12th of next month. They are ready to ſet out, and are only detained for want of the paſſports which you are to ſend, and are abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of their journey.—Thirdly, the King is ſtill of opinion, that it is proper his Miniſters Plenipotentiary, and thoſe of the powers intereſted in the preſent war, ſhould aſſume no other quality during the conferences, and that they ſhould reſerve the character of Ambaſſadors, to be aſſumed on the day of ſigning the peace, in order, as you ſay, to prevent the embarraſſment of ceremonies, and the delay they occaſion.—Fourthly, to ſhorten theſe delays, the King agrees that the conferences do commence without waiting for the miniſters of the King of Spain, who cannot arrive for a very long time, having not yet left Madrid; and his Majeſty promiſes, that neither the opening nor the progreſs of the negociation ſhall ſuffer any hindrance from their abſence. He likewiſe conſents that the Plenipotentiaries of the Catholic King, his grandſon, as well as thoſe of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn, be not admitted to the conferences, until the points which reſpect thoſe Princes, ſhall have been, as you ſay, ſettled.

This declaration being conformable to what you require, Sir, the King doubts not the paſſports for his Plenipotentiaries will be immediately tranſmitted. The King has made no change in the nomination of Plenipotentiaries; they are Mareſchal d'Uxelles, the Abbé Polignac, and M. Meſnager, whoſe names ſhould, if you pleaſe, be inſerted in the paſſports, which, I ſuppoſe, contain every neceſſary ſecurity for their ſuite, ſervants, equipages, effects, papers, and in general every thing belonging to them.

As I know not, Sir, preciſely who are the miniſters of your allies now in London, and who are to aſſiſt at the conferences for the peace, I ſend you the paſſports for thoſe who I ſuppoſed might want them; and I beg you will return me any that may be uſeleſs. I am, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 340.)

SIR,

Verſailles, December 15th, 1711.

I REPLY, in another letter, to that you did me the honour to write, at the requeſt of M. Buys. Though you had not appriſed me of the condeſcenſion you were obliged to preſerve

to

to his inſtances, I ſhould have judged of it from the terms of the fourth article; and you have accuſtomed me to diſtinguiſh eaſily your ſtyle from that of the Dutch miniſters. They might, without any apprehenſion, have ſent off their paſſports; the Plenipotentiaries of Spain will be a long time on their journey, and the negociation will be far advanced before they can reach Paris, if the conferences commence on the 12th of next month. It will not be the fault of the King's Plenipotentiaries if they do not open on the day fixed. They are ready to ſet off immediately, upon receipt of the paſſports; and, I can aſſure you, they will neglect nothing for the ſpeedy concluſion of the work committed to their management. I hope the ſucceſs will anſwer the ſincere intentions of the King, and thoſe of the Queen of Great Britain; and that, under their care, Europe may long enjoy an equitable and a laſting peace.

I am, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 343.)

SIR,

Whitehall, December 15th, 1711, O.S.

I CANNOT permit the meſſenger to depart without two lines from me, to thank you for the honour of your private letter, and the obliging compliment you made me. M. Gaultier will not fail to give you an account of new difficulties, which they endeavour to ſtart here, in order to impede the progreſs of the negociation. Theſe difficulties will be removed by the vigilance and firmneſs of the Queen; and as we are on the point of opening the conferences, with a reſolution, on both ſides, to neglect nothing for the ſpeedy concluſion of the work, I will hope we ſhall in the end be lucky enough to arrive at an equitable and ſolid peace, which has been for ſo many years the deſire of all honeſt men. I am, &c.

Note. (Page 372.)

The Duke of Lorain to her Majeſty the Queen of Great Britain.

MADAM,

Lunevelle, December 20th, 1711.

I HAVE already had the honour of imploring your Majeſty's protection, upon the firſt advice of the renewal of the treaty of peace, for it is only upon your powerful ſupport I found my hopes of the ſucceſs of my juſt pretenſions. Since it has pleaſed your Majeſty to appoint the time and place of the Congreſs, I take the liberty to have recourſe again to your goodneſs, and very humbly to intreat you will preſerve, on this important occaſion, thoſe generous intentions you have ever ſhown in favour of my intereſt. And as I have every reaſon to hope that my Plenipotentiaries will be admitted to the conferences, the ſame as other miniſters, becauſe my wrongs were occaſioned by the preſent war, and becauſe the intereſts of the Princes engaged in it are to be adjuſted in the negociation, purſuant to the articles which your Majeſty has recently communicated to your high allies; ſo I moſt humbly entreat you to give immediate orders to your miniſters, to ſupport mine, during the conferences, and to give them the aſſiſtance of your royal authority, that they may guard my intereſt, and bring about, under your protection, a happy reſult. The reſpectful confidence I place in the goodneſs of your Majeſty induces me to hope, that you will add this favour to the many you have already conferred upon me, and that you will deign to be convinced of the inviolable attachment, and moſt profound reſpect, with which I ſhall have the honour to be, during life, your Majeſty's, &c.

LEOPOLD.

Note. (Page 373.)

Memorial for their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of the Queen of Great Britain, concerning the eſtates and dependencies of the villages of Dankelſheim and Kitleſheim, in the juriſdiction of Haguenau in Alſace, which, of right, belong to Mr. Douglas, in right of his father and of his grandfather M. de Batilly.

(1.) THAT the late M. de Batilly, grandfather of M. Douglas, enjoyed, during thirty ſucceſſive years, the villages and dependencies of D. and K. by virtue of ceſſion, from Mr.

R. C.

R. C. Oxenſtiern, General and Plenipotentiary of the Crown of Sweden, in the name of Qe en Chriſtina, according to the power ſhe had veſted in him, for the payment and ſatiſfaction of ſums of money advanced by M. de B. for the ſupport of his regiment, in ſatisfaction for pay, and in reward for ſervices performed for King Guſtavus Adolphus, the ſaid Queen's father.

(2.) That Alſace was ceded to France by a treaty of peace, charged with the execution and maintenance of what the crown of Sweden had done and ordered, which the ſaid Alſace was ſubject to, and thus Louis XIII confirmed the gift of the crown of Sweden in favour of M. de B. by letters-patent of the 19th September, 1635, which forbid all perſons, of whatever condition, to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid villages ſo granted, in payment for his ſervices; and that, as a farther favour, he took him and his vaſſals, with their goods and families, under his ſpecial protection and ſafeguard, in order that he might enjoy the ſaid villages in greater ſecurity, and might be protected from violence, and other impediments that might happen to him.

(3.) That the preſent King, in 1648, in parliament, confirmed M. de B. in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid villages, which appears by a protection of the 14th March, 1648, which forbids the quartering of any ſoldiers in the villages belonging to M. Anthony de B. Mareſchal de Camp in his armies, and Governor of the city and caſtle of Neufchâteau, and the raiſing contributions in the ſaid villages, in conſideration of the commendable ſervices performed, not only for the crown, but for his allies and confederates, meaning the crown of Sweden, of which he held the ſaid villages.

(4.) It may be ſeen by a deciſion, 22d February, 1655, pronounced by his highneſs Prince Henry of Lorain, then grand Provoſt of Haguenau, that the late M. de B. rendered fealty and homage to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, before the ſaid Prince, and it directs that M. de B. ſhould be acknowledged and reſpected by the ſubjects and inhabitants of D. and K. as Lord of the ſaid villages.

(5.) That, to prevent diſputes between the inhabitants of the ſaid villages and M. de B. their Lord, in regard to rights, the Prince of Lorain iſſued an ordinance the ſame February, 1655, directing what each party was to obſerve and perform.

(6.) That the Duke de Montauſier, who ſucceeded the Prince of Lorain, continued M. de B. in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid two villages, and in the ſame rights as the Prince had done before him, which is proof ſufficient of the lawful poſſeſſion of M. de B.

(7.) That the Duke Mazarin, being in favour, and Governor of Alſace, had reunited many villages to the domain of the Grand Bailiwick of Haguenau; among others, D. K. and Minferſheim, all of the ſame tenure, under pretence that they had been alienated from the Grand Bailiwick; but that Baron de Vanghen having remonſtrated to the Court, that he and his predeceſſors had freely and peaceably enjoyed the revenues of the domain of Minferſheim, by virtue of the ceſſion made by the Archduke Leopold to his uncle, George Theoderick de Vanghen, in like manner as the crown of Sweden had ceded and granted to M. de B. D. and K. the King willingly acknowledged the right of the Baron de Vanghen, by letters-patent of 19th February, 1672, by which he again confirms him in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the domain of Minferſheim, which village is ſaid, in the ſame patent, to be of the ſame tenure as D. and K. which clearly ſhows, that the ſaid villages had been improperly reunited to the domain by the Duke Mazarin, and under a falſe pretence.

(8.) That M. de B. died peaceably at his own houſe, and never was accuſed of any crime, but of being a Proteſtant, which obliged him, in one day, to ſubmit to the loſs of 20,000 crowns, yearly income from his employments, rather than change his religion; but, for all that, he had not leſs right to reſume poſſeſſion of theſe villages, than Baron de Vanghen to that of Minferſheim, that being of the ſame tenure as his.

(9.) That M. de B. being diſguſted with the court, on account of the above proceeding, reſolved never to return to it, not even to ſolicit his domains; but having a daughter married to Sir William Douglas, he gave him theſe two villages, with all arrears of rent, in lieu of the fourth part of the lordſhip of Mantoi, which, by his daughter's marriage-contract, he was obliged to give him. Thus theſe two villages, with their dependencies, were accepted by

by Sir William Douglas, in lieu of portion with his wife, as appears by an act paſſed at Met before notaries, the 16th of January, 1675.

(10). That Mr. Douglas is the ſole heir of Sir William Douglas, of his deceaſed mother, and of M. de Batilly, his grandfather.

If the rights of preſcription be urged, it may be anſwered,

(1.) That preſcriptive right is of no avail in caſes of uſurpation.

(2.) That Sir William Douglas preſented a petition to the King, in 1675, explaining his rights, and the uſurpation of the Duke Mazarin, which was anſwered ambiguouſly.

(3.) That King William, of happy memory, at the laſt peace, demanded the ſaid villages of the Moſt Chriſtian King, by my Lord Mancheſter, his Ambaſſador, to be reſtored to Sir William Douglas; and that, according to the anſwer returned, Mr. Douglas would have acquired poſſeſſion of the ſame, had not the war broken out in the mean time.

Should it be objected, that the Duke Mazarin is in poſſeſſion of theſe villages, by virtue of letters-patent from the King, and that ſuch poſſeſſion is good, it is anſwered,

(1.) That it was an uſurpation of the Duke Mazarin, to obtain the King's letters-patent under falſe pretence, as can be proved by the ſuit of Baron de Vanghen, and by the patent obtained by him of the King, to replace him in poſſeſſion of Minferſheim, of which he had been diſpoſſeſſed for like reaſons as M. de B. had been of his villages.

(2.) In all patents there is a clauſe which ſays, "ſave the right of others." Thus the King only grants by patent what belongs to him, and, conſequently, that obtained by the Duke Mazarin, under a falſe pretence, cannot be valid, to the prejudice of the right of M. de B.

(1.) It will be obſerved that the two villages were reunited by the Duke Mazarin to the domaine of the Grand Bailiwick, which is the King's own property.

(2.) That the Duke Mazarin poſſeſſes theſe two villages only as Provoſt of Haguenau, and Governor of Alſace, and that during life, or the King's pleaſure.

(3.) That the King, upon the death of the Duke Mazarin, or before, can grant his domain, or any part of it, to whomever he pleaſes.

And the rather as the ſaid villages of D. and K. appear to have been wrongfully reunited to the Grand Bailiwick, under a falſe pretence of Duke Mazarin, it is to be hoped, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will not permit them, by his authority, to be retained any longer by the Duke, who has no right but by uſurpation, to the prejudice of Mr. Douglas, to whom they of right belong, and that his Majeſty will judge it proper, to give immediate orders that Mr. Douglas may recover poſſeſſion of the villages of Dankelſheim and Kitleſheim, as well as of all that may legally belong to him in France.

From Count de Maffei. (Page 375.)

SIR,

London, December 24th, 1711.

I DO myſelf the honour of tranſmitting the incloſed memorial, as the ultimatum, in reſpect to the barrier which his Majeſty and his council have thought juſt and reaſonable, to obtain from France, for the ſecurity of his Royal Highneſs's territories, as the Lords delivered their ſentiments upon it, at the conference granted me this morning, of which you know more than I do; I doubt not her Majeſty will have the goodneſs to give orders accordingly to her Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and poſitive aſſurances to his Royal Highneſs, by the anſwer ſhe will honour him with.

With reſpect to the aggrandiſement, I flatter myſelf that her Majeſty will preſerve the ſame ſentiments and inclination to exert her influence to procure it for his Royal Highneſs, as her goodneſs has given him reaſon to expect; and that ſhe will likewiſe order her Plenipotentiaries, to concert and endeavour, by all methods and expedients that may be proper, in the courſe of the negociation, to accompliſh, with greater facility, the equitable intention of her Majeſty upon that head, the better to ſecure the peace now about to be made, and to maintain that equilibrium, which the ſituation of his Royal Highneſs's territories, when extended and indiſſolubly united to England, by the ſame intereſts, and by gratitude, may materially influence.

Note.

Note. (Page 375.)

Memorial of Count de Maffei, Envoy-extraordinary of his Royal Highneſs of Savoy to her Britannic Majeſty, to Mr. St. John, for the purpoſe of an Inſtruction to the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the Queen, at the Congreſs of Utrecht, in order to obtain from France, by an ultimatum, the barrier hereafter ſpecified, which her Majeſty and her Council have agreed to be juſt and reaſonable to obtain for the ſecurity of the States of his Royal Highneſs, and as one of thoſe conditions *ſine qua non*.

FOR PIEDMONT.

That the Moſt Chriſtian King do give up to his Royal Highneſs the fortreſſes of Exilles and Feneſtrelles, with the vallies of Pragelas, Oulx, Sezane, Exilles, and Château Dauphin, and, in general, all from the Alps between Morianne and the valley of Barcelonnette, carrying the barrier through the defile de la Roue les Echelles, Mont Genèvre, the defile de l'Agnel, and other Alps, and to thoſe on the ſide of Piedmont, between which the ſaid vallies are ſituate, aſſuming the top of the ſaid Alps, the plains and the lands upon the ſaid Alps, ſo to be divided between France and his Royal Highneſs, to be the mountains, forts, and vallies, ſo be given up to, held, and poſſeſſed by his ſaid Highneſs and his ſucceſſors for ever, in full ſovereignty, as places properly belonging to him or them.

That for the ſecurity of this barrier, the King of France ſhall demoliſh the fortifications of Briançon, without ever reſtoring them; and upon this condition alone will his Royal Highneſs depart from the demanding the ceſſion of Briançon and Mont Dauphin.

FOR SAVOY.

That France give up Barreau demoliſhed, with the lands between Barreau and Mont Meillan, on one ſide of the Iſere, and upon the other ſide, Gonſelin, with the other lands as far as La Rochelle and to the defile de Vaugeani, paying an equivalent in money for the demolition of Mont Meillan, equal to the rebuilding it, or giving up Barreau fortified.

That all territories, places, and villages, claimed by and yielded to France by the treaty of Lyons, ſituate beyond the Rhone on the ſide of Savoy, be given up to his Royal Highneſs, with the free uſe of the Rhône, equally for the Moſt Chriſtian King and his Royal Highneſs, from Geneva to St. Genis d'Aoſte.

The villages reſerved to France on the ſide of Savoy, by the ſaid treaty, the ceſſion of which is now required, are ſeven: Aire, Chancy, Auully, Pont d'Aſlot, Seyſſel, Chanuz, and Pierre Chaſuel.

FOR THE COUNTY OF NICE.

That Monaco be given up to his Royal Highneſs, as a recompence for the demolition of the Caſtle of Nice and other forts in this county; as alſo, for the ſecurity of this province, which is open on the ſide of his Royal Highneſs, and incloſed by this place on one ſide, and by Antibes on the other.

And that his Royal Highneſs have the free exerciſe of ſovereignty in Menton and Rocabruna, as his anceſtors formerly had, and as the equity of his Royal Highneſs's claims to theſe lands requires.

COUNT DE MAFFEI.

To Monſieur d'Hervart. (Page 382.)

SIR,

Whitehall, January 4th, 1711-12.

I HAVE been a little uneaſy, I acknowledge, about the letter I wrote to you ſome time ago, which has cauſed ſo many reports in Holland; but I did you juſtice, and never ſuppoſed you had the leaſt bad intention in ſhowing it: ſo, if you pleaſe we will ſay no more about this croſs accident.

You ſee the conferences are opened, and I doubt not there are many people, who will ſet all their ingenuity at work to diſſolve them, but, provided the French will purchaſe a peace at a reaſonable price, I hope we ſhall gain our port.

I conſider it as unneceſſary for me to deſire your exertions to do away thoſe falſe notions which our faction here, and their allies on your ſide, endeavour to diſſeminate. You wiſh for

a peace, as well from a Chriſtian as a political motive; and you are able to diſcern from what ſource ſprings all the oppoſition to the Queen's meaſure.

Prince Eugene has been ſome days upon our coaſt; I know not if contrary winds will ſuffer him to land; but I am apprehenſive that the diſgrace of the Duke of Marlborough will fruſtrate one part of his inſtructions.

I wiſh you a happy new year, and am, &c.

To his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Savoy. (Page 389.)

MY LORD,

Whitehall, January 8th, 1712.

I RECEIVED the letter your Royal Highneſs was pleaſed to write to me, 18th of October, with all the reſpect and gratitude due to a great Prince, who condeſcends to accept of ſervices ſo little important as mine.

Count Maffei has not failed to inform your Royal Highneſs of the inſtructions given by her Majeſty to her Plenipotentiaries; and I dare aſſure you, that the Queen cannot diſplay more firmneſs in proſecuting the intereſt of Great Britain itſelf, than ſhe does in promoting that of your Royal Highneſs. I pray God to grant your Royal Highneſs a long ſeries of happy years.

I am, and ſhall through life remain, your Royal Highneſs's, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 390.)

SIR,

Verſailles, January 5th, 1712.

I RECEIVED the letter you did me the honour to write the 15th laſt month, O.S. with the paſſports for the King's Plenipotentiaries. As his Majeſty intends to accelerate as much as poſſible the opening of the conferences, and the concluſion of the peace, as a neceſſary conſequence, he did not heſitate to accept theſe paſſports, though, in point of form, leſs ample than thoſe ſent by his orders.

I hope, Sir, that no accident will intervene to retard the arrival of the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht; and as you have ſent particular orders to the Earl of Strafford upon this ſubject, the King's Plenipotentiaries will apply to him, in caſe it be neceſſary for him to remove any difficulty that may ariſe.

We learn, by letters from Holland, that each province is to name its Plenipotentiary for the peace; that Holland alone has appointed Meſſrs Buys and Vanderduſſen to aſſiſt at the conferences as Commiſſioners, and not as Plenipotentiaries. As the primary proceeding upon opening ſuch an aſſembly is to communicate the credentials of the different Miniſters, it would be impoſſible to enter into treaty with thoſe who have no powers to treat on the part of their principals. I am convinced that the province of Holland will not lay itſelf open to ſuch an inconvenience; but ſtill I believe you will think it expedient to mention this to the Earl of Strafford, in order that any new difficulty may be prevented at a time when it ſhould be the endeavour of all parties to remove every obſtacle to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 392.)

SIR,

Verſailles, January 5th, 1712.

I SEE with much ſatisfaction, by the letter you honoured me with in your own handwriting, that you are convinced the Queen's reſolution will remove all difficulties raiſed againſt a peace, by a hoſtile cabal with you. I acknowledge that their proceedings, their occaſional apparent ſucceſs, and the meaſures purſued in foreign countries, cauſed an alarm among thoſe not perfectly acquainted with the interior of England, and who formed their judgment of the nation from ſuch falſe appearances. You entirely do away my apprehenſions concerning the reports ſpread abroad; for I believe you will approve of the ſenſible intereſt I take in every thing that reſpects you and your friends, and conſequently of my uneaſineſs while your enemies remain in place. As you know better than any perſon, how long it may

be proper to leave with them the power to do miſchief, and to avenge themſelves, without any advice from me, I ſhall confine myſelf to the aſſurance, that the King's Plenipotentiaries go from hence well informed of her Majeſty's intentions, and are ſo empowered as to bring the negociation to a ready concluſion. I hope then its ſucceſs will be ſpeedy and fortunate, and that the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain will, on their part, endeavour to remove all difficulties that may delay the concluſion of this great work. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 393.)

SIR,

Whitehall, January 12th (O.S.) 1711.

I REPLY to the honour of your letter of the 5th inſtant. The Queen's orders, which I ſent to the Earl of Strafford, have had their effect; and you will have ſeen that miniſter has taken every neceſſary meaſure to prevent any accident that can retard the arrival of the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht. If the Dutch Miniſters ſhould aſſiſt at the conferences as Commiſſioners only, and not as Plenipotentiaries, as report runs, and as you imagine, there would perhaps be no reply to your objection; but I obſerve, Sir, in all my letters, as well as in that written by the States-General to the Queen, the 29th of laſt month, that Monſieur Buys and his Colleagues are nominated Plenipotentiaries to the Congreſs to be held at Utrecht. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 393.)

SIR,

Whitehall, January 12th (O.S.) 1711.

I AM very ſenſible of all your civilities, and of the intereſt you take in what relates to us with regard to the intrigues of our faction. It is evident that the difficulties they throw in our way are great, but the Queen's reſolution, ſeconded by the compliances of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, will, I doubt not, in the end prevail.

Our letters of the 19th, N.S. from Utrecht, announce the arrival of your Plenipotentiaries; I hope they will not leave that city until the peace be ſigned.

Prince Eugene of Savoy has been here ſome days; his ſtay will not be long, and his repreſentations will not have the effect expected at the Emperor's Court. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

Note. (Page 398.)

IN anſwer to the memorial of Prince Eugene of Savoy, February 7th, O.S. (18th, N.S.) I have the honour to acquaint the ſaid Prince, by expreſs order of the Queen, among other matter, that her Majeſty could not declare what effort ſhe may be able to make this year in Spain, until ſhe knew what ſupplies her Parliament would grant for that purpoſe; and that ſhe would lay before the Houſe of Commons the propoſals he had made to her from the Emperor, by which his Imperial Majeſty undertakes to furniſh 30,000 men of the 40,000 judged neceſſary to conſtitute the army in Catalonia, and to pay one million of the four millions of crowns which will be ſufficient, according to the account his Imperial Majeſty has cauſed to be made out, for all the expences of the war in that quarter.

Agreeably to that anſwer, the ſaid propoſals were ſubmitted to the Houſe; and we muſt expect the reſult in a few days. Her Majeſty, however, conſiders herſelf obliged to remark, that hitherto ſhe has not obſerved that the States-General have entered into any agreement for their quota of this expence, or have taken any meaſures to make a greater effort than they have hitherto done in Catalonia; though many months ago, the Queen declared her expectations, that the plan of the war in that quarter ſhould be concerted with her allies, and that the States-General ſhould agree to furniſh their ſhare in all the neceſſary expences. The Queen believed that his Imperial Majeſty's repreſentations would have carried ſufficient weight with the States-General, eſpecially in the preſent poſture of affairs, to have induced them to reſolve upon a thing ſo juſt, ſo eſſential for the continuance of the war. The Queen hopes that in Holland and elſewhere no excuſes will in future be made for contributing to expences

to which there is no poſitive obligation by treaties, as it is notorious to all the world that her Majeſty has been under no obligation whatever, except that ſuggeſted by generoſity and her zeal for the common cauſe, which have urged her to contribute the greateſt ſhare of the immenſe ſums that have been provided for ſo many years towards the ſupport of the war.

The Queen learns with great ſatisfaction the happy ſucceſs of the allied army in Spain, as communicated in the memorial of Prince Eugene, February 12th, O.S. (March 3d, N.S.); her Majeſty entertains no doubt that the arrival in Italy of the reinforcements for the army in Spain, the march of the corps of 23,780 men, and the vigorous meaſures purſued by his Imperial Majeſty in all his preparations for opening the campaign, will force the enemy to reflect in earneſt that it is time to make peace, and conſequently will contribute to promote a fortunate iſſue to the preſent negociation.

With reſpect to affairs in Spain, and particularly as to the Duke of Argyle's order to the Queen's Paymaſter-general, mentioned by Prince Eugene in his Memorial, February 23d, O.S. (March 5th, N.S.) it is impoſſible to give any preciſe anſwer until the Duke's arrival, who is coming home to give an account to her Majeſty of every thing relative to the war in Spain, and who is expected every moment.

H. St. John.

Whitehall, February 29th, 1711-12.

From Baron de Bothmar. (Page 401.)

Sir,

Arlington-ſtreet, January 29th, 1711-12.

I HAVE juſt now heard that the treaty concluded between the Queen and the States-General of the United Provinces, for the barrier of the latter in the Spaniſh Low Countries, has been laid this day before the Houſe of Commons. The Elector my maſter conſidering that the perſon who pretends to diſpute with him the right, which has been given to him and to his moſt ſerene family in the perſon of the Electreſs his mother, to ſucceed to the Crown of Great Britain, in caſe the Queen has no iſſue, is ſupported by ſo conſiderable a foreign power as that of the King of France, could not but with the utmoſt gratitude obſerve ſo real a mark of the honour of her Majeſty's friendſhip for him and his moſt ſerene family, as that which ſhe has been pleaſed to give, by the care which ſhe has taken to ſtipulate by the aforeſaid treaty, that the States-General ſhould be guarantees of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, more effectually to ſecure this right againſt all thoſe who would oppoſe it.

As I know you, Sir, to be both zealous for this right, and well affected to his Electoral Highneſs, I take the liberty, as well for this reaſon as for that of your being a Miniſter, to apply myſelf to you, and to deſire you to manage the matter ſo that the guaranty ſtipulated by the barrier treaty, in favour of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, may not receive any injury from its being communicated to the Parliament.

I ſhall have the honour to ſpeak alſo by word of mouth to you about it, when your other buſineſs will permit you to allow me a moment for it. I am, &c.

The Baron de Bothmar.

Note. (Page 401.)

Anſwer from his Electoral Highneſs of Brunſwick-Lunenburg to Earl Rivers.

Gohrde, November 7th, 1711.

HIS Electoral Highneſs receives, with the moſt grateful acknowledgments, the communication, which her Majeſty's goodneſs has made to him, of all that has paſſed concerning the important buſineſs of a general peace. He is not leſs ſenſible of the favour in being informed of the Earl of Strafford's inſtructions, which ſhall be attended to as deſired.

His Electoral Highneſs is alſo under a new obligation to her Majeſty for making theſe communications by a perſon of ſuch rank and merit as Earl Rivers, who has always been the particular friend of his Houſe. His Electoral Highneſs has with extreme ſatisfaction remarked, in the inſtruction to the Earl of Strafford, that her Majeſty's intention is, to do nothing towards a general peace, but in concert with the States-General; her Majeſty inſiſting

ſifting in thoſe inſtructions, *upon the abſolute neceſſity there is to maintain a good underſtanding between the two nations, upon which muſt, in a great meaſure, depend their mutual ſafety, and the balance of Europe.*

The preſent war has ſhown what the two nations can do, when cloſely united; but the efforts of Britain in this war have been ſo grand, and her ſhare ſo extenſive and noble, in a word, ſo worthy of the nation, and of the great Queen who ſways the ſceptre, that there can be no reaſon to doubt, that, at the future treaty for peace, all the allies will unanimouſly concur to obtain for Great Britain the conditions and advantages ſhe may expect from France; and it ſeems this method would be more certain to attain this end, than the endeavour to gain it by a ſeparate negociation, which might give the other allies ſome ground for diſtruſt.

It is certain that the general intereſt of the allies requires they ſhould be as united at the future treaty of peace, as they were during the war, as the only means to guard againſt thoſe intrigues which France has ſo uſefully practiſed in ſuch kind of aſſemblies, to divide the allies, and that all the ſecurity of the latter depends upon their guaranty to each other of what may be regulated by the ſaid treaty.

As to the place of aſſembly, it is matter of aſtoniſhment in the victorious ſtate of the allies, that France ſhould pretend to dictate, and ſhould in this reſpect begin to aſſume a maſterly tone. His Electoral Highneſs doubts not the Queen will diſapprove of ſuch haughty proceeding, and will acknowledge it is proper to fix with the allies the place of meeting.

With regard to the information received, that the Imperial Court was deſirous to open a ſecret negociation with France, to the prejudice of the intereſt of Great Britain, his Electoral Highneſs takes the liberty to aſſure the Queen, that that Court has no ſuch intention, its preſent circumſtances and the reſtitutions required from France being ſuch, that it is not poſſible for that Court to withdraw itſelf from the reſt of the allies, and ſtill leſs ſo from the Queen than any other of them; it may, on the contrary, be rather expected, that the new Emperor will make greater exertions againſt the enemy, than have been hitherto made.

My Lord Rivers is requeſted, humbly to thank her Majeſty for the care her goodneſs has taken of the intereſt of the Electoral Houſe, in the firſt article of the preliminaries propoſed by France, as alſo, for her willingneſs to procure for his Electoral Highneſs, from that Crown, the acknowledgment of his electorate, upon which his Highneſs wiſhes that whenever this ſubject is treated, her Majeſty's miniſters may take care to omit the word *ninth*, as derogating from his rank, his Electorate being no longer the ninth; and therefore the Queen is deſired to ſtipulate that France *do acknowledge the electorate of his Electoral Highneſs of Brunſwick, with all dignities, offices, and prerogatives thereunto annexed.*

In regard to what has paſſed in Scotland concerning the medal of the Pretender, his Electoral Highneſs ſubmits to the Queen's prudence, what ſhould be done to prevent the conſequences of ſo public a tranſaction.

His Electoral Highneſs is much obliged to the Queen, for the ſteps ſhe has taken with the King of Denmark, to engage him to alter his deſign of ſending troops into the country of Bremen, and herein he begs her Majeſty to continue her care whenever circumſtances may require it. His Electoral Highneſs is very ſenſible of the Queen's goodneſs in permitting the return of ſome of his regiments during the winter; he will withdraw as few as poſſible, to avoid an abuſe of her Majeſty's goodneſs: he will ſend them back as early as he can, knowing of what importance it is, that the army ſhould be early in readineſs to begin the campaign. His Electoral Highneſs has ordered Baron de Bothmar to return directly to the Queen's Court; he hopes that her Majeſty and her Miniſters will give him a favourable reception, the intent of his journey and inſtructions being only to mark ſtill more viſibly his Electoral Highneſs's veneration of her Majeſty's perſon, and his gratitude for her goodneſs.

To Baron de Bothmar. (Page 403.)

SIR,

Whitehall, February 2nd, 1711-12.

AS the letter which you did me the honour to write me of the 29th of the laſt month, turns upon ſo important a ſubject as the ſucceſſion of the moſt ſerene Houſe of Hanover, I thought it my duty to communicate it to the Queen, and it is by her order that I ſend you the following anſwer:—It is ſo indiſputable a right of the Houſe of Commons to enquire into every thing which has been, or may become prejudicial to the intereſt of the nation, that the ſovereigns themſelves never take upon them to hinder their proceedings of that kind; for which reaſon you will give me leave to ſay, that it is proper that you ſhould not lightly meddle in ſo nice an affair, and eſpecially ſince you cannot have particular and peremptory orders from his Electoral Highneſs your maſter. You do me a great deal of juſtice in looking upon me as a man well affected to his Electoral Highneſs, and zealous for his right; but you do me too much honour in thinking me able to direct matters in the Houſe of Commons one way or other; the only means which I could make uſe of for this purpoſe, would be to lay before them the letter, which you was pleaſed to write me, and that I will do if you deſire it. I muſt add, that the good inclinations of the Queen, of the Parliament, and of the people in general, are the beſt guaranty for ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; and after all the proofs which have been given by her Majeſty and by both Houſes, of their ſincere intentions to maintain the right of the moſt ſerene family, it ſeems a little ſtrange that the examination of the barrier treaty, which ſo nearly concerns one of the moſt conſiderable branches of our trade, ſhould occaſion any jealouſy. I am, &c.

To Monſieur de Cambiague. (Page 417.)

SIR,

Whitehall, February 29th, 1711-12.

I BEG you to believe that Mr. St. John, and the Secretary of State of that name, are the ſame perſon; you have ſeen, by my conduct four years back, that great changes do not affect me much; therefore do not ſuppoſe they are capable of making me alter my ſentiments with reſpect to my friends.

I have heard much good of Monſieur Forreſter, but your recommendation is ſufficient to inſure my endeavours to be of ſervice to him. My brother, happily for him, was with a friend of mine at Amſterdam, when he was taken ill of the ſmall-pox: he is at preſent at Utrecht, where, provided he makes a good uſe of the advantageous ſituation he is in, he may advance in the knowledge of public affairs, and in time be of ſervice to his country. The peace, among other advantages it brings along with it, will certainly raiſe the price of our funds. I am very glad to find you are engaged in the South-Sea Company, and make no manner of doubt that you will gain a conſiderable profit upon your ſubſcriptions. Poor Monſieur Calandrini is ſtill at Paris, and, according to all accounts, ſoliciting the payment of what is due to him: I have made, and ſhall continue to make application for him to the French Miniſters. I flatter myſelf that ſome of them may be induced to ſerve him.

I am, &c.

To Monſieur Meſnager. (Page 419.)

SIR,

Whitehall, March 4th, O.S. 1711-12.

I RECEIVED your letter of the 15th inſtant, and Monſieur Gaultier will not have omitted informing you of my giving him that addreſſed to him. I feel myſelf much honoured by the friendſhip you expreſs towards me; I beg you to preſerve it for me, and to believe that, on my part, I will, upon all occaſions, endeavour to ſhow you that no one can be more perfectly than I am, &c.

P.S. The paſſport demanded for you by Monſieur Gaultier, was immediately diſpatched.

From

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 422.)

Marli, January 31ſt, 1712.

I SEE, Sir, that confidence is not ſo entirely eſtabliſhed as we could wiſh, between the Plenipotentiaries of the King and thoſe of the Queen, at Utrecht. As we have all the ſame object in view, the ſpeedy arrival of peace, I conceive you will think it proper to ſend more poſitive inſtructions to the Biſhop of Briſtol and the Earl of Strafford, upon a ſubject in which they ſhould concert their meaſures with the King's Plenipotentiaries. It is very certain that his Majeſty is every way diſpoſed to contribute, on his part, to the ſpeedy concluſion of the treaty; and when England ſhall, on her part, concur, all oppoſition, from the enemies of peace, to the re-eſtabliſhment of the general tranquillity will be vain. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 423.)

Verſailles, February 8th, 1712.

NOTHING could give me greater pleaſure, Sir, than to find, by the letter you have done me the honour to write to me, the vanity of all the ſchemes concerted to prevent the peace. I am perſuaded that the return of Prince Eugene to Holland will completely undeceive thoſe, who ſtill hoped that his preſence and reputation would ſhake the Queen's wiſe reſolves; and we ought, I think, to expect from them the happieſt reſult, ſince the King will likewiſe, on his part, contribute every thing in his power for the completion of a work ſo neceſſary for the general welfare of Europe.

I hope, Sir, the accompliſhment of it will give me frequent opportunities of aſſuring you, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 424.)

Verſailles, March 10th, 1712.

SINCE the Dauphin's death, the Prince his eldeſt ſon is juſt dead, and the only one who remains, at this day, Dauphin, is only two years old. Here, Sir, is a freſh cauſe of alarm, and a pretext for thoſe who oppoſe the peace, to publiſh their fears of the union of the two crowns of France and Spain in the ſame Prince, becauſe the Catholic King has only an infant between him and the ſucceſſion. Nevertheleſs, this union would be as detrimental to France and Spain, as it would be dangerous to the reſt of Europe; on that account, the King remains unſhaken in his reſolve to purſue all neceſſary meaſures to prevent it, and his Majeſty has ordered me to ſignify this to you, as an aſſurance for the Queen of Great Britain.

I hope, Sir, that the misfortunes which lately happened in France, will not impede the bleſſing of peace, and that you will have the honour to bring to perfection a work, in the conduct of which you have had ſo great a ſhare. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 425.)

Whitehall, March 4th, O.S. 1711-12.

I SHOULD be aſhamed of having deferred ſo long an anſwer to the honour of your letters, did I not imagine I could alledge a good excuſe, and which will meet your approbation. In a word, it was my deſire to write to you with a certainty; and on that account, it became neceſſary to wait until the Emperor's Miniſters, and thoſe of the Republic of Holland, had more openly diſcovered their game; until the neceſſary diſpoſitions were completed here, and finally, until the Queen had reſolved upon the only method that can lead us ſpeedily to a good and laſting peace. I have now the ſatisfaction to inform you, Sir, that this reſolution is taken, and that Mr. Harley ſets off this evening, or to-morrow, with her Majeſty's laſt inſtructions to her Plenipotentiaries. You will be pleaſed to approve my referring

ferring you to Monſieur Gaultier for a more detailed explanation of the ſubject of that gentleman's commiſſion; and the Queen hopes his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will co-operate with her, to baffle the arts of thoſe who deſire the continuance of the war.

I intended to write to you yeſterday, when I received your laſt of the 10th inſtant, N.S. The Queen is greatly affected at the misfortunes lately ſuffered by France; and, far from wiſhing that theſe viſitations of Heaven ſhould impede the progreſs of our great work, her Majeſty will redouble her efforts, and proceed in ſuch a manner, that it will depend upon his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to conclude the peace in fewer weeks than his Plenipotentiaries have already paſſed at Utrecht. The Queen orders me, Sir, to notify to you, that ſhe does not doubt the King's firm reſolution to employ every neceſſary means to prevent the union of the two crowns upon the head of the ſame Prince: to do away every pretext of thoſe who oppoſe the peace, and to calm the minds of thoſe who favour it, her Majeſty is of opinion, that, without loſs of time, we ſhould agree upon this article, and Monſieur Gaultier will communicate to you our thoughts upon the ſubject.

I cannot conclude my letter, without preſenting to you my teſtimony as to the meritorious conduct of the bearer of it. He has ſerved the King his maſter, well, and at the ſame time, has acquired the eſteem of all thoſe who have had to do with him. I am, &c.

H. St. John.

Memorial ſent by Monſieur Gaultier. (Page 426.)

March 4th, 1711-12.

FROM the commencement of the correſpondence between Great Britain and France, on the ſubject of peace, it has been an eſtabliſhed maxim, that we muſt not, if it can be avoided, expoſe ourſelves to the events of the campaign; the Queen continues of this opinion, and has taken all neceſſary precautions on her part, to bring the negociation at Utrecht to a happy concluſion. From what has lately occurred here, one may have remarked the favourable diſpoſition of the Houſe of Commons, which, according to the conſtitution of this government, is principally to be looked up to in concerns of peace and war; it will not be difficult to gain the ſame inclination in the other Houſe. After which, the concurrence of the Queen and the whole Britiſh nation becomes a certainty, provided the plan for a general peace contain that reaſonable ſatisfaction and real ſecurity for all the allies which they have a right to expect. Mr. Harley ſets off to-morrow for Utrecht; he is amply inſtructed in her Majeſty's intentions upon all the eſſential points that may come to be diſcuſſed in the negociation, and he carries their laſt orders to the Plenipotentiaries. Theſe miniſters are empowered to enter into a ſtrict confidence with thoſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and to endeavour to form with them a plan for the re-eſtabliſhment of the repoſe of Europe. The Queen hopes this proof of her ſincere deſire to do every thing in her power to bring about this great work, will experience a due return, by ſending inſtructions to the Plenipotentiaries of France to avoid all delays, and to grant at firſt thoſe points, which the allies may with juſtice demand, and for which the Queen muſt in honour declare herſelf. The treaty of commerce may ſerve as a pretence to cover this ſecret negociation; and the plan thus formed by the Queen's and the King's Plenipotentiaries may, by the latter, be preſented, at the general Congreſs, to the Allies, as the ultimatum which they are directed to offer. The Queen has been ſenſibly affected by the misfortunes lately happened to France; ſhe does not doubt that the death of thoſe Princes may be uſed as an argument by thoſe who deſire the continuance of the war; but ſhe believes the ſureſt means of rendering their ſcheme fruitleſs, will be to agree, without loſs of time, upon the neceſſary meaſures to prevent the union of the two crowns. For this purpoſe the Queen ſuggeſts a propoſal, that the Prince, now in the poſſeſſion of the Crown of Spain, ſhould, for himſelf and his iſſue, execute a formal renunciation of that of France, and that the line of ſucceſſion to both ſhould be declared and fixed in the treaty of peace; it were alſo to be wiſhed, that the Cortes, or States of Spain, ſhould one way or other concur with this act.

Such are our firſt ideas on this ſubject; if, in the ſequel, any expedient more ſubſtantial and effectual can be ſuggeſted, the Queen is aſſured that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will

conſent to it, becauſe he looks upon this union as prejudicial to France and Spain, as it is dangerous for the reſt of Europe.

To the Marquis d'Alegre. (Page 427.)

SIR,

Whitehall, March 4th, O.S. 1711-12.

I RECEIVED your letter by Monſieur Molo; during your ſtay in this country, I conceived for you thoſe ſentiments of eſteem, which your merit exacts from all who have the honour of your acquaintance. I then made you a promiſe, that I would endeavour, upon all occaſions, to be of ſervice to you, and I now keep my word. The Queen conſents to your exchange, and the Meſſenger, who ſets off next Friday, will carry to Utrecht the order for your liberation. Your exchange had formerly been agreed upon with the Duke of Marlborough, but the Queen refuſed her aſſent. I wiſh, with you, for the ſpeedy return of the peace of Europe, and we have reaſon to hope that the negociation, for ſome time entered upon, will have a fortunate iſſue. I am, &c.

To Monſieur Marſchalch de Bieberſtein. (Page 431.)

MY DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, March 22d, N.S. 1711-12.

I HAVE only a few moments of time to beg you will forward the incloſed to the King your maſter; it is my very humble reply to the honour he did me, when you arrived in Britain. By the meſſenger of next week, I ſhall write you a letter inſtead of a note.

I am, &c.

To the King of Pruſſia. (Page 432.)

SIRE,

Whitehall, March 20th, O.S. 1711-12.

I RECEIVED the honour which your Majeſty condeſcended to do me by your letter of November 19th, which Monſieur Marſchalch de Bieberſtein delivered to me, with all poſſible reſpect and ſubmiſſion.

All the labours of my life could not merit ſo great a favour as that your Majeſty has done me, by declaring that you are ſatisfied with my conduct hitherto; the beſt manner to ſhow my acknowledgment of your royal goodneſs, will be to continue my prayers for the increaſe of your happineſs and renown, and to ſearch for new opportunities to make more known to you, that very reſpectful attachment with which I ſhall be, as long as life laſts,

Your Majeſty's, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 434.)

SIR,

Verſailles, March 20th, 1712.

THE King's Plenipotentiaries receive new orders from his Majeſty, to agree with the Biſhop of Briſtol, and the Earl of Strafford, upon the conditions he can grant to the demands of Great Britain. As his Majeſty cannot ſuppoſe your Plenipotentiaries have orders to exact ſuch terms, as would prove the ruin of the trade of his ſubjects, and of the navigation of his kingdom, ſo is he perſuaded that theſe new conceſſions, both for Great Britain, and for thoſe powers whoſe intereſts ſhe eſpouſes, will promote the ſucceſs of the negociation. But in the mean time, Sir, the King expects your Plenipotentiaries will ſhow leſs eagerneſs in the ſupport of the demands of the Houſe of Auſtria, of the States-General, and of many Princes of the Empire, who only complain becauſe they are urged ſo to do by the enemies to the peace. The moſt effectual way to promote it, is for the Queen of Great Britain alſo to ſend new directions to her Miniſters, at Utrecht, to act in future more in concert with the King's Plenipotentiaries.

Suffer me again to entreat your beſt exertions for ſo great a bleſſing, and do me the juſtice to believe that I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 435.)

SIR,

Verſailles, March 28th, 1712.

HOWEVER great the pleaſure I have in receiving the honour of your letters, I ſhall be no longer uneaſy at their delay, finding by your laſt, that the period of your ſilence is employed ſo uſefully towards the ſucceſs of that important buſineſs, which I hope you will conduct to a fortunate concluſion. Monſieur Gaultier has given me an account of all the meaſures you have taken to promote it. He goes to Utrecht, where I judge his preſence neceſſary to ſtrengthen the union and confidence between the King's and the Britiſh Plenipotentiaries. I hope the laſt orders, given by her Majeſty to her Miniſters, will eſtabliſh this good underſtanding upon ſolid grounds, and that you will finiſh what remains for the glory of the Queen your miſtreſs.

I reply, by a memorial, to that delivered to me by Monſieur Gaultier, as from you. It certainly would be deſirable to adopt the expedient you propoſe, to prevent for ever the grand inconvenience of the union of the French and Spaniſh Crowns; but, upon ſuch occaſions, we muſt not build upon the ſand, and vainly uſe a number of precautions, to confirm an act which, of itſelf, is invalid. Wiſhing to avoid one inconvenience, we ſhould run into others much more dangerous. I entreat you, then, to examine well this important buſineſs, and to bear in mind what I have the honour to remark to you, that the union of the two monarchies would be a greater misfortune to France than to England, and the other ſtates of Europe.

As you appear ſatisfied with the conduct of Monſieur Gaultier, I dare ſay it will pleaſe you to hear, that the King has preſented him to an Abbey. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

Note. (Page 435.)

Reply to the Memorial delivered by Monſieur Gaultier.

March 23d, 1712.

THE King deſires as ſincerely as the Queen of Great of Britain, to prevent the events of the campaign, and to agree, before it opens, upon terms of peace.

His Majeſty has remarked the wiſe and prudent line of conduct, obſerved during the Seſſion of Parliament, to make known to the Houſe of Commons, how much the nation was deceived by her allies, that they were the only gainers by the war, of which England bore the principal ſhare of expence, and from which no real benefit could be expected, but in making a peace upon terms honourable and advantageous to her. As the other Houſe has been hurried on by a turbulent faction, and as private intereſt is exerted againſt the preſent Miniſtry, the King is aſſured that thoſe who now, with ſo much ability, manage the affairs of the Queen of Great Britain, will know well how to make this party ſubmit, and oblige them to conform to the true intereſt of the nation, whenever the Plenipotentiaries of France and England, at Utrecht, ſhall have agreed upon a juſt and reaſonable plan of peace.

To forward this, his Majeſty has directed his Plenipotentiaries to grant farther compliances, of which they will inform Mr. Harley; he learns, with pleaſure, that the Queen of Great Britain has fully inſtructed him in her intentions, and has given him her laſt orders, not doubting that Princeſs's reſtraining within the bounds of juſtice and reaſon, the vague terms, *reaſonable ſatisfaction and real ſecurity*, which her allies extend, not only to the moſt extravagant demands, which they have actually made, but alſo to thoſe which they have not yet thought of, and which they reſerve, with the apparent intention of protracting the negociation. The principal order given by the King to his Plenipotentiaries, upon their departure for Utrecht, was to create an implicit confidence between them and the Miniſters of the Queen of Great Britain; the ſame orders have been often repeated, and lately again ſince the arrival of Monſieur Gaultier. Thoſe of Great Britain having the like orders, and his Majeſty de-

pending much upon the juſtice and the wiſdom of the Queen, the plan, neceſſary for the peace of Europe, will be ſoon formed. The Plenipotentiaries of France will certainly ſhorten all delays. The King is alſo aſſured that the Queen of Great Britain has given poſitive orders to her Plenipotentiaries, to remove all the unjuſt demands of her allies, which can only be productive of embarraſſment. The plan of the treaty of commerce has been tranſmitted from Utrecht, and the King has ordered it to be examined; it is very proper that it ſhould ſerve as a pretence for a ſecret negociation, nevertheleſs his Majeſty will omit nothing to favour the commerce of Britain as far as lies in his power, and which may not be abſolutely contrary to the intereſt of his Majeſty, and to the trade of his ſubjects. The King alſo believes, that nothing can be more conformable to the Queen's intentions, and to her aſſurances to him, than a wiſh to revive the good underſtanding between the two nations.

The laſt article of the memorial certainly requires minute diſcuſſion and mature examination; this ſubject is ſo important that we muſt not ſtop at our firſt ideas of the matter: the more ſpecious theſe are, the greater is the danger of being deceived, by the apparent facility of carrying them into execution. France will never conſent to become a province of Spain; Spain ſays the ſame with reſpect to France; the queſtion then is, What well-founded means can be uſed to prevent the union of the two monarchies? But we ſhould abſolutely go from the point we aim at, and fall into infinite dangers, worſe, if poſſible, than that we anxiouſly deſire to avoid, were we to contravene the fundamental laws of this kingdom. According to theſe laws, the Prince next the crown is the neceſſary heir to it; it is a patrimony which he receives neither from the King his predeceſſor, nor from the people, but by virtue of the law; ſo that upon the demiſe of a King, another immediately ſucceeds him, without awaiting the conſent of any one. He ſucceeds not as heir, but as the Monarch of the kingdom, the lordſhip of which belongs to him, not from election, but from right of birth alone; he is indebted for his crown neither to the will of his predeceſſor, nor to any act or decree, nor, in a word, to the generoſity of any one, but to the law; this law we conſider as the work of him who hath founded all monarchies, and we in France are perſuaded that God alone can aboliſh it.

No renunciation can then deſtroy it, and if the King of Spain gave in his for the ſake of the peace, and in obedience to his grandfather, we ſhould deceive ourſelves, if we received it as a ſufficient expedient to prevent the evil we propoſe to avoid. It would, on the contrary, be the ſource of the greateſt evils, it would open the door for civil wars in the kingdom, the flame of which would again ſpread itſelf through Europe. We muſt then look out for other expedients to prevent for ever an union equally dangerous to France, to Spain, and to all Europe. The late King of Spain, Charles II, had wiſely foreſeen the inconvenience of the re-union of the two monarchies, he alſo provided againſt it by his will; for at the ſame time that he calls Philip V, then Duke of Anjou, to the ſucceſſion of his kingdoms, he declares, that if this Prince, upon inheriting the crown of France, ſhould prefer it to that of Spain, the ſucceſſion to the latter ſhould paſs to the Duke of Berry; and in caſe the Duke of Berry ſhould ſucceed to the crown of France, the Archduke, the Emperor's ſecond ſon, ſhould be called to the ſucceſſion to the Spaniſh crown; the eldeſt ſon of the Emperor being excluded on purpoſe to prevent the union of the Spaniſh and Imperial crowns. Since Philip V began to reign, he has publiſhed and regiſtered in all the Councils of Spain, that the deſcendants of Queen Anne of Auſtria ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain, in default of the iſſue of the late Queen Maria Tereſa; and alſo that the Duke of Orleans ſhould ſucceed in default of the Duke of Berry. This diſpoſition, conformable to the laws of France and Spain, may be confirmed by the treaty of peace, and receive alſo, if neceſſary, the authority of the Cortes or States of the kingdom of Spain; it would ſecure the perpetual ſeparation of the two monarchies, it would avoid the inconvenience of a renunciation which can never be valid, being made contrary to the laws.

As the renunciation in the memorial tranſmitted by Monſieur Gaultier, was propoſed only as a firſt idea, ſo this new propoſition muſt alſo be conſidered in the ſame light, and ſerious reflection muſt ſuggeſt the means of avoiding a re-union equally dangerous to all Europe.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 438.)

SIR,

Whitehall, March 23th, O.S. 1711-12.

THE day before yeſterday I anſwered your letter of the 20th inſt. N.S. when a meſſenger brought me that of the 28th, with the memorial of the ſame date. The Queen is of opinion that Monſieur Gaultier will have ſatisfied you with regard to the points contained in the firſt, and her Majeſty has ordered me, without loſs of time, to communicate to you her ſentiments in regard to the article of the union of the two monarchies, upon which your laſt diſpatch principally turns. The compliances which have been granted from hence for the concluſion of a general peace, have been greater than could have been expected from the Queen, or than any other power could have contributed.

The primary motive of her Majeſty for theſe advances, was a firm confidence founded on aſſurances ſo often repeated by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he would agree to every meaſure neceſſary for the perpetual prevention of this union, ſo full of danger to all Europe.

The expedient which Monſieur Gaultier was inſtructed to propoſe, is the only one in the Queen's opinion capable of affording the ſmalleſt hope of preventing this inconvenience; and her Majeſty obſerves that the propoſition, contained in your memorial, only confirms, and makes the Queen and her allies parties to, a plan which is at preſent, more than ever, the object of their fears. It is not neceſſary for me to enter into objections that may be urged, you are, Sir, too well informed not to ſee them in their full extent and validity. The Queen has too much dependance on your maſter's equity, and on the ſincere deſire he has ſhown for peace, ever to imagine he will require her to be contented with a ſecurity ſo invalid as that propoſed in the memorial, or that ſhe will ever ſuffer that predicament to occur, in which he, who is in poſſeſſion of the Crown of Spain, ſhall have a right to ſucceed to that of France. Who then could aſſure us that this Prince would not exert his power to preſerve the one, and to acquire the other, rather than ſhow an example of moderation which has never yet occurred?

We are willing to believe that you in France are convinced that God alone can aboliſh that law upon which the rights of your ſucceſſion are founded; but you will permit us, in Great Britain, to be alſo convinced, that a Prince can go from his right by a voluntary ceſſion of it, and that he, in favour of whom this renunciation is made, may be juſtly ſupported in his pretenſions by the powers who become guaranties to the treaty.

In a word, Sir, the Queen orders me to ſignify to you, that this article is of ſuch vaſt conſequence, as well to her as to the reſt of Europe, as well to the preſent age as to poſterity, that ſhe will never agree to continue the negociations for peace, unleſs the expedient propoſed by her be accepted, or ſome other equally ſubſtantial be adopted.

To-morrow, I diſpatch a meſſenger to the Plenipotentiaries, with the Queen's orders upon this ſubject, and I muſt tell you that they cannot accept of any plan for a general peace, however reaſonable it may be in all other reſpects, unleſs they be ſatisfied with the means to prevent this union. We ſhould indeed build upon the ſand, and vainly practiſe precaution, were we to make peace, and not provide againſt a danger ſo great and ſo imminent as this. We obſerve, with much ſatisfaction, your deſire that the new propoſition ſhould only be conſidered as a firſt idea, let both ſides do their utmoſt to make our ſecond ideas approximate nearer, and not leave imperfect and unfiniſhed, a work which has been forwarded in ſpite of a warm and general oppoſition. I rejoice that it has pleaſed the King to reward the ſervices of Monſieur Gaultier, by preſenting him to an Abbey—He will be uſeful at Utrecht; and will there certainly find the Queen's Miniſters diſpoſed to accelerate the negociation. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

To

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 440.)

SIR,

Whitehall, March 24th, O.S. 1711-12.

I HAVE thought proper to ſtop the meſſenger, whom I had reſolved to diſpatch yeſterday, to wait for the letter which the Lord Treaſurer does himſelf the honour to write to you. In the mean time, our letters of the 30th, N.S. arrived from Utrecht, from them I learn there is ſome little difference between your Plenipotentiaries and ours in explaining that article, which promiſes the advantage of 15 *per cent.* upon all merchandize of the growth and manufacture of Great Britain. I hope my diſpatches to-morrow will do away this difficulty. Provided we can agree upon the method to prevent the union of the two monarchies, we may hope that the other points may be regulated to our mutual ſatisfaction. Thoſe, whether here or elſewhere, who are for the continuance of the war, and who oppoſed the opening of the conferences, will have a fine ſubject for their triumph, in caſe the expedient to effect this is not proportioned to the danger to which Europe is expoſed. Mr. Prior has ſhown me the letter he received from you; be aſſured, Sir, that the Queen has no intention of entering into a conteſt for the concerns of Cardinal de Bouillon. Her Majeſty wiſhes to accommodate the differences that now exiſt, and not to create new ones. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

To Count de Maffei. (Page 441.)

Whitehall, March 26th, O.S. 1711-12.

YOU muſt have perceived, Sir, by the conduct of the Queen's Plenipotentiaries, that theſe gentlemen have been inſtructed to promote the intereſt of his Royal Highneſs, as much as poſſible in the preſent conjuncture.

On my part, be aſſured that nothing will be neglected to obtain the neceſſary orders from the Queen, and, in the beſt manner I am able, to inforce them when I ſend them to our Miniſters at Utrecht.

You know enough of Britain, of the conſtitution of our government, and of the preſent ſtate of parties, to judge of the difficulty and danger, which thoſe in power at this time of day, muſt undergo. This will give you a juſt idea of the turns they muſt make, and the meaſures they muſt obſerve, at nearly every ſtep they move. In the mean time, the Emperor and the States-General, far from being obliged to us for our exertions, hitherto run the hazard of a general overthrow, rather than conſent, with a good grace, to make peace, even after it is become an undoubted fact, by the proceedings of our Houſe of Commons, that the war can no longer be kept up on the former foot. In ſuch circumſtances, I ſee but one expedient that can extricate us, and prevent the continuance of a war, which in future muſt be feeble and declining, and that is the ſame we have often diſcourſed upon, that the Queen, his Royal Highneſs, and the other powers, deſirous of a reaſonable peace, ſhould unite firmly together, ſhould concert and aſſiſt each other in forwarding their particular intereſts; and in caſe France will give them ſatisfaction upon theſe heads, and offer advantageous propoſals to the other allies, why not declare for a plan that will re-eſtabliſh the peace of Europe? You certainly have great reaſon to inſiſt upon the 16th article of your treaty, and I doubt not our Miniſters will make uſe of your arguments both to the French and the Dutch, to inforce the juſtice, nay, the neceſſity of obtaining for his Royal Highneſs, a proper indemnification for the rights he may loſe.

I write to-day to the Lords Privy-Seal and Strafford, upon this ſubject, and I know that in exciting them to eſpouſe your intereſt, I make my Court to the Queen my miſtreſs.

I am, &c.

Pray preſent my compliments to Monſieur du Bourg.

To

To Monſieur Marſchalch. (Page 443.)

SIR,

Whitehall, March 26th, O.S. 1711-12.

I LEARN, with much pleaſure, by your letter of the 19-30th inſt. your arrival in Holland, and your expectation to reach Utrecht the day following. Your good offices will be of great ſervice in the preſent criſis; thoſe who, for the ſake of their private advantage, wiſh the prolongation of the war, do not deſpond; on the other hand, the French may become inflexible, and endeavour to take advantage of the want of union among the allies. Thoſe, my dear Sir, who mean well, muſt oppoſe both one and the other.

You may perhaps recollect what I had the honour to tell you as the Queen's ſentiments in regard to the union of the two monarchies. I am convinced that the King your maſter, will look upon this article as the eſſential point of the whole negociation, and will be of opinion that we muſt never allow the poſſible occurrence of that caſe, when the Prince, who ſits upon the Throne of Spain, is called, by right of ſucceſſion, to that of France. This being granted, the neceſſary conſequence reſulting from it, is that we muſt, in this future treaty, ſettle the ſucceſſion of the Crown of France, to the excluſion of King Philip, and require from him a renunciation in favour of the Duke of Berry, &c.

The French will certainly anſwer, that if we accepted ſuch a renunciation, we ſhould deceive ourſelves, becauſe being contrary to that divine law, upon which the ſucceſſion of their crown is founded, it would be invalid; perhaps they may propoſe a confirmation of the will of Charles II, by which Philip, in caſe of the King's and the Dauphin's death, ſhall have his choice of the two crowns moſt convenient to him, and if he chooſes to reign in France, the Duke of Berry ſhall ſucceed to the Spaniſh monarchy. But an expedient of this nature would be very unſubſtantial and diſgraceful to the allies; it would confirm a Will which has been, and is now more than ever, the object of their juſt apprehenſion. If Philip, as they ſay, cannot renounce his right of ſucceſſion to the Crown of France, how then can he renounce the Crown when it falls to his lot, and if he cannot renounce the Crown, how can he have that choice which the will ſuppoſes? Let us be firm upon this point, every man can make a voluntary ceſſion of his right, and thoſe who are guaranties of an agreement, may, with juſtice, ſupport the pretenſions of him, in favour of whom ſuch voluntary reſignation has been made; according to the firſt plan, the intereſt of the Houſe of Bourbon, will agree with the general intereſt of Europe; according to the other, our whole ſecurity is the life of a boy three years old.

I write openly to you, and perhaps with warmth, upon this article, but you will excuſe me when you conſider that unleſs we prevent this union, we, by making peace, ſow the ſeeds of new wars, and lay the foundation of a power that muſt be dangerous to all Europe.

I am, &c. H. ST. JOHN.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 448.)

SIR,

Marli, April 8th, 1712.

BY the return of the meſſenger from London, I received the honour of your letters of 23d and 24th March, O.S. and I obſerved with much pleaſure, your opinion that the conditions of the treaty would be ſoon adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of all parties, provided we could agree upon the means to prevent the re-union of the two monarchies of France and Spain.

I believe, Sir, it is not impoſſible to find an expedient, to which it may be the intereſt of all Europe to agree, and as you do not confine yourſelf excluſively to that propoſed by Monſieur Gaultier, as from you, I hope the ſecond ideas upon the ſubject will be more fortunate than the firſt; if they do not entirely meet your approbation, have the goodneſs to communicate what you think ſhould be inſerted, and what omitted; in a word, Sir, let it be our unremitted buſineſs to perfect a work ſo highly neceſſary as that of the peace.

As

As the principal obſtacle to its concluſion reſts in the difficulty of finding ſecurity ſufficient to prevent the dangerous union of the monarchies of France and Spain, the King propoſes to agree, in the treaty of peace, of which all the powers of Europe will be the guaranties, that if ever the King of Spain, Philip V, or the Prince his ſon, or any one of their children, who ſhall ſucceed to the kingdom of Spain, or the next and preſumptive heir, or the ſucceſſor to the Crown of France, ſhall prefer that Crown to that of Spain, in ſuch caſe the Crown of Spain ſhall belong in full right to the Prince who ſhall be named in the ſame treaty to poſſeſs it; that not only King Philip ſhall ſign and ratify this condition of the treaty, but alſo all the powers of Europe ſhall unite with France in ſupport of it, ſo that ſhould the Prince of the Houſe of France, who ſhall reign in Spain, ſhow an inclination to aſſert his right to the Crown of France, in the caſe above cited, he may be forced to renounce his right, and that of his deſcendants, to Spain, to depart thence with all his children, Princes and Princeſſes, and retire to France. That if he prefers the Crown of Spain to that of France, or to the dignity of heir apparent and immediate ſucceſſor to the Crown of France, he ſhall be obliged to renounce his right and that of his children to the Crown of France, in favour of the branch next in ſucceſſion to his own, and which ſhall have remained in France; ſo that when this caſe happens, the Catholic King, or he who may reign in his ſtead, ſhall have nothing but the choice in right of primogeniture; but he ſhall not poſſeſs the two monarchies together, or inherit that of France, and leave that of Spain to one of his children.

Should you enquire, Sir, what precaution can be uſed to aſſure a renunciation which I have repreſented to you as contrary to the order of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed in France, I will reply, in the firſt place, there is no ground to ſuppoſe the King of Spain will make choice of that Crown, in preference to that of his anceſtors, and for many reaſons, eaſy to comprehend, but too numerous to be detailed. Secondly, ſhould he be ſo ill adviſed as to make ſuch a choice, the moſt efficacious precaution would be that which you inſinuate in your letters; that is, the ſolemn engagement, which all the powers of Europe would enter into by the treaty of peace, to maintain an arrangement concerted with a view to preſerve the common liberty and tranquillity.

As the clauſe in the will of the late King of Spain, Charles II, which raiſes the Duke of Berry to that Crown, appears an obſtacle to the peace, rather than an expedient capable of preventing the union of the two monarchies, an agreement might be entered into with the King of Portugal, to transfer to him the Crown of Spain, as ſoon as the King of Spain ſhould ſucceed to that of France; and ſhould have made that his choice, in preference to the monarchy of Spain. The marriage of the King of Portugal with a Princeſs of the Houſe of Auſtria, may ſerve as a colour for the arrangement in favour of that Prince; and ſhould it not prove expedient to name him for the Crown of Spain, we might, upon the ſame ground, ſelect that Prince who ſhould eſpouſe one of the Archducheſſes, daughters of the Emperor Joſeph.

Laſtly, the Duke of Savoy, having been called by the will of the late King of Spain, in default of the Houſe of Auſtria, he might alſo be named. But, as a King of Spain, in poſſeſſion of Piedmont and Savoy, would be a dangerous neighbour to France, the King would then find himſelf neceſſitated to demand, as a barrier, not only the reſtitution of Exilles and Feneſtrelles, but alſo the ceſſion of Savoy and the County of Nice.

The more ſubſtantially to enſure the repoſe of Europe, it might be a condition in the treaty of peace, that the means employed to prevent the union of the two monarchies, ſhould be received and confirmed by the Cortes or States of Spain.

My wiſhes are, Sir, that this plan may be agreeable to the views and ſentiments of the Queen of Great Britain; and I cannot reſiſt the expectation that it will prove ſo, becauſe the ſuggeſtion of making all the powers, who ſign the treaty, guaranties to the renunciations, came from you; and certainly, no better ſecurity to the validity of theſe acts could be obtained, than to make it a ſtipulation in a ſolemn treaty, to ſee which duly executed, the whole of Europe would feel intereſted.

The King orders me to communicate the purport of this letter to the Plenipotentiaries; and I hope, Sir, that the good underſtanding between his Majeſty and the Queen of Great Britain will increaſe daily; ſo that thoſe who are hoſtile to a peace, will have no cauſe to triumph.—You will have the pleaſure of ſilencing them, and I deſire not leſs, that of proving how perfectly I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 452.)

SIR,

Whitehall, April 6, O.S. 1712.

I REPLY to the honour of your letter of the 8th inſt. N.S. which I received by the ſame meſſenger who brought me the one preceding.

Be aſſured, Sir, we ſhall continue our unremitted exertions in the work of peace, the terms of which will be ſoon regulated to general ſatisfaction, could we but agree upon the means to prevent the reunion of the monarchies of France and Spain, You ſee, Sir, I have not altered my ſentiments.

Each of our allies has his own views; they are, perhaps, not all confined to reaſonable bounds; there are alſo many that claſh with each other; but, upon theſe points, we muſt not inſpect too cloſely, and mutual conceſſions will reduce all theſe differences to a juſt and equitable medium. But the article reſpecting the union of the two monarchies is, in its nature and importance, ſuch, that the ſlighteſt falſe ſtep in our proceedings muſt be fatal, and all the advantages we can poſſibly ſtipulate for, would be too dearly bought, were we to conſent to an unſubſtantial expedient to do away ſo real a danger.

I allow, Sir, that the ſecond ideas are more favourable than the firſt; and while they remove ſome difficulty, they diſpel a portion of our fear: to avoid all ambiguity, and to prevent the leaſt miſunderſtanding upon ſo nice a ſubject, you will permit me to explain the ſenſe in which her Majeſty underſtands the terms you make uſe of, and the plan you propoſe by the King's order.

You propoſe then, that the Prince who now governs Spain, ſhould not, according to your plan, await the reverſion of the Crown of France, before he makes choice of which of the two he prefers; but that the moment he becomes, either immediate ſucceſſor, or preſumptive heir to the Crown of France, he ſhould be bound to declare his optoin, and you preſcribe the ſame rule for his deſcendants.

Now, Sir, the Queen is of opinion, that the objection ſtated to your firſt propoſal, is, in ſome meaſure, of force againſt this; for how ſhall Europe be at a certainty that this option will be declared in either of the two caſes laid down by you? You will ſay, all the powers are guaranties of this agreement; ſuch a guaranty may really form a powerful alliance, to wage war againſt the Prince who may violate this condition of the treaty; but our object is rather to find out the means to prevent, than to ſupport, new wars.

At laſt, Sir, muſt we not allow, that no effectual expedient can be found to ſhelter Europe from the imminent danger, with which ſhe is threatened by the union of the two monarchies, unleſs the Prince who is now in poſſeſſion of Spain do immediately make his choice; and unleſs, from that choice, the order of ſucceſſion to both crowns be eſtabliſhed and ratified by the treaty of general peace?

The Queen obſerves, with very great ſatisfaction, that this plan is not widely different from that communicated to her by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. Let us, if you pleaſe, in the firſt place, reaſon upon the ſuppoſition that this Prince will prefer the crown of his anceſtors to that of Spain. There is in nature only one event that can happen to render our plan leſs advantageous to him than yours. Pardon me, if I ſuppoſe two caſes, very unpleaſant, but ſtill neceſſary, to illuſtrate the queſtion before us.

Should the young Dauphin die, the prince we ſpeak of would become immediate ſucceſſor to the crown of France: in this caſe then, he can loſe nothing, by making choice of the crown of France from this time.

His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty (whom God long preſerve!) happening to die, the ſame prince would be preſumptive heir to the crown of France: in this caſe then, what could he loſe by making his choice in a manner agreeable to the Queen's wiſhes? Will it be ſaid, that he runs the hazard of giving up Spain, and of not acquiring France? You muſt ſee, Sir, he would be liable to the ſame inconvenience according to the plan you propoſe. Upon the whole, of what I have ſaid, the Queen's opinion is, that it is equally advantageous to the prince concerned, to make choice of the crown of France immediately, or to make it in either of the two ſituations mentioned in your letter; and you muſt be convinced, that the ſafety of Europe would be much better ſecured by the one than the other.

If we reaſon upon the ſuppoſition that this prince will make choice of Spain, it is inconteſtibly true, in the firſt place, that it were better for him and for us, that ſuch declaration ſhould be made during the Congreſs at Utrecht, than at any other time; in the ſecond place, that the guaranty of the Powers of Europe would be much more likely to prevent his return to France, contrary to the formal renunciation he will then have made of his right, than to force him to abandon a crown of which he is in poſſeſſion, and to give up a pretenſion, which he has never renounced.

I have explained, Sir, as clearly as I am able, the Queen's ſentiments, with reſpect to the contents of your laſt letter. The object of her reſearch is the common ſafety of Europe; the Moſt Chriſtian King has the ſame views: in the name of God, let us not, for the ſake of the niceties of negociation, loſe the advantages within our graſp: let the King your maſter, and the Queen my miſtreſs, ſhare the glory of giving peace to Europe; and let thoſe who wiſh to break off the conferences, by the events of the campaign, experience the overthrow of their projects, by the ſpeedy concluſion of the treaty.

On the one hand, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may be ſecure in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Crown of Spain for his grandſon; on the other, he may ſtrengthen the ſucceſſion of that of France, may prevent for ever the union of the Empire with Spain, and may attain very eſſential advantages for his own kingdom: on all ſides he may rid Europe of her fears, and give the *dernière main* to a work of ſuch renown as that of a defenſive, honourable, and laſting peace.

By letters from the Plenipotentiaries, I find, we are ſhortly to expect the arrival of M. Gaultier, and that he brings with him the plan of a general peace, which has been formed at Utrecht. We flatter ourſelves that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will explain himſelf, upon that head, in ſuch a manner as to warrant her Majeſty in making the declarations neceſſary to ſecure the ſucceſs of our negociations. As a man who is a ſincere advocate for the peace, I will tell you, that the compliances, which may be expected from the Queen, will depend upon the reſolution that may be taken, with reſpect to the grand article, the union of the two monarchies.

Be perſuaded that I am, &c.

H. St. John.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 459.)

Sir,

Whitehall, April 11, O.S. 1712.

I HAVE ſtopped the meſſenger until this day, in hopes that the Lord Treaſurer would be able to reply to the honour of your letter; but as the defluxion of his eyes, which has prevented him for theſe five days, ſtill continues, I will no longer defer ſending the annexed letter. We wait with impatience the arrival of M. Gaultier, and it will be a misfortune to both ſides ſhould the anſwer we return to his diſpatch, and your reply to what I now ſend, not make the peace.

I am, &c.

H. St. John.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 468.)

Marli, April 26, 1712.

THE point of union, Sir, is eaſily aſcertained, when both parties have a ſincere intention and an equal wiſh to determine it. It has afforded me much pleaſure to obſerve, by the letters you did me the honour to write the 6th inſtant, O.S. that the plan I propoſed had removed many difficulties, and done away many cauſes of fear. I hope alſo, that your reply to it will finiſh the buſineſs now before us.

According to your letter, Sir, the only difference, between the propoſitio nmade to you by the King's order, and the project of the King, turns ſolely upon the time, when the King of Spain is to declare his choice of preſerving his right to the Crown of France, or to that of

Spain. In my propoſition, the moment for him to make the option was poſtponed to that period, when he ſhould become either immediate ſucceſſor, or preſumptive heir to the Crown of France; and the ſame condition was obſerved with reſpect to his deſcendants. You remark, Sir, that by deferring till then a choice ſo eſſential to the quiet of Europe, there is no aſſurance that it will then be made, ſhould, unhappily, ſuch an occaſion come round; that the guaranty of all the powers, parties to the treaty, would be an alliance ſufficiently ſtrong to make war upon the prince, who ſhould violate the articles of the peace; but that the object now in view is to prevent a war, rather than to find the means of ſupporting one, which, on this account, might be kindled. You conclude then, that to prevent the union of the crowns, it is neceſſary that the Catholic King do directly declare his choice, without waiting for that unfortunate occaſion, which we hope will never happen, but which we muſt ſuppoſe and look to, and that ſuch choice ſhould fix the order of the ſucceſſions to be inſerted in the treaty of a general peace.

Your obſervations, Sir, and your concluſions drawn from them, are equally juſt. The Catholic King muſt remove the diſquietude of Europe, by an immediate declaration of the part he will take, ſhould the ſucceſſion be ever open to him. He may, indeed, find ſome uneaſineſs ſhould he directly tell the Spaniards, that he would leave them, to return to France, when one of the two caſes you ſuppoſe happens. A nation, uncertain how long their King may continue to govern, or who ſhall be their next ruler, may become leſs faithful ſubjects to him who actually governs them; but this inconvenience muſt give way to the general good. Thus, Sir, the King, approving your propoſition, diſpatches a meſſenger to Spain, and his Majeſty writes to the King his grandſon, to acquaint him with the urgency of his declaring his choice, ſo that it may be inſerted in the treaty of a general peace, of which it is to form a condition under the guaranty of all Europe.

I hope, Sir, the King of Spain will conform to the King's advice; but, ſhould it happen, which I can ſcarce ſuppoſe, that he will not comply, his Majeſty will take all meaſures which the Queen of Great Britain may judge expedient to determine, even by force of arms, the choice of the Catholic King, and to ſecure to Europe a peace, which, at preſent, is ſo far advanced.

I am perſuaded, that we ſhall not be forced to come to this extremity; but the King directs me to inform you of his reſolution in this caſe, as a freſh proof of his good faith, and of his Majeſty's real deſire for the ſpeedy concluſion of a ſure and ſolid peace.

I conſider it ſo far advanced, now the principal difficulty, which could make it doubtful, is removed. But we muſt ſtill expect new obſtacles from thoſe who wiſh to break off the conferences. I believe, Sir, the beſt way to counteract their deſigns, would be for the Queen of Great Britain to propoſe immediately a ſuſpenſion of arms, for they found their hopes upon the events of the campaign: and as I ſee, by your letter, that her Britannic Majeſty is inclined to make every neceſſary declaration to enſure the ſucceſs of the negociation, it appears to me, that a ſuſpenſion of arms might be one of them.

I have detained Monſieur Gaultier ſome days longer than he ought to have continued here, waiting your reply; and judging it neceſſary that he ſhould be well informed of your ſentiments before his departure for England.

I ſhall communicate to you his Majeſty's intentions, with reſpect to the demands of your allies. The moſt difficult article being now, as it were, got over, I hope you will have nothing in view but the juſtice and ſtability of the peace; and that the Queen of Great Britain, influenced by theſe grand motives, will give the firſt proof of her wiſhes to eſtabliſh a perfect good underſtanding with the King.

By the ſame meſſenger I received the honour of your letter of the 11th inſt. O.S. I am much concerned for the Lord Treaſurer's illneſs, and ardently hope he may ſoon recover. It is of the greateſt importance that thoſe who, as you and his Lordſhip, have had the principal ſhare in carrying on the work of peace, ſhould alſo have the credit of completing it. I hope we may ſoon ſee the ſucceſs of it; and I beg you to believe, that on all occaſions, I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 471.)

SIR,

Whitehall, April 29, 1712.

THE plan in your letter of the 8th inſt. appeared to us to do away many difficulties, and to remove many cauſes of apprehenſion; but from a miſunderſtanding of the King's intentions, and a wrong explication of the Queen's, we are at preſent more diſtant from an agreement for a peace than we expected to be.

It is very true, that the ſole difference between the propoſition made to me by the King's order, in the ſenſe we underſtood it, and that tranſmitted to you by the Queen's directions, turns ſimply upon the time, when the Prince concerned will make his choice, either to keep his right to the Crown of France, by renouncing that of Spain, or to preſerve that of Spain by renouncing that of France.

In your letter of the 26th inſt. the Moſt Chriſtian King conſents that this choice ſhould take place, and be declared immediately; but, Sir, you make no ſtipulation as to the carrying of it into effect, which is abſolutely neceſſary to make the peace concluſive. The Abbé Gaultier explains the King's intentions in a different manner; and I obſerve you ſay, that the Prince now reigning in Spain, muſt remove the diſquietude of Europe by an immediate declaration of the part he will take, ſhould the ſucceſſion to France be ever open to him: in this manner our great work will not be much forwarded by the laſt propoſal.

Had we underſtood it in the ſenſe you now explain, you ſee, Sir, we ſhould have run into a very great abſurdity, ſince, rejecting your project, we ſhould have formed another, againſt which, all the objections we have urged, and which, even in France, are conſidered as juſt and well founded, would have equal force. For though the Prince upon the Spaniſh Throne make his choice immediately, what additional ſecurity will that be to Europe, if the execution of that choice be deferred to a future period? When you offer, that he ſhall declare his option immediately, you have already granted, that neither the ſtipulations of a treaty, nor the the guaranty of all the Powers of Europe engaged in the war, can inſure that this option ſhall be carried into effect. How then can we conclude that they are able to inſure, when any of thoſe events happen, which we reluctantly are obliged to look to and ſuppoſe, that he will then leave one crown to aſſume the other, purſuant to the choice now made and inſerted in the treaty of a general peace?

The Queen has repeatedly declared, that it was impoſſible ſhe could be contented with any expedient, that was not of the moſt ſubſtantial nature, upon an article of ſuch vaſt importance, as that of the union of the two monarchies: to act otherwiſe, would be to give away all the advantages obtained by the blood of the allies, which has been ſhed during the war; it would be, in fact, to betray the common cauſe of Europe, and to expoſe the preſent and future ages to one of the greateſt dangers that the mind can form.

Her Majeſty is indeed ſincerely deſirous of peace; ſhe even wiſhes that it ſhould be reaſonable for France; but to obtain it, the intereſt of France muſt not be made incompatible with the general ſafety. We muſt ſo manage, that the time may never occur, when the ſame Prince will have the crown of Spain upon his head, and his ſucceſſion to that of France open to him.

If this Prince, of whom we are ſpeaking, will not be contented with Spain, or if France will not, by excluding him, weaken her ſucceſſion, muſt we, on that account, after peace is ſigned, be perpetually armed, and live in conſtant expectation of a renewal of war? The Queen will never conſent to this, and her Majeſty believes, that not one of the allies will agree to ſuch hard terms.

To ſhow, however, her readineſs to contribute all in her power to ſatisfy his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, without wounding her honour, or ſacrificing her intereſt and that of her allies, the Queen orders me, Sir, to propoſe to you an expedient, by which, King Philip may preſerve his right to the Crown of his anceſtors, and gain a recompence for Spain, which in this caſe he will be obliged to abandon.

Her Majeſty therefore propoſes, that this Prince do, with his family, immediately retire from Spain; that the Duke of Savoy, with his, repair thither, and take poſſeſſion of that monarchy and the Indies; that King Philip enjoy the kingdom of Sicily, the hereditary ſtates

of his Royal Highneſs, with the Montferrat, Mantuan; and, in caſe he ſucceeds to the crown of France, that Sicily be ceded to the Houſe of Auſtria, but that the other ſtates remain to be in future conſidered as provinces of France.

The Queen could wiſh this propoſition ſhould appear to come from his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as an effect of his moderation, and a ſacrifice he is willing to make, to extricate Europe from her preſent embarraſſment, and to reſtore a general tranquillity.

Her Majeſty thinks ſhe now facilitates the concluſion of the peace by every means in her power, and requires nothing more than the fulfilment of the promiſe, made by the Moſt Chriſtian King, when he declares himſelf ready to make uſe of all juſt and reaſonable meaſures to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain upon the head of the ſame Prince.

The Queen commands me to add her hopes, that the propoſal now made, by her order, will be accepted; but in all caſes ſhe inſiſts, that your anſwer ſhould be catagorical and concluſive. Our preſent circumſtances, as well as the ſeaſon of the year, will not permit us to remain longer in the uncertainty of war or peace. The parliament, to whom her Majeſty has promiſed to communicate what has been done on the ſubject of peace, will become impatient, and the Queen thinks it her duty to impart to them the anſwer ſhe may receive to this letter. The armies have already taken the field, and the events of one day may entirely change the aſpect of affairs. Well diſpoſed as the Queen is, to forward the negociation for peace, and to ſpare the effuſion of blood, ſhe cannot however declare for a ſuſpenſion of arms, before ſhe knows the Moſt Chriſtian King's reſolution, upon the expedient propoſed, to prevent the union of the two Monarchies.—If I ſay nothing, Sir, of the plan for a general peace, which the Abbé Gaultier has brought us, it is becauſe the Queen does not conſider the differences, which occur in it as unſurmountable, provided the article relating to the union were once got over, and becauſe, if we are not ſo fortunate as to ſucceed in adjuſting this, it were uſeleſs to trouble ourſelves with other poitns of the treaty. I am, &c.

H. St. John.

Note. (Page 475.)

[The Reader will obſerve, that in the following Paper, the letter *O* prefixed, ſignifies the Offers or Conceſſions of France, communicated by Monſieur de Torcy; *D*, the farther Demands of Great Britain for herſelf and her Allies; and *R*, the Reply of the King of France to thoſe farther Demands.]

General Plan of Peace.

For Great Britain.

O. (1.) The King promiſes to conſent, without difficulty, to every thing contained in the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th articles of the ſpecific demands of the Queen of Great Britain.

(2d.) The King will demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, as well thoſe of the town as of the citadel, the Ryſbanks, and the other forts on the ſea ſide, and, in three months after, thoſe on the land ſide; to be computed from the day of exchanging the ratifications, the whole at his own expence, and with a promiſe never to repair them in the whole, or in part.

(3d.) The King will give up the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher to Great Britain, as alſo Newfoundland, on condition that the Town of Placentia be razed; that the French retain the free right to fiſh and dry cod at Newfoundland, in the places where they have been accuſtomed ſo to do. The ſmall iſlands adjoining, and in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland, ſhall be likewiſe ceded to England, it being well underſtood that the Iſland of Cap Breton, and others, in the Gulph and mouth of the River St. Lawrence, of which France is actually in poſſeſſion, ſhall remain to the King.

(4.) The King will give up the province of Acadia, with the Town of Port Royal and its dependencies, to Great Britain, as alſo Hudſon's Straits and Bay.

(5.) In the countries in North America ceded to Great Britain, the French ſhall be at liberty to withdraw their effects, as alſo his Majeſty to withdraw the cannon and warlike ſtores.

D. England demands that the Town of Placentia remain in its preſent ſtate.

That the cannon and warlike ſtores in Hudſon's Bay remain for England.

R. His Majeſty offers to let the fortifications of Placentia remain as they are, upon giving up that place to England; to conſent to the demand made of the cannon in Hudſon's Bay, and beſides, to cede the Iſlands St. Martin and St Bartholomew; to give up even the right to fiſh and dry cod on the coaſt of Newfoundland, if the Engliſh will reſtore Acadia, for theſe new ceſſions, propoſed as an equivalent.

In this caſe, his Majeſty conſents, that the River St. George ſhould be the boundary of Acadia, as England inſiſts.

Should the Plenipotentiaries of that Crown refuſe to enter into any expedient for the reſtitution of Acadia, the King, rather than break off the negociation, will comply with their demands already made; that is to ſay, to give up Placentia fortified, and the cannon in Hudſon's Bay; it being well underſtood, that the offer to cede the Iſlands St. Martin and St. Bartholomew, and that of foregoing the right to fiſh and dry cod upon the coaſt of Newfoundland, are to be conſidered as if they had never been made.

(6.) After the peace, commiſſioners ſhall be appointed on both ſides, to aſcertain, within the compaſs of a year, the boundaries of Canada, or New France, on one ſide, and of Acadia, and the land of Hudſon's Bay on the other, and to ſettle in a friendly manner all juſt and reaſonable recompences inſiſted upon, on both ſides, for injuries done prejudicial to the rights of peace and war.

(7.) The boundaries being once ſettled, the ſubjects of both crowns ſhall be reciprocally prohibited from paſſing the ſame, whether by land or ſea; as alſo from diſturbing the trade of the ſubjects of each nation, and moleſting the Indian nations, allies, or ſubjects of either crown.

O. (8.) The King will permit the Houſe of Hamilton, Colonel Charles Douglas, and others, to repreſent to him their ſeveral rights and pretenſions, and will do them ſtrict juſtice.

D. That the Duke of Richmond be conſidered as the heir of his mother.

R. The Duke of Richmond having obtained the King's letters of naturalization, ſhall, when peace is made, enjoy the privilege attached to the favour granted to him by his Majeſty.

D. That the 4th article of the Treaty of Ryſwick be aboliſhed, and that the King do give no oppoſition to the regulating of affairs of religion in the empire, purſuant to the Treaty of Munſter.

R. In conſideration of England, the King wiſhes this affair ſhould be regulated with the Empire; his Majeſty having no intention to derogate from the treaties of Weſtphalia, on the ſubject of religion.

O. (9.) The King, in the name of the King of Spain, his grandſon, promiſes that Gibraltar and Port Mahon ſhall remain in the hands of the Engliſh.

D. That an extent of country round Gibraltar, equal to two cannon ſhot, and the whole iſland of Minorca be ceded to England.

R. The King had great difficulty to induce the King of Spain to give up Gibraltar to the Engliſh, that Prince's intention being, as he often declared, not to yield an inch of land in Spain. It will be ſtill much more difficult to obtain from him the ſmalleſt conceſſion, on ſo important a point now, when he is urged to renounce his rights to the Crown of France, and look upon Spain as the only patrimony he can leave to his deſcendants.

So that this new demand will be ſure of a refuſal, and the power which his Majeſty has received from the Catholic King, is directly contrary to ſuch a pretenſion.

As he has not explained himſelf with regard to the entire ceſſion of the Iſland of Minorca, the King will uſe his endeavours to obtain it, as a ſort of equivalent for territory round Gibraltar; and on this conſideration, and from this time, his Majeſty promiſes that the whole iſland of Minorca ſhall be ceded.

O. (10.) After the concluſion of the peace, the Engliſh ſhall have the tranſportation of negroes to the Weſt Indies, otherwiſe called the Aſſiento treaty for negroes, upon the ſame conditions as agreed upon between the King of Spain and the French; ſo that the company, which for this purpoſe will be eſtabliſhed in England, ſhall have the privilege of refreſhing,

ſelling,

elling, and delivering their negroes in all places and ports of America, upon the North Sea, in Buenos Ayres, and generally in all places and ports, where the ſhips of the Company eſtabliſhed in France, under the name of the Aſſiento, are permitted to enter.

D. That the French do not withdraw their Aſſiento effects, otherwiſe than by Engliſh or Spaniſh veſſels.

R. Thoſe concerned in the Aſſiento Company, will ſtrictly obſerve the terms of their agreement; conſequently they cannot, under the pretence of bringing away their effects, trade to the Indies direct; and they would abſolutely loſe them, ſhould they be forced to put them on board other veſſels than thoſe of their Company.

The peace having for its object the general benefit of both French and Engliſh, it would be unjuſt that one of the firſt advantages, which reſults to England, ſhould be to the prejudice of France; if the Engliſh will enter into a bargain to purchaſe the effects of the French company, this inconvenience will be avoided.

O. (11.) The ſaid treaty ſhall be for thirty years, and there ſhall be aſſigned to the Engliſh Aſſiento Company, an extent of land upon the river de la Plata, where they may not only refreſh their negroes, but keep them in ſafety until they be ſold, according to terms to be ſtipulated in the Aſſiento contract; and to prevent any abuſe of this conceſſion, the King of Spain will appoint an officer to ſuperintend, to whoſe inſpection, thoſe concerned in the ſaid Company, and generally thoſe whom they ſhall employ in their ſervice ſhall be ſubject.

D. That this extent of territory be ſubmitted to the choice of the Engliſh, and that the Spaniſh Inſpector be ſuppreſſed.

R. The demands made to the King on this article, are known in England; his Majeſty obtained them from the King his grandſon, with great difficulty. He can neither demand nor grant in his name, any farther addition to what has been acceded to for the ſake of the peace; if the Engliſh think proper to inſiſt upon farther advantages, they muſt make a direct application to the Spaniſh Plenipotentiaries, who, for this purpoſe, muſt have the neceſſary paſſports ſent to them, that they may repair to Utrecht.

(12.) All advantages, rights, and privileges, now granted, or which hereafter may be granted by Spain, to the ſubjects of France, or to any other nation whatever, ſhall be, in like manner, granted to the ſubjects of the Queen of Great Britain.

(13.) His Majeſty promiſes, in like manner, that all merchandiſe of the growth of Great Britain, going from the ports of Spain, from whence veſſels are diſpatched for the Spaniſh Indies, ſhall be free of all duties of import and export, as well in Spain as in the Indies.

(14.) All the above articles ſhall be underſtood in the moſt ample and proper manner in the treaty of peace, and to them ſhall be added clauſes for the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and other mutual aſſurances according to the common cuſtom of preceding treaties, which ſhall be acknowledged to poſſeſs and have their former force and effect, except where they are repealed by this; and this clauſe ſhall be added at the end of each inſtrument.

For the Duke of Savoy.

O. (1.) His right and rank in the ſucceſſion to Spain ſhall be acknowledged and declared, conformable to the will of Charles II.

D. That this article be in the following terms: the rank of the Duke of Savoy in the ſucceſſion to Spain, ſhall be preſerved for his Royal Highneſs, purſuant to his right.

R. In conſideration of the Engliſh, the King is willing to paſs this article as demanded, notwithſtanding the intereſt his Majeſty may have to recall the will of Charles II.

O. (2.) The King will reſtore Savoy and the county of Nice to him, with their dependencies.

(3.) The King will alſo cede to him Exilles, Feneſtrelles, with the valley of Pragelas.

D. His Royal Highneſs demands, beſides the valleys on the other ſide of Mont Genevre, comprehending that of Château Dauphin, Fort Barraux, and the territory from this fort to the confines of Savoy (as mentioned in the 4th article of ſpecific demands) the villages beyond the Rhone on the ſide of Savoy, the right of garriſoning Monaco, and the direct domain of Manton and Roquebrune.

R. The

R. The King cannot ſuppoſe that England, being ſincerely deſirous of peace, would give occaſion for new wars, by giving up to the Duke of Savoy, the very gates of France. He has neither right nor apparent pretence to demand a part of Dauphiny. He cannot reſt upon any juſt or reaſonable foundation, his pretenſion to the poſſeſſions of a third perſon, ſuch as the Prince of Monaco; ſo that his Majeſty conſiders it as a great condeſcenſion in favour of England to give to the Duke of Savoy, Exilles, Feneſtrelles, and the valley of Pragelas.

His Majeſty was induced to think from the nature of the firſt propoſitions known in England, that this Prince would have been contented with the reſtitution of Savoy, and the county of Nice, without demanding thoſe two places which can only belong to him by right of war or of courteſy.

O. (4.) The ceſſion of the Milaneſe and other places made by the Emperor Leopold, to his Royal Highneſs ſhall be confirmed.

(5.) His Royal Highneſs may erect what fortifications he pleaſes in places acquired by former treaties, without, however, infringing the treaty of Turin, made in 1696.

D. That he have the power of fortifying what places he pleaſes, notwithſtanding the treaty of Turin.

R. The apparent intention of the Duke of Savoy is to fortify Pignerol. The intereſt of France has not varied ſince the treaty of Turin, in 1696. It is not leſs important now, than it was then, to prevent the Duke of Savoy's fortifying this town; it may indeed be ſaid that the danger is greater now, ſince that Prince has acquired Exilles and Feneſtrelles, and his power is increaſed on the ſide of Italy.

England, cementing a friendſhip with France, ought not to aſſume a leſs intereſt in the tranquillity of her provinces, than in the uſeleſs aggrandiſement of the Duke of Savoy.

O. (6.) The trade from France to Piedmont, and from Piedmont to France, ſhall be carried on purſuant to the treaty of Turin.

(7.) His Royal Highneſs has free liberty to diſpoſe of the barony of Eſſarts, and other poſſeſſions and effects which he may have in France.

(8.) The King conſents that his Royal Highneſs ſhould increaſe his dominions in Italy as much as he pleaſes.

For Pruſſia.

O. (1.) The King of Pruſſia ſhall be acknowledged as ſuch by France.

(2.) The King will let him have the free enjoyment of the counties of Neufchâtel and Valengin, with a promiſe never to moleſt him, or afford any kind of aſſiſtance to thoſe who may diſpute his title to them.

D. Theſe counties ſhall be acknowledged members of the Helvetic body, by conſent of his Majeſty.

R. This novelty does not depend upon the King's conſent, the whole Helvetic body has an intereſt in this propoſal. It would not be unanimouſly received by all the members of it; many would find an intereſt to oppoſe it, and probably all the proteſtant cantons would not be of the ſame opinion.

The counties of Neufchâtel and Valengin are allies of the Swiſs. The King engages to acknowledge and to treat them as ſuch.

O. (3.) The ſubjects of Pruſſia in their trade with France, ſhall enjoy the ſame advantages granted to the ſubjects of her Britannic Majeſty and the States-General, upon condition of reciprocity.

(4.) The King will promote, with all his power, the pretenſions of Pruſſia to the city and canton of Gueldre, the city and county of Ercklens as demanded, provided that by ſo doing France do not incur an injury from thoſe, who may diſpute this poſſeſſion with Pruſſia.

(5.) The King will give as far as 1,200,000 livres, French money, to this Prince, for the purchaſe of his rights to the principality of Orange.

D. That he may have the option either of the money offered, or of the Lezière in Franche Comté. He offers to give up to the King only the Caſtle of Joux, as an equivalent; moreover,

moreover that the lands of the Houſe of Châlons ſhould be adjudged to him, and all edicts, decrees againſt the Proteſtants of Orange, ſhould be annulled.

R. The King is of opinion that he makes a great conceſſion, and ſhows his particular regard for England, by giving 1,200,000 livres to this Prince, under-pretence of purchaſing rights, of which his Majeſty knows he cannot juſtly avail himſelf, againſt thoſe who claim the principality of Orange.

There is therefore no queſtion of choice between this offer, and a pretenſion ſo ill founded as that of the pretended Lezière in Franche Comté, which the Miniſters of Pruſſia have demanded.

The ſum of 1,200,000 livres offered to their maſter, is a preſent made to the King for the ſake of the peace, under colour of the purchaſe of his rights to the principality of Orange: for otherwiſe his Majeſty has no other reply to make, than to declare he will leave the ſeveral claimants the liberty of proſecuting their rights to the principality of Orange, before the proper tribunals.

This is the only anſwer he can give on the ſubject of the lands belonging to the Houſe of Châlons, of which no one having an appearance of right of ſovereignty, can conſequently have any pretence to withdraw from the juriſdiction of the ordinary judges.

His Majeſty is accountable to no one for the edicts and decrees which he may iſſue for the interior government of his kingdom.

(6.) If this King accepts the above conditions, his Majeſty will acknowledge his title of Royalty.

(7.) The King conſents, and even demands, that the Thirteen Cantons be comprehended in the general peace.

For Portugal.

Q. The King will make the proviſional treaty of 1700, between France and Portugal, definitive, reſerving to himſelf the free navigation of the river Amazons, which ought to be ſo to both nations.

D. That the advantages promiſed by the Houſe of Auſtria, as well in Spain as in the Indies, ſhould be granted to him; that is to ſay, the cities of Badajos, Alcantara, Albuquerque, and Valencia, in Eſtramadura; thoſe of Bayona, Vigo, Tuy, and Guardia, in Galicia.

That the diſtrict between the river of Plate and the Brazil be ceded to him, ſo that this river may be the boundary of the territories of both.

That King Philip V do give up to him, as a barrier, Coria, Ciudad Rodrigo, Puebla de Canabria, and Monterey, with their dependencies.

That Spain, in the ſequel, do pay the balance due to the old Portugal Aſſiento Company, to which England and the States-General are guaranties; and laſtly, that France give up the lands of Cape North, in South America, notwithſtanding any treaty, proviſional or definitive.

R. If the King of Portugal had conquered Spain, or had contributed large armies to reduce it for the Archduke, he could not make higher demands than thoſe contained in this article. The Catholic King will cede nothing in Spain to the Portugueſe.

There is no probability that he will be more compliant with the demands made in the Indies. This is an article for diſcuſſion between the Plenipotentiaries of Spain and Portugal, as alſo the adjuſtment of accounts of what may be due to the old Aſſiento Company in Portugal.

We muſt only obſerve, that were the pretenſions of Portugal liſtened to, the Catholic King would have nothing but the name of King of Spain, his kingdom would be divided with a powerful enemy; and to obtain a power equally uncertain and hazardous, he is to be compelled to renounce his rights, and thoſe of his deſcendants, to the monarchy of France.

The King does a great deal for the Portugueſe, when he conſents to make the proviſional treaty, concluded at Liſbon, in 1700, definitive. This is all that his Majeſty can grant; they deſired nothing more when they ſigned the offenſive treaty with his Majeſty and the King of Spain.

For

For the Houſe of Auſtria and the Empire.

O. (1.) The Rhine ſhall be the boundary between France and the Empire, ſo that the King will give up Briſac and Fort Kehl, in their preſent ſtate, will cede Landau as it is, will demoliſh all the forts in his poſſeſſion beyond the Rhine or upon the Rhine, comprehending Fort Louis, as well as that of Pile near Straſburg, upon condition, and not otherwiſe, that the King do retain all his poſſeſſions on this ſide of that river, purſuant to the treaty of Ryſwic.

D. That Straſburg be given up, Huninguen and New Briſac demoliſhed. That Alſace remain to France only according to the literal ſenſe of the treaty of Munſter, as interpreted by the Empire and the Houſe of Auſtria.

R. The King will keep Straſburg, given up to his Majeſty, not only in conſequence of the ceſſion of Alſace, but alſo as an exchange for Fribourg, Briſac, and the right of placing a garriſon in Philipſburg, acquired by his Majeſty by the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen.

The fortifications of New Briſac ſhall ſtand, as that place will be neceſſary for the barrier of France, when Old Briſac is ceded to the Houſe of Auſtria.

There is no other interpretation to be given to the treaty of Munſter, with reſpect to the poſſeſſion of Alſace, than the ſenſe in which it was underſtood by the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters who ſigned the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryſwic.

O. (2.) The King will acknowledge the Elector of Hanover.

(3.) The Elector of Treves ſhall be re-inſtated in poſſeſſion of the city of Treves, and generally in whatever belongs to him.

D. He requires his re-eſtabliſhment in the Grand Priory of Caſtile, and the reſtitution of profits, which he pretends have only been ſequeſtered.

R. The King promiſes to obtain from the King of Spain the reſtoration of the Grand Priory of Caſtile to the Elector of Treves.

With regard to the reſtitution of the profits, his Majeſty promiſes his endeavours to obtain them, not knowing what, in this caſe, may be the cuſtom in Spain; and it muſt ſtill be a ſubject of diſcuſſion with the Plenipotentiaries of that Crown.

O. (4.) The King will conſent, if the Empire judge it expedient, that the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel ſhall have poſſeſſion of Rhynfels, St. Goar, and Kehl, on condition that religion remain in its preſent ſtate.

D. That the article about religion be ſubmitted to the deciſion of the Empire.

R. As this is a matter which relates to the Empire ſolely, it may be left to its deciſion.

O. (5.) As to what relates to the Houſe of Auſtria in particular, his Majeſty engages that the King of Spain ſhall give up to it, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the four places in Tuſcany, and as much of the Duchy of Milan, as ſhall not be ceded to the Duke of Savoy, together with the Spaniſh Netherlands, except the city and territory of Gueldre, which remain with Pruſſia, as above-mentioned.

D. That Sicily be given up to the Houſe of Auſtria.

R. His Majeſty and the King of Spain are not only bound to re-inſtate the Elector of Bavaria in his territories, but alſo to remunerate him for the loſſes he ſuffered during the war; on this account the Catholic King gave him the Spaniſh Netherlands, from which, if for the ſake of the peace he be obliged to recede, his Majeſty and the King of Spain are bound to provide for him ſome other recompence. The kingdom of Sicily is the only dominion that Spain can diſpoſe of in his favour, in diſcharge of their engagements to him.

It becomes more neceſſary to urge this condition, inaſmuch as it is evident that the Empire oppoſes his reinſtatement in the rank of firſt Elector, and demands of him the Upper Palatinate for the Elector Palatine, and after him to his brother Prince Charles of Neuburg, not to revert to the Elector of Bavaria, or to his children, till after the death of theſe Princes.

O. (6.) The whole, upon condition that the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria be reſtored to their eſtates, dignities, goods, moveables, &c.

D. No objection will be made to the reſtoration of the duchy of Bavaria, to the Elector of that name; and to his being the 9th, or laſt Elector, upon condition that he yield the

Upper Palatinate, and the dignity of firſt Elector, without hope of recovering his rank, until the death of the Elector Palatine, and of his brother Prince Charles.

And as to the Elector of Cologne, whenever he is reſtored to his eſtates, the garriſon of the city of Bonn ſhall be appointed and regulated according to the wiſhes of the allies.

R. Though this be a condition prejudicial to the Elector of Bavaria, yet the King conſents to it, on account of his remuneration in the kingdom of Sicily, becauſe the title of King will do away any thing degrading in the rank of laſt Elector, which is intended to be given to him, inſtead of the firſt rank in the Electoral College.

His Majeſty propoſes that the fortifications of Bonn ſhould be demoliſhed, and this expedient appears to him more proper, than placing a garriſon in that city, independent of the Elector.

O. (7.) A general pardon ſhall be mutually granted to the ſubjects of all parties in the Spaniſh monarchy, who may have eſpouſed different intereſts during the war, with a reſtoration to their eſtates and honours.

For the States-General.

O. (1.) The Catholic Netherlands, except ſuch as ſhall remain to the King and Gueldres as before-mentioned, ſhall belong to the Houſe of Auſtria.

(2.) The barrier ſhall be formed of the Spaniſh Netherlands, which the allies are now in poſſeſſion of; to which ſhall be added Luxemburg (reſerving a principality of the yearly value of 30,000 crowns, granted by the King of Spain to the Princeſs Urſini) Namur, Charleroy, Neuport, Ypres and its Châtelleny, Furnes and Furnamback, la Knoque, Menin and its Verge, upon condition that Liſle, in its preſent ſtate, with its dependencies, ſhall be reſtored to France as an equivalent for the demolition of Dunkirk and Tournay, with the Tourneſis, Douay, Bethune, Aire, and Bouchain, in their preſent ſtate, with their dependencies; as alſo all the cannon and ammunition which may be therein, in exchange for places which France gives up to ſtrengthen the barrier, and for thoſe which ſhall be ceded by the Elector of Bavaria, and of which he is now in poſſeſſion.

D. Beſides the places offered for the barrier, Tournay with the Tourneſis, as alſo Condé, together with the cannon and ammunition in the places given up, are demanded.

Moreover, a renunciation *in perpetuò* for all Kings, Princes, and Princeſſes of the blood of France, of all rights, preſent, future, or poſſible, to thoſe places which compoſe the barrier, whether in the whole or in part.

The principality, to be granted or reſerved to the Princeſs Urſini, is refuſed.

R. The King inſiſts upon the reſtitution of Tournay and the Tourneſis, as eſſential to ſecure the barrier which France muſt keep up in the Netherlands.

This barrier is the more important, as the power of the Houſe of Auſtria is become formidable, by the union of ſo many conſiderable ſtates in the perſon of the ſame Prince. Every thing is to be apprehended from ſo dangerous a neighbour, more employed in his own affairs than any of his predeceſſors, who glories in following the ſteps of Charles V, and does not conceal his deſign of increaſing his power. There is alſo no doubt that Holland will aſſiſt him, experience having proved, that far from dreading the power of the Houſe of Auſtria, that republic centres its glory and ſecurity in aggrandiſing the domains of the Houſe of Auſtria.

The ſame reaſon, the ſecurity of the frontiers of the kingdom, requires that the King ſhould keep Condé, and his Majeſty muſt not yield in this article.

As he is well aware of the conſequences of giving them up, ſo he will experience great pleaſure, if England will aſſiſt him in contributing to the reſtitution of Tournay and the Tourneſis, and will prevent a repetition of demands on the ſubject of Condé; and to give a real proof of his acknowledgment to that crown, his Majeſty will engage, that if Tournay and the Tourneſis are reſtored to him, all demands of Condé ceaſe, and he keep this place at the peace; he will, in this caſe, conſent, out of pure regard to England, to fill up the port of

of Dunkirk, although his Majeſty, knowing the prejudice which this condition, ſo ſtrongly inſiſted upon by the Engliſh, will do to him, hath always refuſed to grant it.

He will agree to deſtroy the fortifications of Berg St. Vinoſe, with its dependency, Fort François; and, ſhould it be neceſſary, to give up this city, razed, to the Prince, to whom the Netherlands may belong.

He will, in like manner, conſent to leave the cannon and ammunition which may be found in the places ceded by him; upon condition, that the cannon and ammunition ſhall alſo remain in the places ceded to him, or belonging to his Majeſty.

The condition ſhould be reciprocal, either to leave all the artillery, &c. in the places given up, as well by the King as his enemies, or to aſcertain the quantity that ſhall be left in each place.

The renunciation required of the King, is an article drawn from the preliminaries of 1709. There is great reaſon to reject it as uſeleſs, and even abſurd; but his Majeſty will grant it.

As the principality reſerved for the Princeſs Urſini, cannot affect public affairs, the King's wiſh is, that the difficulty, with reſpect to this article, could be done away.

O. (3.) The commerce with Spain and the Indies, ſhall be on the ſame foot as in the reign of Charles II; that with France ſhall be according to the treaty of Ryſwic; the tarif of 1664 ſhall be obſerved, with the exception of four ſpecies of merchandiſe, on conditions to be agreed upon.

D. The diſcuſſion upon the four ſpecies of merchandiſe is deferred.

R. The King conſents to it.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 496.)

SIR,

Verſailles, May 13th, 1712.

I HAVE received the honour of your letter, and was very ſorry to remark the great difference, between the propoſition you made to me, by the Queen's order, and the anſwer I gave you, by command of his Majeſty; for want of underſtanding each other, we have loſt much time, every moment of which was precious, and now we are under the neceſſity of ſending to the King of Spain for a new deciſion, upon a plan which had been propoſed to him, in a different ſenſe to that in which you underſtood it.

I acknowledge, Sir, my apprehenſions, that this explanation would be productive of new embarraſſment from the Court of Madrid, if the King had not reſolved to ſurmount all the difficulties which his Majeſty might meet with, relative to an article that is to lay the foundation of peace, and to ſacrifice even the intereſt of his family, for the reſtoration of public tranquillity. To remove theſe obſtacles, therefore, the King has this day offered two propoſitions to his grandſon.

The firſt, to renounce in the treaty of peace, for himſelf and his deſcendants, his right to the Crown of France, and to be contented with Spain and the Indies.

The ſecond, to retain his right to the Crown of France, but to give up, in the mean time, Spain and the Indies to the Duke of Savoy, and to be ſatisfied with the dominions which the Duke of Savoy now poſſeſſes; that is to ſay, the principality of Piedmont, the duchies of Savoy and Montferrat, and the county of Nice: laſtly, to retain the kingdom of Sicily, of which his Catholic Majeſty is ſtill maſter, upon condition, nevertheleſs, that if he ſhould one day ſucceed to the Crown of France, he ſhould only keep the territories which now belong to the Duke of Savoy, and that, in that caſe, Sicily ſhould go to the Houſe of Auſtria.

It were deſirable that the King could now know his grandſon's intentions, on either of theſe alternatives; but we muſt, of neceſſity, await the return of the meſſenger, whom his Majeſty has diſpatched to Madrid.

However, he orders me to aſſure you, that the treaty of peace ſhall be built upon one or the other of theſe propoſitions; that is to ſay, the King of Spain ſhall renounce his right to the Crown of France, and retain only Spain and the Indies; or he ſhall conſent to the ex-

change of Spain and the Indies, for the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, upon the conditions I have mentioned.

You muſt then, Sir, conſider what I now write by the King's order, as the final anſwer you require, which ought to remové all uncertainty, with regard either to the peace or the continuation of the war.

It appears, Sir, that the peace would be ſtill more certain, if we were to agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, now, when both parties may expect a fortunate iſſue; but we muſt leave to her Majeſty's prudence, to determine what ſhe may judge moſt convenient for the general welfare, which ſhe has as much at heart as any perſon. It would be very unfortunate ſhould any event of the campaign diſturb our preſent good diſpoſition towards the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity.

I hope you will ſoon give it its laſt poliſh, and entreat you to believe that no one can honour you more perfectly, nor be more truly, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 498.)

SIR,

Whitehall, May 10th, O.S. 1712.

I RECEIVED your letter of the 13th inſt. N.S. yeſterday evening, and this morning I read it to her Majeſty.

The Abbé Gaultier will give you an account of the orders I have juſt diſpatched to the Duke of Ormond; the Queen depends entirely upon the good faith of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and only waits for his Majeſty to communicate the reſolution of the King of Spain, at the return of the meſſenger from Madrid, before ſhe makes the neceſſary declarations to conclude the great work of the peace. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

To Count Maffei. (Page 498.)

SIR,

Whitehall, May 10th, O.S. 1712.

YOU will not be ſurpriſed, conſidering the preſent ſtate of the negociation for peace, and the ſeaſon of the year, to learn that the Queen has determined not to leave affairs of ſuch importance as the continuation of the war, or the reſtoration of the peace of Europe, any longer in their preſent uncertainty.

The Earl of Strafford has received her Majeſty's orders to repair immediately to Court; he will ſtop here only a few days, and will carry deciſive inſtructions with him to Holland.

In a criſis of ſuch moment, the Queen is deſirous to have, at her Court, a Miniſter of his Royal Highneſs, whoſe intereſt is as dear to her as her own; and ſhe has ordered me, Sir, to inform you, that ſhe judges it abſolutely neceſſary, that you ſhould repair hither without the loſs of a moment.

As you will return to Utrecht, with the Queen's Miniſter, and conſequently your ſtay in London will be ſhort, you will probably not encumber yourſelf with much equipage.

The Queen does not doubt his Royal Highneſs's approval of your conduct; ſhould you want any excuſes, the Queen would make them for you.

I ſhould add, that the negociation at Utrecht being, as it were, ſuſpended, the Queen thinks it will not be difficult to find a pretence for your journey; at all events, her Majeſty hopes we are ſo near the ſettlement of our great concerns, that it will be of no great conſequence, what impreſſions may be made on the public by this ſtep. I am, &c.

To Monſieur Marſchalch. (Page 506.)

Whitehall, May 17th, 1712.

OUR friend Breton did me great juſtice, when he aſſured you, as he certainly has done, that I remember you, Sir, with all poſſible eſteem and affection. Be pleaſed to preſerve for me the honour of your friendſhip, and reſt aſſured I will, at all times, endeavour to deſerve it.

The Queen never intended to communicate any thing to her Parliament, like what is mentioned in the report which has, according to your letter of the 17th, N.S. prevailed. We may, I believe, entertain hopes that ſuch a communication will be made in a ſhort time. We now wait to ſee, what part the enemy will take, upon the ſubject of the great article, the union of the two monarchies.

Her Majeſty, Sir, has, in truth, made great advances to renew the bonds of friendſhip and confidence with the States-General, which have ſubſiſted ever ſince the beginning of her reign, and could not have been broken at a more unfortunate period than the preſent. But you ought not to take umbrage at that. The Queen will enter into no engagement, that may not be agreeable to the intereſts of the King your maſter; and to ſpeak openly to you, I do not ſee that the Hollanders make the Queen ſuch returns, as might induce her to ſhow them great attention. Thoſe gentlemen do not ſee, even now, that the Queen governs in Great Britain, and that their friends, the faction, have neither influence nor credit.

You aſk me, Sir, if I think the negociation will continue long? My reply is, that I hope the Earl of Strafford will carry back with him the concluſion of the peace.

This moment one of our Meſſengers brings me your letter of the 24th, N.S.; keep your mind eaſy, I conjure you, as to the conduct the Queen will obſerve with regard to his Pruſſian Majeſty.

Peace will never be made, with the conſent of our Court, unleſs it be a good one for all the allies; but the manner in which the King entered into the Queen's meaſures, oblige her Majeſty to be particularly careful of his intereſt, for this I dare be anſwerable to you, and you know I pride myſelf in being a man of honour, as much as being, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 509.)

SIR,

Whitehall, May 24th, O.S. 1712.

FROM the report which the Earl of Strafford, who has, within theſe few days, arrived at Court, has made to the Queen, as well concerning the ſtate of the negociation at Utrecht, as the temper of mind, in which he left the Miniſters of the allied powers, her Majeſty is confirmed in the opinion, ſome time ſince entertained, that in order to obtain a general peace, it is become neceſſary for her to declare her mind in a different manner to what ſhe has hitherto done.

You already know, Sir, that the Queen cannot excuſe herſelf from the communication ſhe promiſed to her Parliament, concerning the negociation of peace, as ſoon as ſhe receives King Philip's deciſion; that is alſo the point of time, when either the negociation will be abſolutely broken off, or the Queen will be enabled to lead it to a ſucceſsful concluſion, in ſpite of all oppoſition whatever.

I have therefore the Queen's orders to communicate to you the ſteps ſhe is reſolved to take; provided the Moſt Chriſtian King will make them practicable.

Her Majeſty will inform her Parliament and all her allies, firſt, that ſhe has ſettled the intereſts of Great Britain with the Moſt Chriſtian King.

Secondly, that ſhe conſiders thoſe of the other powers engaged with her in the war, as very eaſy of adjuſtment, ſince to the greater part of them, the King offers nearly the amount of their demands, and to all of them juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction.

Thirdly, that ſhe is about to uſe her beſt endeavours for the accommodation of her allies; and that, in order to prevent all accidents, which the events of the campaign may occaſion, to diſturb the negociation of peace, ſhe has agreed with the King for a ſuſpenſion of arms.

Such, Sir, are the meaſures which the Queen is ready to adopt, and of which ſhe has ordered me to inform you, and you will find in the ſubjoined memorial, the conditions upon which her Majeſty conſents to make ſuch important advances, and ſuch deciſive declarations. As theſe demands have been drawn with a view to facilitate the great work of peace, and not to obtain any new advantage, the Queen promiſes herſelf that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will conſent to them.

We are now at the moſt aweful criſis that Europe has experienced for many years; and the anſwer I ſhall receive to this diſpatch, will either inſure the peace, or plunge us into the miſeries of war; for you muſt obſerve, Sir, that at the return of the meſſenger, either the ſuſpenſion of arms between Great Britain and France, muſt be openly declared, or our army, without farther loſs of time, muſt begin the operations of the campaign. Inſtead of being in any dread of the latter, I am willing to flatter myſelf that the former of theſe two caſes will happen. *The orders diſpatched to the Duke of Ormond, after the arrival of the meſſenger who brought me your letter of the* 18*th N.S.* together with her Majeſty's preſent reſolves, are ſo eſſential a mark of her good faith, of her ſincere deſire of peace, and of her confidence in his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that we have a right to expect the King will act in the ſame manner, and that in a few weeks we ſhall ſee, not only the general repoſe of Europe, but the revival of a good underſtanding between two nations, who may become the moſt ſerviceable friends to each other, for the ſame reaſon as they have been the moſt formidable enemies.

The Queen commands me to add her hopes, that, when ſhe receives the reply to this letter, you will be able to inform her that the Chevalier has commenced his journey. I am, &c.

H. St. John.

Memorial. Page (510.)

Concering North America.

To terminate all exiſting diſputes with reſpect to North America, the Queen propoſes:

Firſt. That his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty do cede to her the Iſland of Newfoundland, with Placentia, and the fortifications, artillery, and ammunition thereto belonging, the adjacent ſmall Iſlands neareſt to the Iſland of Newfoundland, as alſo Nova Scotia, or Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries.

Secondly. That the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may continue to fiſh and dry their fiſh on that part of Newfoundland which is called the Petit Nord, but upon no other part whatever.

Thirdly. That the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may poſſeſs, in common with thoſe of the Queen, the Iſland of Cape Breton.

Fourthly. That the Iſlands in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and in the mouth of the River of that name, which are now occupied by the French, remain to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, but upon this expreſs condition, that his ſaid Majeſty do engage, neither to build, nor ſuffer to be built, any fortifications upon thoſe Iſlands, or upon thoſe of Cape Breton. Her Majeſty the Queen engaging alſo not to fortify, or ſuffer to be fortified, the Iſlands adjacent, and neareſt to, Newfonndland, or thoſe of Cape Breton.

Fifthly. The Queen inſiſts to have the guns and ammunition in all the forts and places in Hudſon's Bay and Straits.

Concerning Commerce.

As there are ſome exiſting difficulties which prevent the final ſettlement of the Treaty of Commerce, between Great Britain and France, ſo ſoon as could be wiſhed, on account of many exceſſive duties impoſed in both kingdoms; and as it is expedient for the ſubjects of both, that the trade ſhould be open and effectual as ſoon as poſſible, the Queen would have, on that account, many propoſals to make to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; but as theſe points might occaſion much diſcuſſion, which the preſent criſis will not allow of, the Queen, more inclined to ſecure the public repoſe than her own particular advantage, contents herſelf with making two demands, which ſhe believes will meet with no difficulty:

Firſt.

First. That in caſe of difference upon the points in diſpute concerning commerce, commiſſaries ſhall be named, on both ſides, to aſſemble at London, to examine and regulate duties and impoſts to be paid in each kingdom; and that ſuch an arrangement do take place, that the commerce of the two nations may be encouraged and extended.

Secondly. That no privilege or advantage, with reſpect to the commerce of France, ſhall be granted to any foreign nation, which ſhall not, at the ſame time, be granted to the ſubjects of Great Britain. In like manner, no privilege or advantage, with reſpect to the commerce of Great Britain, ſhall be granted to any foreign nation, which ſhall not, at the ſame time, be granted to the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Concerning the Suſpenſion of Arms.

The Queen will conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms for a term of two months, upon condition,

First. That within the ſaid term, the article reſpecting the union of the two monarchies, be punctually and entirely executed; that is to ſay, either King Philip ſhall, within that time, renounce, for himſelf and his deſcendants, his rights to the Crown of France, and ſhall conſent that ſuch renunciation be inſerted in the future treaty of peace; or that he ſhall depart out of Spain with his family within that term, giving up that kingdom and the Indies to the Duke of Savoy: all the conditions being ſpecified in my letter of the 29th of April, O.S. and accepted by that of Monſieur de Torcy of the 18th of this month, N.S.

Secondly. That the French garriſon ſhall march out of the town and citadel of Dunkirk and its dependent forts, and that her Majeſty's troops ſhall enter it, on the day the ſuſpenſion of arms commences; and that this place do remain in the Queen's hands until the States-General have conſented to give his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſuch an equivalent, for the demolition of that place, as may be ſatisfactory to his Majeſty.

It being, however, in this caſe, underſtood, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall be under an obligation to demoliſh all the fortifications of that place, to fill up the harbour, and deſtroy the ſluices, in the manner required by the Queen's Plenipotentiaries.

Thirdly. In caſe the States-General conſent at the ſame time as the Queen, to a ſuſpenſion of arms, it ſeems reaſonable to allow them the liberty of putting a garriſon into Cambray, on the day the ſaid ſuſpenſion takes place.

Whitehall, May 24, O.S. 1712.

Conferences about the Duke of Ormond not attacking the Enemy. (Page 513.)

Hague, June 3, 1712.

THEIR High Mightineſſes having invited all the Miniſters of the High Allies, to repair to the general chamber of Congreſs, they appeared; and after being ſeated promiſcuouſly, Monſieur de Broeckhuiſen, at the head of the Deputies of the States-General, of the Council of State, and of the Plenipotentiaries of the State of Utrecht, as many as are now here, informed them, that the reaſon why the Miniſters of the Allies were deſired to attend, was a letter which the States had received from their deputies at the army; in which they take notice, that at a council of war, held May 28, we were judged to be in condition to attack the enemy with great advantage, but that the Duke of Ormond excuſed himſelf, by declaring, he had orders not to fight; upon which he was aſked, if, at leaſt, he would not order his army to cover a ſiege they were about to undertake; but to this, his anſwer was, that he had no orders to act offenſively in any way; that the States had juſt cauſe to be ſurprized at ſuch conduct, and particularly, that the Duke refuſing to march with the other allied army againſt the enemy, and upon the point of attacking him, had declared himſelf in that manner; that thereupon their High Mightineſſes had ordered their Deputies at the army, conjointly with the Prince of Savoy, to endeavour to induce the Duke of Ormond to change his reſolution, and to concur with the other allies in what might be juſt and proper for an attack upon the enemy, though no good effect was expected. That nevertheleſs they had ordered their Envoy at the Britiſh court to complain of this manner of proceeding, and to deſire that the orders may be changed, in order that the Duke of Ormond may concur vigorouſly in the operations of the campaign. At the ſame time orders were diſpatched to the Plenipotentiaries of the States of Utrecht, to complain to my Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, which they executed yeſterday morning; that the Biſhop of Briſtol at firſt wiſhed to juſtify

this proceeding, but being preſſed by the reaſoning of the Plenipotentiaries, he at length declared himſelf in the following manner, according to the very words recited by the Plenipotentiaries: that he had the Queen's orders to tell them, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſince her Majeſty had ſeen all her advances to the States ſo ill ſeconded, and that the States would not act in concert with her Miniſters in the work of peace, her Majeſty would attend to her own intereſts ſolely. That the Plenipotentiaries upon that, having replied, with much propriety, in juſtification of the States, my Lord Biſhop became more inflexible in his aſſertion, and at laſt explained himſelf farther, in the following terms: that her Majeſty conſidered herſelf as under no obligation whatever to he States. That, beſides this, the ſame Plenipotentiaries relate, in a ſecond letter, that the ſaid Lord Biſhop, at another conference, declared, that the Queen conſidered herſelf to be in a condition, and under an obligation, after all her advances, to make peace with or without the States. The ſaid M. de Broeckhuiſen added to all this, that the Biſhop's declararion might ſerve as the States' apology to all the allies, for not having taken any ſtep, with reſpect to the peace, without communicating the ſame to the allies, with an aſſurance that they ſhall continue to do ſo. That, in this caſe, the States, with the approbation of the allies, had reſolved to repeat their orders to their Miniſter at London, to remonſtrate ſtrongly upon the buſineſs in juſtification of the States, who had never refuſed to declare or act in concert with reſpect to the peace, with all the allies, and that, what was now done, was contrary to the declaration made to their Miniſters in London, and to thoſe made by the Britiſh Miniſters here; that, therefore, they ſhould inſiſt upon a revocation of the orders given to the Duke of Ormond, and that her Majeſty do not withdraw herſelf from her allies: M. de Broeckhuiſen concluded by ſaying, that this communication had been made to the Miniſters of the allies to learn their ſentiments upon the ſubject.

Count Sinzendorf then ſpoke, lamenting the incident that had occurred; he commended the reſolution of the States, by ſaying, that during almoſt ſix years that a treaty of peace had been on foot, the Emperor and the States had always been ready to liſten to propoſals, and latterly, in order to know the Queen's ſentiments, offered to come in to any terms at all proper, even to give up a part of his rights, but that hitherto they had received no communication; the Count thought they might write to the Miniſters of the other allies at London, to ſupport the Miniſter of the States in his remonſtrances, and, for his own part, he was enabled to do ſo, without waiting for any new order from the Emperor his maſter.

M. de Bothmar followed him. He conformed entirely, offering alſo to write to the Miniſter of his Court in London, to concur with the ſaid remonſtrances. The Miniſters of Pruſſia declared themſelves willing to make a faithful report of what had paſſed, not doubting ſoon to receive due inſtructions in ſo urgent a caſe, and that his Majeſty would always concur with what might promote the union of the allies. The Miniſters of the King of Poland, the Elector Palatine, Heſſe, &c. conformed to the ſame opinion, after which the conference broke up.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 519.)

SIR,

Whitehall, May 28. 1712.

BY the Queen's orders I write to inform you, that the remonſtrances to her Majeſty from the States-General, upon occaſion of the Duke of Ormond's refuſal, either to attack the French army, or to undertake any ſiege, have had no other effect than a repetition of the ſame orders to the Duke. But in caſe Prince Eugene and the Deputies of the States (which is not very probable) ſhould continue obſtinately bent upon the ſiege of any place, though the Queen's army have no concern in it, yet the Duke of Ormond ought then to beg the Mareſchal will not undertake any thing againſt them, nor oblige him, by that, to come to an action.

In very few days, we ſhall receive the laſt reſolution of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the deciſion of King Philip; upon that the Queen will make the declaration mentioned in my letter of the 24th inſtant, which will extricate us from our preſent uncertainty, or ſhe will give orders to her General to act with the utmoſt vigour.

A delay ſo inconſiderable cannot prejudice your intereſts; on that account the Queen doubts not

not the Mareſchal will conſider himſelf bound to prevent a general action, by not marching towards the allies, as the Duke of Ormond has already done, by refuſing to march againſt the army of France.

I ſend this letter to the Duke of Ormond, that he may tranſmit it with one he is ordered to write to the Mareſchal de Villars, who will, without fail, convey it to you. I am, &c.

H. St. John.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 520.)

Sir,

Whitehall, June 7, O.S. 1712.

I WRITE you this private letter, to repeat to you that it is impoſſible the Queen can have greater dependence on the good faith of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. She conſiders this mutual confidence as the only means to eſtabliſh the peace of Europe.

The Queen alſo agrees in ſentiments with the King, that the ſuſpenſion of arms is abſolutely neceſſary, to take, from the enemies of peace, the power to prevent or retard its concluſion; but, Sir, you will pleaſe to conſider, that it is neither the intereſt of the King or the Queen, that things ſhould remain, with reſpect to that, in their preſent circumſtances. It will probably not be convenient to you, that Mareſchal de Villars ſhould continue inactive, while Prince Eugene beſieges Queſnoy, and it will not be much to the Queen's honour, that the Duke of Ormond ſhould continue a quiet ſpectator of what paſſes between the armies of France and of the allies, before he can roundly declare that the ſuſpenſion of arms is agreed upon.

You ſay, Sir, that telling the Dutch that the Britiſh troops will have the charge of the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, is no threat to them; but permit me to call to your obſervation what is one, and that is, to declare to them that the Queen will no longer act againſt France; that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has left them no excuſe for their obſtinacy; and, finally, that they muſt exert themſelves, for their own accommodation, or they run the hazard of bringing a burden upon their backs which they are not in a condition to ſtand under.

The Abbé Gaultier will write to you upon the ſubject of the Chevalier.

It only remains for me to aſſure you, that I am, &c.

H. St. John.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 521.)

Sir,

Verſailles, June 8th, 1712.

I HAD the honour to write to you the 18th of laſt month, that the King, deſirous to ſmooth the principal difficulty in the way of the general tranquillity, made two propoſitions to the King of Spain: the one, to renounce, in the treaty of peace, for himſelf and his deſcendants, his rights to the Crown of France, and to confine himſelf to Spain and the Indies; the other, to keep his right to the Crown of France, but to give up Spain and the Indies to the Duke of Savoy, and to content himſelf with the exchange of the dominions, which the Duke of Savoy now enjoys, with the addition of the kingdom of Sicily. I informed you, Sir, that his Majeſty diſpatched a meſſenger to Madrid, to obtain more ſpeedy information of his grandſon's intentions, upon one or the other of theſe alternatives; and that he ordered me, nevertheleſs, to aſſure you, that the peace ſhould be founded upon one or the other of them.

I ſaw, in your anſwer of the 21ſt, the Queen's entire reliance on the King's good faith, and that ſhe waited for a communication of his reſolutions, at the return of the meſſenger from Madrid; her Majeſty being deſirous then to make the neceſſary declarations to conclude the work of peace.

The meſſenger bearing this important deciſion, is arrived; and the King of Spain has written to his Majeſty, and has declared, in expreſs terms, to his Majeſty's Envoy there, that he accepts the firſt propoſition; that is to ſay, to keep Spain and the Indies, and, for himſelf and his deſcendants, to give up his right to the Crown of France, and this to be inſerted in the treaty of peace.

Thus, then, is the principal obſtacle to the peace ſurmounted; and the Queen will ſee, Sir, that ſhe was not miſtaken in her confidence in the good faith of the King.

His Majeſty, at preſent, waits for the Queen, on her part, to remove the difficulties, which the enemies to peace wiſh ſtill to keep alive, to prevent its concluſion. And as you aſſure me, Sir, that at the return of the meſſenger, her Britannic Majeſty will make the neceſſary declarations for that purpoſe, the King is of opinion, that the firſt, and moſt urgent, is to ſecure a ſuſpenſion of arms, either general, or, at leaſt, mutually, between the armies in the Netherlands, and which may laſt till the concluſion of the peace.

His Majeſty is perſuaded, that this will likewiſe be the opinion of the Queen of Great Britain; ſince the orders given to the Duke of Ormond leave no room to doubt her Britannic Majeſty's intentions.

The more I ſee of inclination towards the peace, the greater is my deſire to be able to congratulate with you upon its accompliſhment, and to aſſure you, that I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 523.)

SIR,

Marli, June 16th, 1712.

I THIS morning received, by your meſſenger, the honour of your letter of the 24th of May.....June 5, with the incloſed memorial, both which I have read to the King. His Majeſty obſerves, with great pleaſure, the Queen's wiſe arrangements for the more ſpeedy and fortunate concluſion of the peace. I am in hopes that her Britannic Majeſty's reſolutions will be well ſeconded by the prompt deciſion of the King of Spain, of which I informed you the day before yeſterday, when the meſſenger, La Vigne, thought he ſhould be with you as to-day.

I have, therefore, no reaſon to fear the negociation will be broken off, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the enemies to the peace may ſtill make. It ſhould ſeem they intend to proceed to the utmoſt lengths, if it be true, as our letters from the army, two days ago, aſſure us, that they are inveſting Queſnoy with an intention to beſiege it. The orders ſent by you to the Duke of Ormond, are ſo poſitive, that the King cannot ſuppoſe her Majeſty would approve of ſuch an enterprize, and ſtill leſs, that her troops ſhould be employed to forward it. His Majeſty has, however, ordered me to write, requiring to know what the Queen's army will do, if Mareſchal Villars ſhould attempt to relieve the place, in caſe it is beſieged.

You muſt certainly ſee, that if we do not agree upon an immediate ſuſpenſion, we may be unavoidably engaged in ſome great event. I hope, from your care and prudence, we may avoid it, and that nothing will diſturb the perfection of a work ſo nearly concluded.

I alſo flatter myſelf, that the anſwer I have now the honour to ſend to your memorial, will create no new difficulty, and that the Queen, who has experienced ſo many proofs of his Majeſty's good faith, will perſiſt in her confidence, without urging demands, that might betoken a ſuſpicion, of which we are convinced her Britannic Majeſty is incapable.

You may aſſure her, Sir, that the Chevalier is every moment ready to depart; we only wait to know where he can go to, and in what place he may be in ſecurity. I confeſs, I know of no Prince who will receive him, from a fear of the diſpleaſure of the Queen, or of the other Powers; ſome explanation upon this ſubject will be abſolutely neceſſary, which I beg you to give me, by means of the Abbé Gaultier, if you do not think proper to communicate it yourſelf. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

The King's Anſwer to the Memorial ſent from London, June 5, O.S. 1712. (Page 524.)

ARTICLE I. HIS Majeſty conſents to cede to the Queen of Great Britain, the Iſland of Newfoundland, with the Town of Placentia, fortified; but the artillery and ammunition in this place ſhall be withdrawn, and not comprehended in the ceſſion of that place and iſland, as not being attached to either; and, to uſe a common compariſon, the ammunition and artillery of a place may be conſidered as the furniture of a houſe, which the individual takes away with him, when, by voluntary agreement, he gives up the houſe. The iſles adjacent to Newfoundland were neither demanded nor promiſed, in the articles ſigned at London, in October laſt,

laſt: as theſe have been, from the beginning, conſidered as the baſis of the preſent negociation, the King's intention is to comply with them exactly, as the moſt ſure method of arriving at a concluſive treaty; and his Majeſty is perſuaded, that the Queen of Great Britain, true to her word, will not inſiſt upon a new demand, and which cannot be found in the agreement, ſigned in her name. The King will add to that agreement, the ceſſion of Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries, as demanded by the Queen of Great Britain.

Secondly. The articles ſigned at London, reſerve to the King's ſubjects the right to fiſh and dry their cod upon the iſland of Newfoundland; an arrangement, which both ſides have agreed to, cannot be reſtricted nor altered but by mutual agreement for their common advantage. Upon this plan, his Majeſty offers to England, to give up the artillery and ammunition of Placentia, the iſles adjacent to Newfoundland, to forbid his ſubjects the liberty of fiſhing and drying cod on the coaſt of that iſland, even the diſtrict called the Petit Nord; to add to theſe conditions, the ceſſion of the iſlands of St. Martin and St. Bartholomew, cloſe to that of St. Chriſtopher, on condition that the Queen of Great Britain do conſent to reſtore Acadia, of which the River St. George is, in future, to be the boundary, as the Engliſh formerly required. It is then ſubmitted to the choice of the Queen of Great Britain, either to abide by the articles ſigned at London, or to accept the exchange propoſed by his Majeſty. In the latter caſe, his Majeſty would promote, by every means in his power, the ſettlement of the buſineſs relating to the ranſom of Nevis, to the ſatisfaction of Great Britain.

Thirdly. As one of the chief advantages of the peace will be, if it pleaſes God, the good underſtanding, which the King propoſes to eſtabliſh between his ſubjects and thoſe of the Queen of Great Britain, every thing that can diſturb that happy union ſhould be removed; experience has too well proved, how impoſſible it was to preſerve it, in places inhabited in common by French and Engliſh; this reaſon alone would, therefore, be ſufficient to prevent his Majeſty's conſent to the propoſal of permitting the Engliſh to poſſeſs Cap Breton with the French. But a conſideration of ſtill greater importance may be urged againſt the propoſition, and as it too often occurs, that nations, the moſt friendly to each other, become enemies, it is a point of prudence that the King ſhould retain poſſeſſion of the only iſland, that can in future keep the River St. Lawrence open to him. It would be abſolutely ſhut to his ſhips, if, while the Engliſh are maſters of Acadia and Newfoundland, they ſhould alſo be in poſſeſſion of Cap Breton in common with the French, and Canada would be loſt to France, as ſoon as any event ſhould occur, to rekindle the war between the two nations, which God long forbid! But the ſureſt method to prevent it, is frequently to call to mind that it may happen.

Fourthly. We ſhall not diſſemble that it is for the ſame reaſon, the King will reſerve to himſelf the liberty, natural and general among all ſovereigns, to erect, in the iſlands of the Gulph and River of St. Lawrence, as well as in Cape Breton, ſuch fortifications as his Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary. Theſe works, intended ſolely for the ſecurity of the country, can never be of prejudice to the neighbouring iſlands and provinces. It is juſt, that the Queen of Great Britain ſhould have the ſame liberty of fortifying, where ſhe may judge it neceſſary, whether in Acadia or in Newfoundland; and upon this article the King does not pretend to demand any thing contrary to the rights, which property and poſſeſſion naturally give to that Princeſs.

Fifthly. From his particular regard for the Queen of Great Britain, the King will leave to her the artillery and ammunition in the forts and places in Hudſon's Bay and Straits, notwithſtanding the urgent reaſons his Majeſty has to withdraw them, and to appropriate them elſewhere.

Article of Commerce.

AS the King is ſincerely deſirous that every cauſe of diſcontent, between his Majeſty and the Queen of Great Britain, ſhould be at an end as ſoon as poſſible, it would be very agreeable to him, to ſee a concluſion of all diſputes, between his Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht and thoſe of England, upon the ſubject of commerce; but if it be impoſſible, that all the difficulties upon this head can be removed, before the concluſion of the peace, rather than retard it, his Majeſty conſents to two demands, made in the name of that Princeſs:

Firſt. To name commiſſioners, to meet at London, to examine and regulate the duties and impoſts to be paid in each kingdom.

Secondly. That France and England do mutually agree to grant to the ſubjects of either Crown the ſame privileges and advantages granted to any foreign nation whatever.

Article concerning the Suſpenſion of Arms.

SO ſhort a period as two months, would continue to the enemies of the peace, the hope of being able ſtill to haraſs the negociation before the end of the campaign. The King, convinced of her Majeſty's good intentions, thinks it would be of advantage to both, if the term were extended to four months.

Firſt. It ſhould be ſufficient to complete the ſettlement of all difficulties in the treaty, the principal one being already done away, by the firm reſolution made by the King of Spain, to renounce for himſelf and his deſcendants, the Crown of France, and to keep Spain and the Indies, and this renunciation to be inſerted in the treaty of peace.

Secondly. After having reſtored the regular courſe of the negociation, on the baſis of good faith and mutual confidence, the good effects of which are now apparent, all diſtruſt and even ſemblance of ſuſpicion muſt be done away, when we draw nearer the object, which both ſides wiſh to attain. The King ſubmits it to the Queen's candour, to judge, if the demand to garriſon Dunkirk with Engliſh garriſon troops, during the ſuſpenſion of arms, be not offenſive to his Majeſty, and if the public would not regard the propoſition as implying a doubt of his Majeſty's exactneſs in fulfilling his promiſes? He knows that the Queen of Great Britain is far from entertaining ſuch a thought, having received too many proofs to the contrary; on that account, and the King having long looked upon her as a friend, notwithſtanding the continuance of the war, he is perſuaded, that ſhe will deſiſt from a demand, not only uſeleſs, but productive of an effect very oppoſite to her Majeſty's intentions. For it is certain, that her object is to oblige the Dutch to give the King, directly, an equivalent for the fortifications of Dunkirk, which his Majeſty has promiſed to demoliſh. Their obſtinacy is to be overcome, and they muſt be made to ſee, that if they perſiſt, the loſs will fall upon them; but it will be no threat to tell them, that the Engliſh troops ſhall keep poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, its citadel, and forts, until the States-General have given the King an equivalent to his ſatisfaction. Her Majeſty would alone bear the uneaſineſs of all the new objections, which they would raiſe againſt the peace; and that republic can only be made more pliant, by methods quite different. As the King's intention is really to accelerate the demolition of Dunkirk in general, his Majeſty propoſes, that immediately after the ſigning the treaty of peace with the Queen of Great Britain, a detachment of Engliſh troops ſhould encamp before Dunkirk, and that thoſe troops, of which the number ſhall be fixed, ſhould work conjointly with his Majeſty's, to raze all the fortifications. The condition of filling up the port, and of deſtroying the ſluices, is dependent, as the King has explained, upon the reſtoration of Tournay and the Tourneſis, as his Majeſty has demanded. He renews the ſame engagement. The deſtruction of the ſluices will prove that of the country about Dunkirk, where friends and enemies will equally ſuffer. The King could wiſh to be excuſed this uſeleſs deſolation, which the Queen of Great Britain has perhaps not ſufficiently conſidered. His Majeſty is deſirous that it ſhould be again ſubmitted to her, although he is reſolved, in reſpect to this article, to do whatever is moſt agreeable to that Princeſs, on account of the reſtitution of Tournay and the Tourneſis.

Thirdly. The peace is become neceſſary for all Europe; the King deſires it as a general good, and his Majeſty looks upon the ſuſpenſion of arms, as a means almoſt neceſſary for its attainment. But he would refuſe this ſuſpenſion, he would even break off the negociation of peace, if either depended upon the admiſſion of a Dutch garriſon into Cambray, for any interval of time whatever. He will never conſent to a propoſition ſo derogatory from his honour, his intereſt, and the welfare of his kingdom.

DE TORCY.

Marli, June 10th, 1712.

To

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 526.)

SIR,

Whitehall, June 6th, O.S. 1712.

I SEND you back La Vigne, who brought me your's of the 8th inſtant, N.S. in which you take notice, that King Philip choſe the firſt propoſition; that is to ſay, to retain Spain and the Indies, and to renounce, by the peace, for himſelf and his deſcendants, his rights to the Crown of France.

I have alſo received your's of the 10th inſtant, in reply to mine of the 24th of laſt month, O.S.

The Queen, Sir, has ordered me to inform you, that though your laſt memorial has not, as ſhe expected, anſwered the demands I made, yet her Majeſty this day met her Parliament, and made every neceſſary declaration, to forward the unanimous vote of this nation for the peace, and to deprive thoſe of the power of counteracting the concluſion of our great work, who are ſo diſpoſed.

The Queen did not mention the ſuſpenſion of arms, to the two Houſes; but ſhe has ordered me to write to you upon it, and to inform you of the reaſons for her reſolutions.

The commencement, and the progreſs of this negociation, have been founded on the good faith of both parties; the Queen's entire dependance is upon that of the King; and her Majeſty is confident ſhe has given proofs of her's, and is ready to give others, but there are certain caſes, in which, even between the neareſt relatives and moſt intimate friends, prudence requires the moſt ſcrupulous precaution.

The expedient to prevent the reunion of the two monarchies of France and Spain, is the moſt important point of our negociation, and her Majeſty would give up all thoſe that have been agreed upon, rather than leave it uncertain. She is reſponſible for it to her people, to her allies, to the preſent age, and to poſterity.

Upon this ground, Sir, the Queen hopes that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will find nothing offenſive in the demands, which ſhe feels herſelf bound to renew, and which are contained in the ſubjoined memorial.

I diſpatch a meſſenger to the Duke of Ormond, with a copy of what I have the honour to communicate to you. In caſe the King thinks proper to grant what the Queen requires, you need only ſign theſe articles, and ſend them to that General, who, at the ſame time that he takes poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, will declare to the allies, his order to act no longer againſt France.

The Earl of Strafford will ſet out from hence the beginning of next week, on his return to Utrecht; the inſtructions he carries with him, will enable the Queen's Plenipotentiaries to recede from all the meaſures, to which they have hitherto been obliged to ſubmit. They may, in future, openly unite with thoſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to give law to thoſe, who will not ſubmit to juſt and reaſonable terms. This they will certainly do, and by ſuch means, we may, in a little time, get to the end of our labours.

I ſhall diſpatch another meſſenger to you, when the Earl of Strafford leaves the court, to inform you of the nature of his orders. I am, &c.

H. ST. JOHN.

I make no doubt that the peace may be made nearly upon the plan brought by the Abbé Gaultier.

Articles propoſed by her Majeſty, the Queen of Great Britain, for a Suſpenſion of Arms between the Armies now in the Netherlands. (Page 528.)

ARTICLE I. The Queen will conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months, which may be extended to three or four.

II. During this ſuſpenſion, endeavours ſhall be made, to conclude the treaty of general peace, at leaſt, the article which reſpects the reunion of the two monarchies, ſhall be punctually executed, that is to ſay, King Philip ſhall in that time renounce, in all due forms, for himſelf and

and his deſcendants, the Crown of France. This renunciation ſhall be accepted by the Moſt Chriſtian King, and ratified, in the moſt ſolemn manner, by the States of the kingdom of France. The ſucceſſion to the ſaid Crown, ſhall be declared and adjudged, after the Dauphin and his deſcendants, to the Duke of Berry and his deſcendants, and ſucceſſively to the other Princes of the Houſe of Bourbon, to the abſolute excluſion of King Philip and his.

The Dukes of Berry and Orleans ſhall, for themſelves and their children, renounce all right to the Crown of Spain; the States of that kingdom ſhall accept and conſent to ſuch renunciation, in the manner agreed upon.

All parties above-mentioned ſhall agree, by authentic inſtruments, to acknowledge the Prince who is to be named in the future treaty of peace, as ſucceſſor to the Crown of Spain after King Philip and his deſcendants.

III. The French garriſon ſhall march out of the town and citadel of Dunkirk and the adjacent forts, and the Queen's troops ſhall enter them, on the day the ſuſpenſion takes place; and that town ſhall remain in the Queen's hands, until the States-General conſent to give his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty an equivalent for the demolition of that place, with which he may be ſatisfied. It being well underſtood that, in this caſe, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall be obliged to demoliſh all the fortifications of that place, to fill up the harbour, and to ruin the ſluices, in the manner in which the Queen's Plenipotentiaries have demanded.

IV. As the Queen's demands have no other object than to obtain a pledge, to ſecure the execution of the article which regards the reunion of the two monarchies, her Majeſty does not pretend to interfere with, or to moleſt, the civil government of the town of Dunkirk; but, on the contrary, ſhe directs me to promiſe, on her part, that ſhe will give all neceſſary orders that all things may remain, and be upon the ſame foot as they are now; that veſſels belonging to the King, or to individuals, ſhall have the liberty to enter and depart the port, as often as they ſhall find it convenient, without impediment, upon any pretext whatever; and that the veſſels belonging to the King, or to private perſons, and all their effects, ſhall be in as great ſecurity as at preſent.

H. St. John.

Whitehall, June 6, O.S. 1712.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 540.)

Sir,

Marli, June 22d, 1712.

BY your meſſenger, I yeſterday received the honour of your letter of the 6th inſt. O.S. and the memorial, containing the articles propoſed by the Queen of Great Britain, for a ſuſpenſion of arms between the armies now in the Netherlands.

I read to the King both the memorial and your letter, and I aſſure you, Sir, it requires all the conſideration, and all the regard which his Majeſty entertains for the Queen's demand, to induce him to conſent to the article about Dunkirk, in the manner you perſiſt to require it; but there is no reſiſting a Princeſs, who ſo reſolutely declares her ſentiments for the re-eſtabliſhment of the general repoſe of Europe; and though you remark, with great propriety, that there are caſes, in which prudence requires of us to obſerve the moſt ſcrupulous precaution, between the neareſt relatives and moſt intimate friends; yet this maxim, ſo wiſe and juſt, gives way to the ſincere wiſhes of the King, to oblige a Princeſs, whom he cannot, as yet, publicly treat as a friend, though he entertains towards her thoſe ſentiments, which the ſtricteſt friendſhip inſpires, ſuperior to the ties of blood. On this account, Sir, the King conſents to withdraw his troops from the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, to permit the Queen's forces to ſucceed them, on the day the ſuſpenſion of arms takes place, and to leave Dunkirk in the Queen's poſſeſſion, until the States-General conſent to give the King an equivalent for the demolition of that place, to the ſatisfaction of his Majeſty.

In a word, he approves of the reſt of the third article, and of the fourth, in your memorial, which relate to Dunkirk. He only directs me to add, that the French officers, employed in the care of the magazines, as well for land as for ſea ſervice, ſhall remain in the town, and ſhall continue in their employ, during the ſtay of the Engliſh troops. This clauſe is a conſequence

ſequence of the Queen's promiſe to leave every thing upon the ſame foot as it now ſtands, and to grant a perfect ſecurity for the King's ſhips, and thoſe of private perſons, and for their effects; his Majeſty, therefore, is confident that he propoſes nothing new, by a ſmall extenſion of this article.

As he is of opinion, that he can give the Queen no ſtronger proof of his abſolute confidence, his Majeſty declares to her, that the effects of a negociation, now brought to a happy concluſion, would be loſt, were the clauſe in the ſecond article inſiſted upon, which ſtates that the renunciation of the King of Spain, for himſelf and his deſcendants, to the Crown of France, ſhall be ratified by the States of the kingdom. The States of France do not interfere about the ſucceſſion to the Crown; they have neither the power to make laws, nor to repeal them. When the Kings convoke them, it is expreſſed in the ſummons, that their buſineſs is to hear the complaints of his good and faithful ſubjects, and to redreſs exiſting grievances.

The example of former times, has ſhown that ſuch aſſemblies have always been productive of troubles in the kingdom; and the laſt meeting of the States, held in 1614, finiſhed with a civil war. As he thinks he is certain of the Queen's real intentions, his Majeſty is perſuaded that her ſole object is to ſecure the renunciation, and that, conſequently, it will be ſufficient to point out a method, more conformable to our cuſtoms, and which will not be attended with the inconvenience of aſſembling the States, who, not having been convoked for nearly a century, are in ſome meaſure aboliſhed.

This ſecurity will be, to publiſh and enroll, in all the Parliaments of the kingdom, the King of Spain's renunciation, for himſelf and his deſcendants, to the Crown of France. Edicts and declarations, ſanctioned by theſe forms, become laws; the French are accuſtomed to this practice; it is uſed with reſpect to treaties with foreign powers; and the King's intention is, in the mean time, to withdraw from the regiſters of the Parliament, the letters-patent, which the King executed in favour of the King of Spain, to preſerve to him his right of birth, when he left France to repair to Madrid. The revocation and abolition of theſe letters, will be a conſequence of, and a ſort of confirmation to the renunciation which this Prince is to execute, of his right to the Crown of France, for himſelf and his deſcendants.

Such, Sir, are the only addition and alteration which the King wiſhed to make in your memorial; the former conſiſts in the continuance of all officers at Dunkirk, entruſted with the care of the magazines for ſea and land ſervice, and I am certain it will occaſion no difficulty. The latter refers to the aſſembly of the States; permit me to ſay, that it would be equally prejudicial to the King's authority, to the quiet of the kingdom, to the welfare even of the general peace, which we both have in view, to accept a propoſition liable to a thouſand inconveniences, too long to be explained; and that there is reaſon to believe, that when the aſſembly of the States was required, the inutility of ſuch a precaution, and the miſchiefs likely to happen from it, were unknown.

The King ſends to Mareſchal de Villars, a copy of your memorial, and of the anſwer to it; and as his Majeſty grants the ſubſtance of the Queen's demands, he doubts not the Duke of Ormond will execute the orders he has received in regard to the ſuſpenſion. He reckons, alſo, that the Duke, declaring he has orders to ceaſe to act againſt France, will prevent not only the Engliſh, but all the foreign troops under his command, from acting; and that meaſures will be taken, in ſuch a manner, as that the Dutch will not be able, as they at preſent boaſt they ſhall, to take into their pay, thoſe troops which are now paid by the Queen.

I hope, Sir, that when you receive the letter I have now the honour to write, nothing will delay the departure of the Earl of Strafford; and that you will give him all neceſſary inſtructions to unite with the King's Plenipotentiaries, ſo that they may jointly give the law to thoſe, who ſhall reject juſt and reaſonable terms of peace. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

TRANSLATION OF

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 543.)

SIR,

Marli, June 22nd, 1712.

BY my other letter, you will ſee how far the King carries his confidence in her Majeſty; examine, I entreat you, not as a Britiſh Miniſter, but as one of another country, what a conceſſion it is for France to give up Dunkirk to the Engliſh, before the peace is ſettled, and without any other aſſurance than her Britannic Majeſty's word; the King is convinced of its inviolability, and his Majeſty gives a real and evident proof that ſuch is his opinion. But, again, Sir, permit me to aſk you, if, had you been neither an Engliſhman, nor in the ſituation you hold, you would have adviſed ſuch a meaſure?

I hope, however, that peace will be the conſequence of the King's determination, and a peace alike honourable to the Queen and the nation. I ſee no other impediment to it, than what I am convinced you will eaſily ſurmount; for it is certain that the aſſembling of the States, at preſent not cuſtomary in France, would be of no uſe to your purpoſe; it would only tend to retard the peace, not only on account of the time it would take to call and hold ſuch kind of meetings, but alſo on account of the diſturbances they might produce, as the examples of times paſt, too well inform us. It is prudent to avoid delay and embarraſſments, when we can, by ſhorter methods, do the ſame thing, and with greater certainty. Nothing is of greater authority here, than the inrollment which the King propoſes, and eſpecially when all the powers, intereſted in the treaty of peace, will be guarantees to the renunciations required by you, and promiſed by the King.

I expect, then, to hear, by the return of the meſſenger, that the Queen, ſatisfied with what the King will grant, will be equally ſo with the method he propoſes to ſecure the validity of the renunciations, and to render them ſolemn and effective, according to our uſages.

I have the honour to ſend you a letter from his Majeſty, and refer you to the Abbé Gaultier, with reſpect to the departure of the Chevalier. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

Copy of a Letter in the King's own Hand to the Queen of Great Britain. (Page 544.)

MADAM AND SISTER,

Marli, June 22nd, 1712.

I GRANT that to you, which I ſhould never have granted to the importunities of any one, but I am happy to furniſh you with new methods to forward the work of peace; and I deſire, at the ſame time, to ſhow to the world, the entire confidence I place in you. I can give you no clearer proof of it, than to commit the care of my town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk to you, during the ſuſpenſion of arms.

I hope this mark of my eſteem and friendſhip for you, added to the renunciation of the King of Spain, for himſelf and his deſcendants, of all his rights to my Crown, will complete that perfect union, which it is my wiſh always to ſupport with you, being very truly,

Madam and Siſter, your good Brother,

LOUIS.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 545.)

SIR,

Marli, June 27th, 1712.

AT the time I diſpatched the meſſenger, who will have given you my letter of the 22d inſt. another meſſenger was ſent off to the Mareſchal de Villars, to carry to him, as I mentioned to you, the copy of the memorial, and of the anſwers I gave you by the King's order.

The Mareſchal having communicated them to the Duke of Ormond, that General replied, the 25th inſt. that he was on the point of going to Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States-General, being obliged throughout to keep terms with them; that he would endeavour to prevail upon them to deſiſt from the enterpriſe upon Queſnoy, and that he would declare

clare to them, in caſe of refuſal, that he ſhould be obliged to withdraw the army of the Queen of Great Britain. The Duke of Ormond added, that on the following day, he ſhould ſend a detachment to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, and that the ſuſpenſion ſhould take place in conformity with the third article of your memorial. He required a formal order to the Governor; and concluded with a promiſe to make known the final reſolves of Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States-General, as ſoon as he ſhould be acquainted with them.

The King's orders had been ſent to admit the Engliſh troops into Dunkirk, when his Majeſty received, from Mareſchal de Villars, the copy of a ſecond letter from the Duke of Ormond, dated as the firſt, the 25th.. He writes, that he was returned from a conference with Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States-General; but that theſe gentlemen did not reliſh the propoſals he had made to them; that he had ſome reaſon to fear that the Generals of the auxiliary forces in the army of the Queen of Great Britain, though paid by her Majeſty, will make ſome difficulty in leaving Prince Eugene's army, without particular orders from their maſters, and notwithſtanding ſo material a difference in the principal article of your memorial, the Duke of Ormond ſtill perſiſts to require the ſurrender of Dunkirk to the General, diſpatched by him to take poſſeſſion of it.

As ſoon as the King ſaw this letter, his Majeſty ordered me to ſend off a meſſenger to you, and to recall to your mind only the title of the laſt memorial ſent to me; it ſtates that the articles it contains, are propoſed by the Queen of Great Britain, for a ſuſpenſion of arms, between the armies now in the Netherlands, that upon a proſpect of ſuch a ſuſpenſion, her Majeſty demands the cuſtody of a place as important as that of Dunkirk, to be committed to her. Upon the ſame condition, the King is willing to entruſt it to her Britannic Majeſty; the cauſe of the demand, and that of the conſent, is their mutual wiſh that no occurrence between the armies, ſhould diſturb that diſpoſition, for the concluſion of a good peace, which both parties have ſhown. To attain this object, the ſuſpenſion muſt be general, and if thoſe, who are hoſtile to the peace, have the power, the means, and the liberty of acting, the condition upon which the King gives up Dunkirk to the Queen of England, is not fulfilled on the part of her Britannic Majeſty.

Should you reply, Sir, that ſhe is not miſtreſs of the will of her allies, I will agree with you, that we ſee too much of their ingratitude towards her, and the little regard they pay to her opinions; and on this account the King does not pretend that ſhe ſhould guarantee the reſolutions, either of Prince Eugene or of the States-General: but his Majeſty has always had ground to believe that the Queen of Great Britain could diſpoſe at leaſt of the troops which compoſe her army, and had this opinion been capable of the leaſt uncertainty, the Duke of Ormond ſhould have removed all doubts, by promiſing, as he does in his firſt letter, to declare, that in caſe of refuſal, he ſhould be obliged to withdraw, with the army of the Queen his miſtreſs. This army, according to the accounts which the Dutch have printed, and ſigned by you, Sir, conſiſts of 65 battalions, and 94 ſquadrons. The King, therefore, has reaſon to believe, that all theſe forces will abſolutely obey the Duke of Ormond's orders.

His Majeſty might inſiſt that the condition of giving up Dunkirk to the Engliſh troops, is attached to that of a general ſuſpenſion between all the armies of the Netherlands. But he will extend his conſideration for the Queen of Great Britain, ſo far as to be ſatisfied, if the troops, which, according to your own ſtatement, compoſe the army of that Princeſs, obey her Majeſty's orders as punctually as the national troops of England, and all unanimouſly obſerve the ſuſpenſion.

If the Duke of Ormond confines the army he commands to the Engliſh troops only, in that caſe, Sir, I really believe that Prince Eugene, paying leſs attention to the valour, than to the number of the battalions, would comfort himſelf for the ſeparation of the Britiſh army, and remaining ſole Commander of a large body of troops, would hazard every thing to come to an action; for the ſacrifice of men whom he does not pay, and who would only ſerve under him for the remainder of the campaign, would be of ſmall importance to him.

Conſider, if you pleaſe, the conſequence we muſt expect from this, with regard to the peace, and judge if it agrees with all the Queen's proceedings hitherto, to forward it. The King is convinced that her Majeſty, without loſs of time, will ſend very clear and poſitive orders to the Duke of Ormond, to withdraw, in general, all the troops in her Britannic Ma-

jeſty's pay, and which compoſe the army actually under his command in Flanders; as ſoon as theſe orders are executed, and the Britiſh troops, with thoſe in Britiſh pay, ſhall ſeparate and march away from the army of Prince Eugene, the King will, according to his promiſe, order the town, citadel, and forts, of Dunkirk, to be given up to the forces of the Queen of Great Britain, agreeable to the anſwer I made, by the King's order, to the third article of your memorial.

You ſee, Sir, how valuable our time is, when the ſiege of Queſnoy may be productive of ſome unlucky accident; for it ſeems our adverſaries mean to preſs it vigorouſly, ever ſince they heard the Duke of Ormond's declaration. I therefore hope the Queen will give all neceſſary orders to finiſh what ſhe has ſo auſpiciouſly begun, and that ſhe will be convinced, that the plan for a ſuſpenſion of arms would ſuffer a total change, if it were confined to the national troops of England only, after having agreed that it ſhould be between the armies in the Netherlands. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 549.)

SIR,

Whitehall, June 20th, 1712.

ON the 14th inſt. O.S. la Vigne brought me your diſpatches of the 22d, N.S. and I waited only for the Duke of Ormond's letters to reply to you: theſe letters arrived this morning, and at the ſame time your meſſenger gave me, that which you did me the honour to write the 27th inſtant. The account the Duke of Ormond gives of what has paſſed, agrees entirely with yours, and I read all theſe diſpatches to the Queen. Her Majeſty, Sir, orders me to inform you, that ſhe ſees, with extreme concern, the enemies to the peace ſtill find means to retard it, by ſubjecting the negociation, which muſt lead to it, to additional difficulties and new dangers; but as her Majeſty has firmly, and unalterably reſolved, never to yield to obſtacles that may be thrown in her way, and, on the contrary, to unite with the King in effecting the reſtoration of general tranquillity, ſhe entertains no doubt of our ability to render inſufficient the laſt effort of thoſe who would purchaſe their own advantage, or gratify their private reſentment, at the price of lengthening out all the miſeries of the war. And I believe, after you have finiſhed reading my letter, you will be convinced of this truth.

I have this moment, by the Queen's command, ſpoken to all the Miniſters, now here, of the Princes, whoſe troops are either in the pay of her Majeſty entirely, or in her pay conjointly with that of the States. I have told them, in the Queen's name, that ſhe will look upon the conduct of their commanders, at this criſis, as a declaration of the Princes their maſters, either for or againſt her; as the queſtion is, whether they will purſue the plan which the Queen has formed to ſecure the peace, or that which the Emperor and the States-General have concerted to break off the treaty? That her Majeſty could not be perſuaded, that after reflecting upon it, their Generals ſhould heſitate a moment to obey the orders of the Duke of Ormond; but I declared to them, that in caſe they did ſo, her Majeſty would no longer provide pay for their troops.

I gave them to underſtand that the meſſenger, whom I diſpatched this evening to the army, will convey ſuch letters, as they may think proper to write to their General Officers on that ſubject, and that it was high time for their deciſion: as the Duke of Ormond would, by the ſame conveyance, receive the Queen's orders, not only to make the ſame declarations, but, in caſe they refuſe to obey him, to put thoſe declarations in force.

The Queen, Sir, is perſuaded that ſuch a proceeding can ſcarce fail of its due effect; but ſhe orders me, in the mean time, to communicate a reſolution ſhe has formed, in caſe ſome of the troops perſiſt in remaining with the army of Prince Eugene: in this caſe, the Duke of Ormond will withdraw with the Engliſh forces, and all ſuch as may be willing to march with him, which probably will not be the ſmalleſt portion, and will declare that the Queen will no longer act againſt France, nor pay thoſe who do ſo. And that her Majeſty, who hitherto has kept upon terms with her allies, being driven by them to ſuch extremities, will think herſelf

juſtified

juſtified before God and man, to continue the negociation, either at Utrecht, or any where elſe without giving herſelf any concern, whether they concur or not.

Thus, Sir, you may depend, and I am commanded to promiſe you in the Queen's name, that if the Moſt Chriſtian King places the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk into her Majeſty's keeping, though all the foreign troops, or a part of them, refuſe to obey the orders of the Duke of Ormond, and to retire with him, her Majeſty will no longer heſitate to conclude her own peace; leaving for the other powers, a term, during which they may ſubmit to the conditions of a plan, which the Queen will agree upon with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. Thus, Sir, is the peace in the King's hands; if the whole army of the Duke of Ormond conſents to the ſuſpenſion of arms, the firſt project agreed upon will be effected; if this is not the caſe, the Engliſh forces will detach themſelves from thoſe of the allies, and the foreign troops will have to demand ſubſiſtance of the States-General, who, far from having it in their power to anſwer any new expences, are not able to ſupport thoſe they have already incurred. In a word, Great Britain withdraws herſelf from the theatre of war, leaving behind her only a few powers, and thoſe little able to make head againſt France; and the peace between theſe kingdoms may be concluded in very few weeks. Theſe are, Sir, the propoſitions, which the Queen orders me to make to you, and ſhe judges that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will find his account, at leaſt as much in the laſt plan, as in the firſt.

If the King accepts them, it appears to her Majeſty proper, for the intereſts of both nations, to ſettle, immediately, a general ſuſpenſion, as well by ſea as by land, between Great Britain and France, to follow that agreed upon in the Netherlands.

I ſhall wait, with impatience, the return of this meſſenger; for I agree with you, that in a criſis like the preſent, every moment is precious. You will pleaſe to diſpatch, at the ſame time, an expreſs to the Duke of Ormond, that he may know what to depend upon, and how to regulate his conduct. If you inform him, that the King has ordered the Commanding Officer at Dunkirk, to let the Queen's forces enter, the Duke will immediately do as I have mentioned; and in this caſe, her Majeſty will detach a few regiments from hence, to take poſſeſſion of the place, by which means we ſhall avoid many obſtacles that may be thrown in our way, if it were done by a detachment from the army of the Duke of Ormond, as we at firſt intended.

Since I wrote the above, her Majeſty has determined to ſend the Earl of Strafford direct to the army; and he ſets off to-morrow evening, or, at the lateſt, on Sunday morning. I am, &c.

H. St. John.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 553.)

Sir,

Marli, July 5th, 1712.

I RECEIVED, by la Vigne, the honour of your letter of 20th June, O.S. and as you wait his return with impatience, knowing how valuable our time is at the preſent criſis, the King orders me not to loſe an inſtant in ſending him back.

You will not be ſorry to ſee him again, for he conveys his Majeſty's general conſent to the Queen's demands, as explained in your laſt letter. You ſtate, Sir, the orders given to the Duke of Ormond, the declarations he is to make, and the conduct he is to obſerve in withdrawing with the Engliſh forces, and all thoſe who may be willing to march with him, provided the King gives up the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk into the Queen's hands, although all the foreign troops in her pay, or in the joint pay of her Majeſty and the States-General, or only a part of theſe troops, ſhould ſeparate from the Engliſh to remain under the orders of Prince Eugene.

My laſt letter mentioned the juſt reaſons why the King might inſiſt that all the foreign forces, in Engliſh pay, ſhould follow the orders and motions of the Duke of Ormond, as a condition neceſſary for the execution of the promiſe, which the King made to the Queen, to put Dunkirk into her hands; but as it appears by your letter, that her Britannic Majeſty, in caſe of refuſal on the part of her allies, will no longer keep upon terms with them, that ſhe

ſhall think herſelf juſtified, both to God and man, that ſhe will no longer heſitate to conclude her own peace, leaving a term for the other powers intereſted in the war, to ſubmit to the conditions of a plan, which ſhe will concert with the King, that this peace may be ſettled in a few weeks; and, laſt of all, that Great Britain, enjoying a glorious peace, will leave the weight of the war to thoſe powers who ſtill preſerve their ill-will to France, but who will then be little able to make head againſt her. All theſe reaſons, as clearly explained in your letter, as they are conformable to his Majeſty's ſentiments, have determined him to give orders for the entrance of the Queen's forces into Dunkirk.

The meſſenger, intruſted with the ſame orders, ſets off to deliver them to the Mareſchal de Villars, at the ſame time as I diſpatch La Vigne; and you may reckon that the Duke of Ormond will gain intelligence of it to-morrow, 6th inſtant.

I hope the Earl of Strafford will be then with him, and that the concluſion of a good peace, at leaſt between France and Great Britain, will directly follow his arrival at Utrecht. I congratulate with you upon it, Sir, and I do it with the greater confidence, as I ſee, by your letter, that no more difficulties now remain.

The King much approves of your propoſition, to agree immediately to a general ceſſation of hoſtilities between the two nations, as well by ſea as by land. We cannot too ſoon procure the happineſs of peace for thoſe people, who have, for ſo many years, ſuffered the burden and miſery of the war. It ſeems to me that this agreement ſhould be ſigned at Utrecht, and I depend upon your ſending the Queen's orders to her Plenipotentiaries, unleſs you think of ſome ſpeedier method of terminating this buſineſs. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To Monſieur Marſchalch. (Page 557.)

Whitehall, June 27th, O.S. 1712.

SO much buſineſs has been created for us of late, my dear Sir, that it would be no wonder, if a man of abilities ſuperior to mine, ſhould be under the neceſſity to excuſe himſelf to his moſt intimate friends and correſpondents, for having neglected to write to them. For my own part, I depend ſo much upon the goodneſs you have ever ſhown towards me, that I doubt not your forgiveneſs.

We are now at the period which I have often foretold to you. The Imperial and Dutch Miniſters, in ſpite of all that could be urged to them, ſtill flattering themſelves, that they had only to continue their oppoſition to the Queen, and their intrigues with the party here, to force us to an alteration of conduct, and to give up to them the abſolute power of making war or peace in their own way, and at our expence, have at laſt driven the Queen to extremity. She is ſtill willing to live with them as good allies ought to do; but ſhe is reſolved to be trifled with no longer. She purſues a ſtraight courſe for peace; thoſe who concur with her will be ſure to experience all the ſatisfaction they hope for; thoſe who are deſirous of war, run the hazard of bringing a load upon their ſhoulders which they are not able to ſtand under.

The great politicians in Holland, imagined they had made a maſterly hit, when they found means to perſuade our foreign troops to diſobey the Duke of Ormond, and, conſequently, to prevent our taking poſſeſſion of Dunkirk: but they are miſtaken; Dunkirk will be in the Queen's hands, the troops that diſobeyed our orders, will no longer receive our pay, and the States-General muſt find funds for their ſubſiſtance. After that, Sir, I muſt tell you, and indeed by the Queen's command, that the King may be aſſured, that ſhe will ſupport his intereſt, as ſhe does her own; and that there is no reaſon to doubt the peace will be ſatisfactory to him; in return, the Queen hopes his Majeſty will give peremptory orders to the Prince of Anhalt, to withdraw from Prince Eugene and the Dutch General, in their oppoſition to the Duke of Ormond. As it is poſſible the Duke of Savoy will follow the plan of Great Britain, it would be proper that your Commander in Italy ſhould have ſecret inſtructions to regulate his conduct by that of this Prince, and obey him generally in every thing. Mr. Breton will addreſs himſelf to you conformable to what I write. Let your diſpatches, if you pleaſe, be to the

the ſame effect, and be aſſured the King will have every reaſon to be ſatisfied with our proceeding. As to affairs in the north, I will ſpeak to you in a poſt or two. Adieu, my dear friend. I am, &c.

To Monſieur Marſchalch. (Page 560.)

Whitehall, July 9th, O.S. 1712.

I OWN, my dear Sir, the Queen will be greatly ſurpriſed to find his Pruſſian Majeſty can hope to find his account in ſiding with the powers, who pretend to undertake what they are not in a condition to perform, rather than in continuing firmly united to a Princeſs, who has it in her power to accompliſh her intentions, all of which are conformable to the views of the King your maſter.

You know, Sir, as well as I, that the diſpute has never been, whether we ſhould have a peace or not, much leſs what ſhould be the conditions upon which it ſhould be made: the only object of the Imperialiſts and the Dutch, in joining with the factious part of her ſubjects, has been to oblige her Majeſty to proſecute a war, particularly burdenſome and unequal to Great Britain, and after that, to enter upon a new negociation with France, in the courſe of which her Majeſty might certainly have the honour to treat under their auſpices, but would have no vote in their councils.

They have purſued this excellent plan, with ſuch obſtinacy, that a ſchiſm has been formed among the allies, and this great advantage has been given to the enemy, rather than conſent to the Queen's conducting the negociation, or to her ſubjects gaining ſome remuneration by the peace, for all they have ſuffered during the war. So ſituated, what could our miſtreſs do? She has induced France to make ſuch overtures, as demonſtrate plain enough, that if we will treat, *bona fide*, all the allies ſhall have juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction; it is therefore ſolely dependant upon them to renew the conferences at Utrecht upon this plan, to keep themſelves cloſely united with the Queen, who certainly has not leſs influence when ſhe has Dunkirk in her poſſeſſion.

In regard to the intereſt of the King your maſter, I have the Queen's commands to ſay, and Mr. Breton will repeat the ſame aſſurances to his Pruſſian Majeſty, that the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain will ſecond you in all your demands; and as the Miniſters of France have aſſerted that they only waited for her Majeſty's ſolemn declaration for the attainment of your wiſhes, you ſhould conſider them as already obtained.

In God's name, Sir, endeavour to draw together with us. If the King ſides with her Majeſty, unanimity will be immediately reſtored among the allies, as the inflexible temper of the States was the only cauſe of the diſagreement. But no one can anſwer for the conſequences of the King's declaring againſt her Majeſty's meaſures. The campaign, you will tell me, may be carried on without the Queen's aſſiſtance; in Flanders, I grant you, it may; but think a little of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and above all, reflect upon the means of continuing another campaign, without the annual contribution of ſeven millions from Great Britain.

The King of France, though an enemy, has entruſted to the Queen, a place of ſuch importance as Dunkirk, without either agreement or treaty. Shall it then be ſaid, that the King of Pruſſia will not confide in promiſes ſo frequently repeated, and in that good faith which he experienced during ſo many years? A meſſenger will carry my diſpatches to my friend Breton, aſſiſt him with your knowledge upon the ſubject, ſecond his importunities by yours, and depend upon it, the queſtion is either to ſecure a good and honourable peace, or to plunge Europe into new misfortunes, probably worſe than thoſe ſhe has juſt gone through.

Adieu; in my haſte I write without a cypher, and this letter will be delivered to you by the Queen's meſſenger, on his way to Berlin. I am, &c.

To Monſieur Marſchalch. (Page 563.)

Whitehall, July 12th, O.S. 1712.

IN my laſt letter, my dear Sir, I tried to induce you to prevent thoſe inconveniences which I foreſaw would occur, in caſe the King your maſter ſhould abandon the Queen, who only demands a reaſonable peace, the ſole object of the war, to attach himſelf to thoſe who wiſh to play a part which they cannot ſupport. Since then, her Majeſty has ſeen, with regret, by the Duke of Ormond's letters of the 17th inſtant, N.S. that the Pruſſian troops were the firſt to leave the Britiſh army, to follow Prince Eugene, who has not even condeſcended to communicate to the Queen's General, to what place he directed his march, or what deſign he had in view. I fear the honours acquired by the Prince of Anhalt, at the ſiege of Landrecy, will be no recompence for the misfortunes which the common cauſe will ſuffer from his improper proceeding, by contributing to offer her Majeſty that groſs affront which I have juſt mentioned. Her Majeſty will make no complaints; Mr. Breton has only orders to ſuppreſs the contents of my laſt letter, which was full of the Queen's aſſurances to the King your maſter. I believe we ſhall ſet to work to aſſert our conſequence by our arms, where friendſhip and goodwill have proved ineffectual. I ſay nothing to you about affairs in the north, what occurred in Flanders, within a few days, totally changes our ſyſtem. But, as a ſincere friend, I will confide to you my opinion, which is, that the Queen will, in thoſe parts, ſpeak through the medium of her Admiral. You have juſt rid us of a terrible expence, which was extremely oppreſſive to us; a ſhare of what we ſhall ſave will be applied to our navy. Adieu, dear friend.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 565.)

SIR,

Fontainbleau, July 19th, 1712.

BEFORE you receive the letter, which I have the honour to write you by the King's order, you will have been informed of the Duke of Ormond's declaration to his army of a ceſſation of arms between France and Great Britain, of his march, and of the refuſal of the Commanders of the auxiliary forces, whether in the pay of the Queen alone, or of her and the States, to join the Engliſh troops, and to follow him.

I make no doubt you have alſo received the news of the entry of the Britiſh battalions into Dunkirk, purſuant to the King's orders for their reception. Thus, Sir, his Majeſty and the Queen having accompliſhed the primary proceedings for the attainment of peace, and your allies having clearly declared in their anſwers, and confirmed by their late conduct, the part they mean to take in the continuance of the war, it only remains for us to conclude a peace between France and Great Britain, in a few weeks, as you ſtate in your letter of the 20th of June.

The Duke of Ormond has already executed the Queen's engagement, by retiring, though with the Britiſh forces only, and declaring he ſhall no longer act againſt France, nor pay thoſe who do not follow his example.

You informed me, Sir, that her Majeſty ſeeing herſelf driven by her allies to ſuch extremities, would no longer heſitate to conclude her own peace, ſtipulating a term for the other powers engaged in the war, to ſubmit to the conditions of a plan which ſhe would agree upon with the King. The execution of that promiſe is now our buſineſs, and it ſeems an object of no difficulty, ſince all articles of a peace with England are ſettled, and the King's intentions, in regard to a general peace, are known to, and, I believe, I may ſay, approved of by her Britannic Majeſty.

I will ſay nothing, Sir, to awaken her reſentment upon the conduct of her allies. Their ill-will and bad deſigns againſt the Queen, are ſufficiently evident; inſtead of rouſing the ſpirit of war and diſcord, I could wiſh to inſpire thoſe with the love of peace, who are now uſing their utmoſt endeavours to obſtruct it. But as nothing will contribute more to the

reſtoration

reſtoration of general tranquillity, in ſpite of their oppoſition, than to fix and ſecure, in a ſubſtantial manner, what has hitherto been agreed upon between France and Great Britain, the King has already ſent orders to his Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, to ſettle an immediate and general ſuſpenſion, as well by ſea as by land, and to ſign it with the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain.

His Majeſty judges it proper to follow the tenour of the treaty of Ryſwick, in aſcertaining the terms of the ſuſpenſion by ſea; conſequently veſſels, merchandiſe, and effects, taken in the channel, and in the North Seas, after twelve days, to be computed from the ſigning and publication of the ſuſpenſion, ſhall be on both ſides reciprocally reſtored. For prizes taken from the Channel, the ſeas ſurrounding the Britiſh Iſles and the North Seas, to Cape St. Vincent, the term ſhall be ſix weeks. From and beyond that Cape to the line, whether in the Atlantic, or in the Mediterranean, ten weeks. Finally, beyond the Line, and in all other parts of the world, without exception or farther diſtinction of time or place, ſix months.

While the ſuſpenſion by ſea is regulating and ſigning, we might, Sir, for the mutual benefit of the French and the Engliſh, give paſſports for the ſecurity of trade; I need not point out to you the advantage England will gain, both from theſe paſſports and the ſuſpenſion; I will only ſay, that the King does not regret that the Engliſh ſhould enjoy a freedom of commerce undiſturbed by any enemy whatever, while his own ſubjects do not poſſeſs the ſame advantage, as they muſt guard againſt the Dutch privateers, in caſe the ſuſpenſion is not general.

Although there be grounds to judge, from the conduct obſerved by the States-General, that they will defer their ſubmiſſion as long as they can, yet the King has ordered and authoriſed his Plenipotentiaries to agree with them, in concert with the Queen's Miniſters, for a ſuſpenſion of arms by ſea and land. In a word, they are empowered to agree for a ſuſpenſion with all your allies, not only in the name of the King, but alſo in the name of the King of Spain.

Permit me, Sir, to obſerve, that while the ſuſpenſion is in force, whether it be partial or general, it ſhould not allow the tranſport of troops, ammunition, or proviſions, to Portugal, Catalonia, or to any place where the war is at preſent going on. I conſider this reflection as uſeleſs, but the having made it can do no harm.

The King farther commands me to propoſe that her Majeſty, without loſs of time, ſhould diſpatch her orders to Portugal and Catalonia, that the ſuſpenſion may be there publiſhed and obſerved, between the troops of Great Britain, thoſe of the King of Spain, and the auxiliaries of France. You may even, for greater ſpeed, order the meſſenger, whom you ſend off to Catalonia, to paſs through France.

I ſhall wait your anſwer, Sir, with great impatience, though I doubt not what it may conſiſt of, events having always fulfilled what you have done me the honour to mention to me; but you ſee how valuable time is, and may now, much eaſier than ever, foreſee the events which may occur in Flanders, ſince the retreat of your forces.

It ſeems to me neceſſary, at this juncture, to facilitate the conveyance of letters, to have a more frequent communication of circumſtances, the knowledge of which is eſſential to both nations. For this purpoſe we may immediately reinſtate the packets from Dover to Calais, as they were before the interdiction of all communication. I take the liberty to tell you, that by this meaſure, you will derive another advantage for her Britannic Majeſty's ſervice. The Engliſh mails, diſpatched from Oſtend to Antwerp, paſs through the hands of one Jaupin, of whoſe attachment to the government of Holland, to Prince Eugene, and, I will add, to your former Commander in Chief, you are not ignorant. You ought alſo to know the uſe he made of his management of the mails, at the beginning of the campaign; he propoſed to the Poſt-Maſter of Rouſſelar, to convey them from Oſtend to Tournay; becauſe Jaupin, living either in the enemy's army, or in ſome town in its vicinity, would have a better opportunity to inform himſelf, and to give an account to Prince Eugene, of the orders you ſent to the Duke of Ormond. If you think it neceſſary to deprive him of all means of information, we may; after the packets are re-eſtabliſhed, ſettle a method of conveying the mails from Calais to Liſle, by the way of Dunkirk and Ipres.

I expect every day La Vigne's return, and am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 569.)

SIR,

Whitehall, July 12th, 1712.

ON Thurſday the 10th of this month, O.S. we received the news of the entry of the Queen's forces into Dunkirk, and the ſame day an officer arrived from the army, with letters from the Duke of Ormond of the 17th inſtant. The Queen then found herſelf empowered to diſpatch her ultimate commands to the Plenipotentiaries, not to loſe a moment in concluding the agreement for a general ſuſpenſion of arms, as well by ſea as by land, with the Miniſters of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and even the treaty of peace between Great Britain and France.

The Council ſat yeſterday, and finiſhed theſe inſtructions, when the Abbé Gaultier gave me the letter you did me the honour to write the 19th inſt. N.S. from which I learn, with great pleaſure, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſentiments, and the orders he has given, are conformable to thoſe which the Queen has thought proper to give me in charge. You there repeat what I did myſelf the honour to write to you in my letter of the 20th ult. and I dare warrant that, on this occaſion as on all others, the reſult will be conſonant to the promiſes I made to you in the Queen's name, and by her order.

It is very true, Sir, the conduct of her allies does not correſpond, in any degree, with the obligations they have received, or with thoſe they had reaſon to expect from the Queen; but Sir, you agree intirely in opinion with us, when, inſtead of the ſpirit of war and diſcord, you wiſh to inſpire thoſe with a love of peace, who are now uſing their utmoſt endeavours to obſtruct it.

There is a kind of frenzy got abroad in the world, we muſt prevent thoſe attacked with it from doing us harm; and charity calls upon us, at the ſame time, to contribute to their cure. Let us begin with the firſt buſineſs, and, preparatory to the reſtoration of general tranquillity, let us confirm and ſecure, upon a ſolid baſis, what has been hitherto agreed upon between Great Britain and France.

The Queen conſents, Sir, that veſſels, merchandiſe, and effects, taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after the term of twelve days, computed from the ſigning and publication of the ſuſpenſion, ſhall be on both ſides, reciprocally, reſtored. That the term of ſix weeks ſhould be for captures made between the Channel, the Seas ſurrounding the Britiſh Iſles, the North Seas, to Cape St. Vincent. Ten weeks from and beyond that Cape to the Line, whether in the Atlantic or the Mediterranean. Finally, the term of ſix months beyond the Line, and in all other parts of the world, without any other particular exception or diſtinction, either of time or of place; and that, in the interim, until the ſuſpenſion by ſea is regulated and ſigned, paſſports ſhould be granted for the ſecurity of trade, and the mutual benefit of the two nations.

The Queen is of opinion, that it would be of uſe to ſhorten the term of ten weeks in the Mediterranean, particularly; and the Plenipotentiaries are inſtructed to propoſe the term of ſix weeks, as well for captures made from the Channel, the ſeas encircling the Britiſh Iſles, and the North Seas to Cape St. Vincent, as from and beyond that Cape to the Line, whether in the Atlantic or in the Mediterranean; but no difference, in this reſpect, ſhall ſtand in the way of the ſuſpenſion.

Your obſervation, Sir, reſpecting the tranſport of troops, ammunition, and proviſions, to Portugal, Catalonia, or to any other place where the war is now carrying on, will admit of no difficulty; the Queen agrees to it, and this article ſhall, on our part, be performed with the utmoſt exactneſs. I muſt however tell you, that the Queen will not conſider it as an infringement of this regulation, if ſhe ſends troops or ammunition to Gibraltar, or Port Mahon, or withdraws the Portugueſe forces, now ſerving in Catalonia, to convey them home; or tranſports the German troops, or others, in the ſervice of the Emperor, from Spain to Italy; or finally withdraws the Britiſh forces, and, in general, every thing belonging to the Queen, to remove them to the Iſland of Minorca, or even to Great Britain.

I have juſt mentioned withdrawing the Engliſh troops remaining in Catalonia: the Queen's orders are already ſent for this purpoſe; and as her Majeſty has reſolved not to contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to the expences of the war, the ſuſpenſion will execute itſelf; and I believe, the Emperor's forces in Catalonia will think themſelves ſufficiently fortunate to be at liberty to depart from that country, and to be ſent home. As the Duke of Argyle, or ſome other officer, will be directly ſent to ſuperintend the execution of theſe orders, it is evident, that by directing his route to be through France, as we intend to do in five or ſix days, we ſhall ſave much time.

The orders neceſſary for the ſuſpenſion of arms in Portugal have been ſent off; but as the Miniſter now here is neither inſtructed nor empowered to treat upon this buſineſs, we muſt apply to the King of Portugal's Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

Of all her allies, there is no one whoſe intereſt her Majeſty has more at heart than that of the Duke of Savoy; and ſhe hopes the Moſt Chriſtian King, in concert with her, will neglect nothing to prevail upon his Royal Highneſs to enter into all our meaſures, and to ſecure him from inſult on the ſide of the Imperialiſts, when he has agreed to our plans.

The diſputes exiſting with regard to this Prince's barrier, are reduced to four heads: the right of garriſoning Monaco, with the abſolute dominion over Monton and Rocabruna, the villages beyond the Rhône, Briançon, and Fort Barreau.

The Queen wiſhes his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would ſhow ſome compliance on theſe articles, of ſo little importance to ſuch a power as France, but of ſo much conſequence to his Royal Highneſs, whoſe dominions, from the demolition of ſo many fortreſſes, are more expoſed than ever.

It is neither the intereſt of Great Britain nor of France, that the kingdom of Sicily ſhould be given to the Houſe of Auſtria; his Royal Highneſs is the Prince whom her Majeſty wiſhes to ſee in poſſeſſion of that Crown; ſhe cannot give up this demand; ſhe propoſes it to his Royal Highneſs as a condition for the ſuſpenſion of arms on the ſide of Italy, and ſhe acquaints him, that ſhe has ordered me to write to you upon it. The meſſenger, in his way to Turin, will paſs through France, ſo that any propoſition which his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may wiſh to make to his Royal Highneſs, may accompany thoſe of the Queen.

On the ſubject of the ſuſpenſion, nothing more remains for me to ſay to you, than that the moment it is publiſhed in Spain, the Queen demands that the blockade of Gibraltar ſhall be raiſed, and that the garriſon and merchants there ſhall have free liberty to live and trade with the Spaniards.

The packets between Dover and Calais ſhall be directly eſtabliſhed. I think they may begin to go next week. You will pleaſe to diſpatch the neceſſary orders and paſſports.

I am well informed of Jaupin's character, and will not fail to unite with you in meaſures to prevent our letters paſſing through his hands. In future, thoſe to the Duke of Ormond muſt be ſubject to no riſque, as that General will probably determine to withdraw towards Dunkirk; in that ſituation he will want neither Hollanders nor Brabanters; while he remains there, we ſhall ſupply the forces with every neceſſary from hence, and when her Majeſty thinks proper to recall them home, it may be done with more convenience from Dunkirk than from any other place.

The Duke of Ormond is directed to concert his march with the Mareſchal Villars, and to aſſure him (as I am alſo ordered to promiſe you, Sir) that his troops will regularly pay for every thing that may be provided for them by the ſubjects of France, and that every poſſible ſatisfaction ſhall be given, if by any accident, the ſlighteſt injury ſhould be ſuſtained.

When I was upon the ſubject of the ſuſpenſion of arms, I forgot to ſay, the Queen will conſent to extend or prolong it, in the manner his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall judge proper; but ſhe hopes, and indeed ſhe entertains no doubt, that the King will fully execute the article which reſpects the union of the two monarchies, if poſſible, during the term of two months. The Queen could wiſh to know what meaſures have been taken on this ſubject; you will have the goodneſs to inform me of them, and to believe that I am, &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 574.)

Fontainbleau, July 26th, 1712.

THE news from Flanders will inform you, Sir, that the Queen of Great Britain begins to be avenged for the little regard paid by her allies to her wiſe counſels, and for the refuſal of the mercenaries to march with the Duke of Ormond. It were uſeleſs to ſend you the particulars of the attack on the camp at Denain, on the 24th inſtant, where the Earl of Albemarle was driven in, taken, and his troops entirely defeated by the Mareſchal de Villars; you will be acquainted with the circumſtances before my letter can reach you, ſo that I ſhall only have the honour to ſay, that the King thinks the advantage gained by his forces will be the more agreeable to her Majeſty, inaſmuch as they afford additional means to conquer the obſtinacy of the enemies to the peace; according to our laſt letters from Holland, their ill will was ſtronger than ever. I hope her Britannic Majeſty will completely bring them to their ſenſes, by cloſing immediately with the King upon the ultimate meaſures to finiſh the buſineſs now ſo far advanced. She has the means in her own power, if ſhe will make uſe of Ghent and Bruges, which her troops occupy, and particularly the firſt; for, in the preſent criſis, he who is maſter of that city, can diſconcert all the plans of the adverſe Generals, and give the law to Holland.

The Queen can alſo prevent the execution of any project which Count Staremberg may intend on the ſide of Catalonia, as the Britiſh troops are in poſſeſſion of Terragon. I imagine, Sir, your Commander-in-chief there has orders to retain that town without giving it up to the Germans, and that nothing will occur to diſpoſſeſs her Majeſty of it, until the peace is concluded and ratified.

I wait your anſwer to the letter I had the honour to write to you, the 19th inſtant, reſpecting the ſuſpenſion by ſea and land, to be entered into immediately, between France and England.

The King has been lately informed, that ſome ſhips of the ſquadron under Admiral Jennings, were actually employed in the tranſport of the troops and horſes which the Archduke is conveying from the coaſt of Genoa to Catalonia. His Majeſty is fully perſuaded that, in the preſent poſture of affairs, ſuch proceedings are abſolutely contrary to the Queen's intentions, and that, conſequently, her Majeſty will think it neceſſary to ſend immediate orders to ſtop them. Her meſſenger, for this purpoſe, would gain much time by paſſing through France, which he ſhall be at free liberty to do, if you are inclined to ſend him that way.

In fact, Sir, we are ſo circumſtanced, that it ſhould ſeem expedient to both ſides to forward the mutual advantage of both nations; the King, therefore, does not heſitate to propoſe to her Majeſty, to ſend, by the neareſt route, peremptory orders to the Britiſh ſhips appointed to cruize in different parts of the Mediterranean, to permit French ſhips returning from the Levant, to paſs freely, many of them being laden with corn for Provence. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 576.)

Whitehall, July 17th, 1712.

IN the laſt letter I had the honour to write, I obſerved to you, Sir, that of all the allies, there was no one whoſe intereſt the Queen had more at heart, than that of the Duke of Savoy, and that ſhe hoped the King would, in concert with her, neglect nothing to induce his Royal Highneſs to enter into our meaſures, and when entered, to protect him from any inſult on the part of the Emperor.

In the ſame letter I acquainted you, that the differences reſpecting that Prince's barrier might be reduced to four points; and that the Queen hoped his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would manifeſt more compliance upon articles of ſo little import to ſuch a power as France, but of ſuch vaſt conſequence to his Royal Highneſs, whoſe dominions are more expoſed than ever, on account of the deſtruction of ſo many fortified places.

I added, that it was neither the intereſt of Great Britain or of France, to give away the kingdom of Sicily to the Houſe of Auſtria; that his Royal Highneſs was the Prince upon whoſe

head

head the Queen wiſhed to place the crown; that ſhe could not give up this claim; that ſhe propoſed it to his Royal Highneſs, as a condition for the ſuſpenſion of arms on the ſide of Italy; that ſhe had given him to underſtand I had written to you upon it by her orders, and that the meſſenger would paſs through France on his way to Turin, ſo that ſuch propoſitions as his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty might be inclined to make to his Royal Highneſs, might accompany thoſe made from hence. It is upon this ſubject I write to you to-day, by the Queen's orders.

It is unneceſſary for me to explain all the reaſons, that may be urged to ſhow how important it is at this juncture to have the concurrence of the Duke of Savoy, as well in the ſuſpenſion of arms as in the treaty of peace, both which will apparently be concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain, without the intervention of the other allies. Theſe reaſons will not eſcape you; and her Majeſty is convinced, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will adopt the reſolution of ſecuring, without delay, a prince, whoſe declaration would be a maſterly ſtroke, and ſo much the more ſeaſonable, as the King of Pruſſia has not at all anſwered what the Queen had a right to expect.

I will ſay no more concerning the diſputes exiſting about theſe demands of his Royal Highneſs which relate more particularly to France.

That Prince will not inſiſt upon any thing that is not neceſſary for the ſafety of his dominions; and the Queen does not doubt his Majeſty will grant him what are ſo. But there are two articles, upon which he muſt be well informed, before he determines his immediate choice; and I confine myſelf to the communication of what her Majeſty judges neceſſary to eſtabliſh his Royal Highneſs's right to the Crown of Spain and the Indies, after King Philip and his deſcendants, and to ſecure to his Royal Highneſs the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Sicily.

You know, Sir, the Queen agreed with the King your maſter, that in the treaty for peace, the Prince who was to ſucceed to the Spaniſh Crown, after Philip and his deſcendants, ſhould be named; and that all parties to the articles for the ſuſpenſion of arms, ſhould, by authentic inſtruments, acknowledge that Prince as ſucceſſor to that crown: then, Sir, the Queen propoſes that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty do directly declare his acknowledgment of the Duke of Savoy's right of ſucceſſion to Spain and the Indies, after King Philip and his deſcendants; that he do promiſe, that King Philip and the States of Spain ſhall acknowledge him alſo; that the Princes of France, eſpecially the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, ſhall approve of, ratify, and confirm every thing that ſhall be done for the acknowledgment of the ſaid right of ſucceſſion: that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty do alſo promiſe to his Royal Highneſs, as well for himſelf as for King Philip, the execution of every thing that may be deemed neceſſary to ſecure to his ſaid Royal Highneſs, and his ſaid family, the ſucceſſion to the Crown of Spain and the Indies, after the ſaid King Philip and his deſcendants; and particularly, that he do engage, that King Philip ſhall, voluntarily, and by his royal authority, abſolve his ſubjects from all oaths to the contrary, and for that purpoſe, ſhall revoke and annull them, as alſo all declarations whatever, made in favour of any Prince of his blood.

The moſt proper time for the execution of the above, appears to be that appointed for the ſettling of every thing relative to the article concerning the reunion of the two monarchies.

At that time alſo, the ceſſion of Sicily and its dependencies, ſhould be made by King Philip in favour of his Royal Highneſs; and her Majeſty propoſes to the Moſt Chriſtian King to ſend directly explicit aſſurances to his ſaid Royal Highneſs, that ſuch ceſſion will be made by authority, and in all requiſite forms; that in the ſame inſtrument King Philip will declare, that he holds the kingdom of Sicily and its dependencies, for, and in the name only of his Royal Highneſs, who may, at all times, and whenever he pleaſes, take actual poſſeſſion by virtue of the ſaid act of ceſſion. That King Philip will, in the mean time, abſolve the Sicilians from their oath of fidelity to him, and will order them to acknowledge his ſaid Royal Highneſs as their lawful King and Sovereign. That the galleys, and other veſſels, belonging to Sicily, with their crews, be given up to his Royal Highneſs, with that kingdom, together with all titles, papers, and documents relating to the kingdom.

When his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has promiſed his Royal Highneſs, as the Queen propoſes, the advantages and ſecurities I have juſt mentioned, there will be no reaſon to doubt that

prince will directly follow the example of Great Britain, and the peace between the Queen, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, will be effected in a very ſhort time.

In this treaty clauſes may be inſerted to guaranty to his Royal Highneſs the full enjoyment of the kingdom of Sicily and its dependencies; the right of ſucceſſion to the Crown of Spain and the Indies thus eſtabliſhed; and the poſſeſſion of all that has been, or ought to be ceded, by virtue of the treaty of Turin, between the late Emperor Leopold and the ſaid Duke of Savoy, November 8th, 1703.

I ought to deſire you to ſend your diſpatches to Turin by the Queen's meſſenger, rather than by one of your's, it will at preſent give leſs umbrage; in future in will be eaſy to adopt ſuch meaſures with his Royal Highneſs as may warrant you to ſend a perſon of truſt, who may be furniſhed with powers to treat and conclude with him.

Whitehall, July 18th, 1712.

I WAS going to diſpatch this meſſenger, when I received the honour of your letter, of the 26th inſtant, N.S. which I read to her Majeſty.

The Queen cannot but be greatly affected that the ſhedding of blood, and the miſeries of war, ſhould ſtill continue, at a time when it depends upon her allies to reſtore the repoſe of Europe; ſhe hopes the advantage gained by his Majeſty's forces will contribute to conquer an obſtinacy unexampled, and I have orders, Sir, to aſſure you, that her Majeſty will neglect nothing that is juſt and honourable, to bring theſe enemies of peace to their ſenſes. The moſt effectual means for the purpoſe is that upon which this letter principally turns, that is, to prevail upon his Royal Highneſs to make peace with France and Spain at the ſame time as the Queen.

When I wrote you my laſt, of the 12th inſtant, O.S. we apprehended that the Duke of Ormond might be forced to retire towards Dunkirk. He has managed better; and the poſſeſſion of Ghent and Bruges will have the effect of making both the Imperialiſts and Dutch more reaſonable. I have already cautioned the Duke to be upon his guard, and to ſtrengthen the poſts he occupies.

The Queen intends to withdraw all the Britiſh forces from Catalonia, and not to contribute, in the ſlighteſt manner, towards the expence of the war, agreeable to what I have had the honour to ſtate in my preceding letter. With this view, the Duke of Argyle's inſtructions are drawn, and he ſets off in a few days to ſuperintend the execution of ſuch orders as her Majeſty has thought proper to give, to conclude the war in Spain; the Duke goes by way of France, and we do not think it neceſſary to wait for a paſſport for him. When at Paris, he will conſult with you what uſe is to be made of the poſſeſſion of Terragon. In the mean time, the Queen's orders are ſent to Lieutenant-general the Earl of Barrymore; or to the officer, whoever he may be, commanding the Britiſh troops in Catalonia, to keep his forces united, and to guard the town of Terragon, until the arrival of the Duke of Argyle, or farther orders.

The Queen ſeizes, with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, the opportunity which now preſents itſelf of pleaſing his Majeſty; and accordingly, poſitive orders are ſent to Admiral Jennings, to ſuffer French veſſels to paſs free upon their return from the Levant. You are right in the ſuppoſition, that the Admiral could have no orders to refuſe a convoy to the troops which the Emperor might ſend from Genoa to Catalonia; but the Admiral, and the Queen's Envoy at Genoa, have, for ſome time, had poſitive orders not to hire a veſſel, or to contribute, in any ſhape, to the tranſportation of the troops. They will, without loſs of time, have farther inſtructions for their conduct, until the arrival of the Duke of Argyle finiſhes the war in Spain.

By your meſſenger, who will be diſpatched on Monday at fartheſt, I will ſend you fifty blank paſſports, and continue to ſend you as many by every meſſenger from hence; you will have the goodneſs to do the ſame, according to your propoſal, in your letter of the 13th inſt. N.S. and to which the Queen gave her conſent, per mine, of the 12th inſtant.

As the meſſenger entruſted with this diſpatch, has alſo that for Turin, as alſo her Majeſty's orders above-mentioned, to Admiral Jennings, and the Commander-in-chief of the Britiſh forces in Catalonia, I muſt, Sir, beg of you to give ſuch directions as may accelerate his journey as much as poſſible. I am, &c.

B.

From

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 584.)

SIR,

Fontainbleau, July 28th, 1712.

THE letters you have done me the honour to write 12th....23d inſtant, are an exact confirmation of your former communications by the Queen's order, and the King is perſuaded, that the inſtructions ſent by you to the Britiſh Plenipotentiaries will have their due effect, both as to a general ſuſpenſion by ſea and land, and as to the immediate concluſion of a ſeparate peace between France and Great Britain.

There is no other motive more powerful to inſpire your allies with the love of peace; when the firſt guſt of paſſion is over, we generally reflect more ſeriouſly upon conſequences, and thoſe who ſtill oppoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of the public repoſe, have now many reaſons to wiſh they were cured of their frenzy.

But until correction attains its proper effect, it is very expedient to confirm and ſubſtantiate, in the ſolid manner you propoſe, what has been hitherto done to obtain a peace between France and Great Britain. And as the general ſuſpenſion by ſea and land is the firſt ſtep, the King conſents to all the articles detailed in your letter.

His Majeſty alſo approves of the alterations propoſed by the Queen in ſome of the conditions ſpecified in the letter I had the honour to write to you the 19th inſtant, and, in general all your obſervations on the ſame ſubject. Thus, Sir, the term of ten weeks for captures made in the Mediterranean, is reduced to ſix weeks; and the term of ten weeks will comprehend captures made as well from the Channel, the ſeas ſurrounding the Britiſh Iſles, and the North Seas to Cape St. Vincent, as from and beyond that Cape to the Line, whether it be in the ocean or the Mediterranean.

You are right in your judgment, that the King never pretended that the Queen of Great Britain ſhould be debarred ſending forces and ammunition to Gibraltar and Port Mahon; ſhe will certainly pleaſe the Portugueſe and Germans by her aſſiſtance to remove them from Catalonia; but the King conſents to her doing this office of kindneſs to her allies, who otherwiſe ſcarce deſerve her charity.

Much time will be ſaved, and the Duke of Argyle, or another officer, ſent to Spain to execute the Queen's orders, will have a commodious journey, by paſſing through France: I hope for the honour of ſeeing the perſon whom her Britannic Majeſty ſends, and of offering him all the ſervices in my power for the convenience of his journey.

The King diſpatches a meſſenger to inform the Catholic King of all proceedings with her Britannic Majeſty. You may be certain the blockade of Gibraltar will be raiſed, and the garriſon and merchants there, will be perfectly at liberty to live and trade with the Spaniards.

I expect the King will immediately receive the draft of the renunciation to be made by the King of Spain to the Crown of France for himſelf and his deſcendants. You know he has declared in Council his reſolution on that ſubject, and that it was received with great applauſe. The act of renunciation will be ſolemnly regiſtered, as I had the honour to inform you, in all the Parliaments of the kingdom.

Theſe, Sir, are the meaſures adopted by the King, and, as you well know, in concert with her Majeſty, for the firm and effectual ſeparation of the monarchies of France and Spain, and to prevent their ever being reunited in the ſame Prince.

I hope two months will be ſufficient to effect the renunciation of the King of Spain, and to regiſter it in the parliaments. It will require more time to aſſemble the Cortes of the Spaniſh monarchy; but our principal and moſt eſſential point is, to procure the Catholic King's renunciation, and to regiſter it in the Courts of France, where it ought to remain.

With regard to the extending the ſuſpenſion of arms, I hope, Sir, it will be unneceſſary, and that a good peace will precede the expiration of the term of two months. This uncertainty, with reſpect to the re-eſtabliſhment of a perfect good underſtanding between France and England, muſt be removed as ſoon as poſſible; and we cannot too ſoon come to a definitive determination upon an affair whoſe concluſion is ſo much deſired and conſidered as of advantage to both parties.

In

In the mean time, the King commands me to ſend you twenty paſſports, not only for the packets, which the Queen very properly wiſhes to eſtabliſh this week, from Dover to Calais, but alſo for other Engliſh veſſels, to whom you may think proper to diſtribute them. I intreat you, Sir, to ſend me alſo the ſame number of paſſports from the Queen of Great Britain, ſo that both French and Engliſh may begin to enjoy the bleſſings of peace, even before it be abſolutely completed.

Theſe primary effects of a good underſtanding will perhaps open the eyes of thoſe, who are hoſtile to the general repoſe, and the dread of the conſequences of our perfect correſpondence, may make them more docile, than all the arguments hitherto urged, in vain, for their converſion.

The King judges, as I have already noticed, that nothing will be more conducive to this, than a proper uſe of the towns you hold in the Netherlands. Agreeably to this, his Majeſty thinks, that inſtead of recalling the Duke of Ormond and the forces under his command, they ſhould be left in Flanders till the general peace.

The King's orders, containing the conditions of the ſuſpenſion, were ſent to the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, the 18th inſtant; the meſſenger in ordinary, who had them in charge as far as Valenciennes, though provided with a paſſport from the enemy, was ſtopped near that city, by ſome huſſars belonging to the army of Prince Eugene; the letters were taken from him, and as they were not returned two days ago, this delay will prevent his Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries being informed of his intentions, at the time when thoſe of the Queen will have received the orders you ſent them. I hope the meſſenger, whom the King diſpatches to them this day, will be more fortunate in his journey, and make ſome amends for the delay.

As ſoon as the agreement for a general ſuſpenſion by ſea and land ſhall be ſigned, his Majeſty will ſend out cutters to make it public in all the American colonies; and he ſuppoſes the Queen of Great Britain will do the ſame.

After informing you of what the King is willing to do to ſatisfy her Britannic Majeſty, I could wiſh to paſs over in ſilence the article reſpecting the Duke of Savoy, ſince it is as diſagreeable to refuſe as to be refuſed. I aſſure you, Sir, the Queen would not be ſo expoſed, had not her demands, in favour of that Prince, been directly adverſe to the intereſt, the juſtice, and the honour of the King.

Were we to give up to the Duke of Savoy what he demands beyond the Rhône, Briançon, and Fort Barrau, we ſhould lay open the kingdom to him, by giving him the keys of, and leave Dauphiny to his diſpoſal. Take the trouble, Sir, to examine only the map of the country, and judge if his Majeſty could, with any ſort of ſecurity to his provinces, grant ſuch pretenſions?

It would be contrary to juſtice, to covenant concerning the poſſeſſions of the Prince of Monaco, by giving up thoſe rights to Menton and Roquebruno, which have always belonged to him; and we ſhould expoſe him to the reſentment, which the Duke of Savoy has long harboured againſt him, were we, contrary to treaties, to withdraw the French garriſon from Monaco, to ſuffer the Piedmonteſe troops to enter, and thus give the Duke of Savoy full ſcope for his revenge.

Beſides theſe conſiderations, we muſt regard Monaco as a fortreſs which the King ought to keep for the ſecurity of Provence.

The Duke of Savoy knows too well the importance of theſe places, ever to hope that his Majeſty will cede them to him; and I can aſſure you, Sir, that while he repreſents them to the Queen as of little conſequence, he only inſiſts upon having them in hopes that Sicily may be given to him as a ſort of equivalent.

But you know the King's engagements to the Elector of Bavaria, and his Majeſty has too good an opinion of the Britiſh Miniſters, to ſuppoſe that any one of them would urge him to act contrary to his word and his honour. He judged that the Queen, knowing his intentions with regard to Sicily, had no other view of advantage for the Duke of Savoy, than the ſubſtituting him and his deſcendants, after the King of Spain, and the deſcendants of his Catholic Majeſty, if in the courſe of time they ſhould unhappily fail; but the King could never perſuade himſelf, that her Majeſty's intention was, to deprive the Elector of Bavaria, not only of the Netherlands, which the King of Spain had ceded to him, but alſo of the kingdom

of

of Sicily, which his Majeſty conſidered as a compenſation for thoſe Provinces. If the Elector was forced to give them up for the ſake of the peace, it is equally the intereſt of France and England, that Sicily ſhould not fall again into the hands of the Houſe of Auſtria; but the King's honour is concerned to indemnify the Elector of Bavaria, on account of engagements entered into with that Prince.

One of two plans muſt therefore be adopted: either the Elector of Bavaria to obtain by the peace, the property and poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, as ceded to him by the King of Spain, together with the reſtoration of his Electorate; or the kingdom of Sicily muſt be given to him, as an equivalent for the Netherlands.

If the firſt is agreed upon, the King will then ſtrongly urge the King of Spain to give up Sicily to the Duke of Savoy; but without this ſtipulation, his Majeſty is engaged to procure Sicily for the Elector, as he explained himſelf a long time ſince to the Queen of Great Britain.

You may ſay, Sir, her Britanuic Majeſty has it not in her power to ſecure the Netherlands for the Elector of Bavaria; but you will permit me to reply, that the Elector is already maſter of Luxemburgh, Namur, Charleroy, and Nieuport; that the Duke of Ormond is in Flanders with a large army; that it only depends upon the Queen's having troops in Ghent and Bruges, as ſhe already has in Dunkirk; and that the Elector of Bavaria will give his free conſent to the garriſoning thoſe places with Engliſh troops.

Thus might Sicily be given to the Duke of Savoy; but it is neceſſary to inform you, that the uncertainty as to the diſpoſal of that kingdom, affords at preſent additional power to the Houſe of Auſtria to excite an inſurrection. The diſcontent is great in that iſland; and the Sicilians, naturally reſtleſs, may eaſily be induced to favour the Auſtrians, if we do not ſpeedily fix upon the Prince to whom this kingdom is to belong.

You will eaſily ſuppoſe, Sir, that, things being in this ſtate, I can write nothing to Turin by your meſſenger, who paſſes through France. I ſhould think other advantages might be procured for the Duke of Savoy, in the Milaneſe, and the obſtinacy of the Court of Vienna might ſupply the pretence. Reflect upon this, if you pleaſe, and conſider how much the Queen has already done for her ungrateful allies; that it would be glorious in her, to contribute to the happineſs of a Prince ſo deſerving as the Elector of Bavaria, and whoſe gratitude would certainly be equal to the benefits he would receive.

I aſk your pardon for ſo long a letter, and am, &c.

DE TORCY.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 591.)

SIR,

Fontainbleau, July 28th, 1712.

AS we cannot too ſoon finiſh thoſe affairs, the completion of which is equally the wiſh of both parties, the King judges it will accelerate the ſuſpenſion, if he ſends you the treaty ready drawn up and ſigned by me, by his Majeſty's order; if the Queen approves of this expedient, ſhe will have the goodneſs to direct it to be ſigned in her name. I ſhould then tranſmit to you the King's ratification, ſubjoined to the copy received from you, by return of the meſſenger, now ſent off, and thus we ſhould forward, by many days, the publication and execution of the ſuſpenſion.

The King leaves it to her Majeſty to decide, whether this treaty ſhould be ſigned in the manner I now propoſe, or at Utrecht? I believe you will experience no difficulty with reſpect to the conditions, as I copied exactly thoſe you ſent me in your laſt letter. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

I left a blank for the term of the ſuſpenſion; the King referring it to her Majeſty to fill up. It appears, however, neceſſary to obſerve, that a ſuſpenſion for two months only has no relation to the terms ſtipulated for the mutual reſtitution of effects taken at ſea. If the Queen wiſhes that the treaty now ſent ſhould be ſigned at London, as the King has ordered me

to ſign it here, I muſt entreat you to ſend me, beſide the copy I requeſt for my ſignature, her Britannic Majeſty's ratification; and as ſoon as I receive it, I will ſend off a meſſenger with the ratification of the King.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 592.)

SIR,

Fontainbleau, July 28th, 1712.

I WOULD not mention in letters of buſineſs, my very ſincere compliment upon the juſtice her Majeſty has done to your important ſervices. I dare aſſure you, that no one is more ſenſible of it than I am, and I earneſtly wiſh, this favour may be a forerunner of every reward you deſerve. You ought to expect this from ſo enlightened a Princeſs, who ſo well knows your zeal and abilities.

I beg you to believe that I ſhall always feel intereſted in your ſatisfaction, ſo truly am I, &c.

DE TORCY.

I hope M. Calandrini does me juſtice with you, Sir; he knows I omit nothing to ſettle his buſineſs; he knows alſo, that we are well diſpoſed to pleaſe him, and, in the end, I hope the conſequences will anſwer our good intentions.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 593.)

Whitehall, July 21ſt, 1712.

NO one can be more ſenſible than I am, Sir, of your kindneſs, and I return you my very humble thanks for the concern you, in ſo obliging a manner, take in the honour the Queen has juſt conferred upon me.

Nothing do I deſire more than to deſerve your eſteem, and, ſuch is my turn of mind, that the friendſhip of a man like you, would be more dear to me, than all the titles in the world. In this believe my ſincerity, and that I am, &c.

B.

M. Calandrini is too fortunate in finding ſo generous and powerful a protector. His heart is alive to all your goodneſs. I hope, at laſt, the reſult will be equal to your good intentions; but, moſt certainly, I ſhall ever be under an obligation to you.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 593.)

SIR,

Whitehall, July 21ſt, 1712.

YESTERDAY evening, by la Vigne, I received the honour of your letter of the 28th inſt. N.S. As I was then going to Court, I took the Abbé Gaultier with me, that he might be an eye-witneſs of the effect it might have. I can aſſure you, Sir, no letter ever produced two effects ſo oppoſite. The Queen ſaw, with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, that the ſuſpenſion of arms was ſettled, and might be publiſhed in few days, which ſhe looks upon as the moſt effectual method to make the States-General, particularly, more tractable, and to increaſe the number of thoſe in this country who wiſh for peace. On the other hand, her Majeſty ſees, with much ſurpriſe and regret, the Moſt Chriſtian King, at this late period, inſiſting, either that the Catholic Low Countries ſhould be ceded to the quondam Elector of Bavaria, or that that Prince ſhould be made King of Sicily.

The firſt propoſition can never take place, becauſe in the offers made by your Miniſters at Utrecht, and in the plan of the general peace, drawn up in conſequence of what paſſed between the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, and thoſe of France; it is there ſaid, that the

Catholic Netherlands, except what ſhall remain with the King, and except Guelderland, ſhall belong, in ſovereignty, to the Houſe of Auſtria; and becauſe we muſt begin a new war to force the Imperialiſts and Dutch to conſent to it.

The quondam Elector of Bavaria is already maſter of Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, and Nieuport; it only depends upon the Queen's having troops in Ghent and Bruges: but, Sir, the States-General are in poſſeſſion of the reſt of theſe provinces: the allied army is very conſiderable, as well in number as in goodneſs of troops, and the check it received at the camp of Denain, will not diſable it from the defence of conqueſts already made, when reinforced and ſupported by the Queen. In a word, Sir, it is neither agreeable to her Majeſty's honour, nor her intereſt, to make war againſt her allies, ungrateful as they have been, in favour of a Prince, whoſe ſituation ſhe has lamented, and for whom ſhe conceived ſhe had done enough, by promiſing to inſiſt, at the treaty of peace, that part of thoſe dominions, the whole of which he had loſt in the war, ſhould be reſtored to him.

The ſecond propoſition was, in truth, made in the plan I mention; but the Queen, ſo far from conſenting to it, could never perſuade herſelf that this article could poſſibly ſtop the negociation. Upon another ſubject you refer me to the map, permit me, if you pleaſe, to refer you to it upon this. Caſt but your eye upon it, and you muſt acknowledge, that there is a very great inconſiſtency in the propoſition of giving to the ſame Prince, the kingdom of Sicily and the Electorate of Bavaria: ſuch a diſpoſition would cauſe continual jealouſy, and would prove the ſource of diſputes and quarrels, particularly among thoſe nations, whoſe ſtrict union and indiſſoluble amity are the points of view to which we have ſo long directed our plans.

The Queen's Miniſters are far from wiſhing that the King ſhould act contrary to his word and his honour; but, Sir, after having exerted himſelf for his ally, as much as he could reaſonably expect, ſomething muſt be done for the ſake of the peace, and the intereſt of an individual muſt yield to the general intereſt of Europe. You will doubtleſs feel the force of this argument, ſince you well know this negociation was begun and carried on, upon the ſuppoſition that the Queen ſhould depart from ſome conditions, which, of right, ſhe was bound to procure for her allies.

I will not weary you, Sir, with long reaſonings. You ſee as plain as I do, of what conſequence it is in the preſent criſis, that peace ſhould be made between Great Britain, France, and Spain. The wiſe arrangements of Providence, have made that practicable now, which ſome time ago we dared not hope for; let us then avail ourſelves of the opportunity, and not loſe the fruit of our toil.

Much may be ſaid as to the barrier demanded by the Duke of Savoy. Her Majeſty is perſuaded that France will have no cauſe to be alarmed at this Prince; but it is evident that, with leſs than has been offered to him, there will be great reaſon to be alarmed for him. The Queen is far from wiſhing to aggrandize him on the ſide of France, and at the expence of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; ſhe only intends his ſecurity, and has no doubt it may be effected to the mutual ſatisfaction of the King, and of his Royal Highneſs, in the treaty of peace between them, to which treaty the ultimate diſcuſſion of theſe points may be referred; but, Sir, I am ordered to tell you, that the Queen will in no wiſe recede from her propoſal to the King, in my letter of 17th and 18th inſt. O.S. concerning the right of his Royal Highneſs to the Crown of Spain, and the Indies, after King Philip and his deſcendants; and with reſpect to the immediate ceſſion of the kingdom of Sicily to his ſaid Royal Highneſs, ſhe inſiſts, and will always inſiſt upon it; and after all ſhe has done, and all ſhe is to do, to ſecure the concluſion of the general peace, ſhe thinks ſhe is entitled to ſuch a condeſcenſion on the part of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

You have often repeated to me, Sir, that there is no time to be loſt: I agree with you: but we ſhall loſe it, and continue ſo to do, until this point is ſettled. Our Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht will remain inactive; the Duke of Argyle's journey, who is going to Spain, and is, on his way thither, to concert with you the neceſſary means to finiſh the war, at once, in that country, will be deferred. The orders to be ſent to-morrow to Sir John Jennings, who commands her Majeſty's fleet in the Mediterranean, will be put off to another time;

and, laſtly, the conveyance of the forces from Genoa to Catalonia, of which you complain, will be continued.

I ſhall wait, with impatience, the return of la Vigne; be pleaſed to ſend him back, Sir, with the utmoſt diligence, that both of us may know what we have to depend upon.

As it would not be proper that the diſpatches, with which my meſſenger, who went from hence laſt Saturday, was entruſted, ſhould go to Turin, I muſt beg you, Sir, in caſe you have detained him, to give him the incloſed order; and if, unfortunately, he has proceeded on his journey, have the goodneſs to ſend the ſame order after him by one of your meſſengers, who, ſpeaking the language and knowing the route better, will certainly overtake him.

You are right, Sir, when you ſay a refuſal muſt be diſagreable, both to him who makes it, and to him who receives it. I never received a letter that gave me more pain than that which arrived from you yeſterday, and I aſſure you, I never wrote one with leſs pleaſure than I do this. I am, &c.

B.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 604.)

SIR,

Fontainbleau, Auguſt 4th, 1712.

I YESTERDAY received by one of your meſſengers, the honour of your letters of 17th, 18th, and this morning, that of the 21ſt July was delivered to me by the meſſenger I diſpatched to you the 26th, and whom you ſent back to me with la Vigne.

If my letter of the 28th gave you uneaſineſs, I aſſure you, Sir, I ſuffered no leſs when I found by the anſwer to it, that foreign intereſts ſtop the concluſion of the peace, at a time when it appeared as near as it was certain. I could not dread ſhipwreck when in ſight of the harbour, and in ſpite of all new difficulties, I ſtill hope, that the anſwer which I expect from you, Sir, to the letter I have the honour to write this day, will conſole us both, for the unhappineſs our laſt letters have mutually occaſioned.

For this purpoſe the Queen muſt have ſatisfaction upon the article relative to the Duke of Savoy, but ſhe muſt alſo take into conſideration his Majeſty's engagements to the Elector of Bavaria, and aſſiſt him to make good his word, pledged to an ally, whoſe fidelity is irreproachable, and who has for many years been deprived of his dominions, for having ſtood firm to his promiſes.

It is very true, Sir, ſomething muſt be conceded for the ſake of peace, and it is very right that the intereſt of an individual ſhould give way to the general intereſt of Europe; but you will not deny that the King has experienced the force of this argument; the ceſſions made by his Majeſty, are proofs of it, add to this alſo, his offers for the ſake of the general peace, the renunciation of the King of Spain, the number and importance of the diſtricts he gives up, the poſitive and real aſſurances of the King's ſincerity, which the Queen received before ſhe entered into any engagement on her part. You muſt allow, Sir, that no monarch ever did ſo much for the ſake of the peace, or ever extended ſo far his compliances for the reſtoration of the tranquillity of Europe.

His Majeſty has neither diſguiſed his engagements, nor his intentions, with reſpect to the Elector of Bavaria. You will recollect, the plan of the general peace, drawn up by the King's order; you will there find, that when your Plenipotentiaries demanded Sicily for the Houſe of Auſtria, the King replied, that that kingdom was the only compenſation which the Elector could have, if he were forced to give up his claim to the Netherlands; and that his Majeſty, as well as the King of Spain, were engaged to procure him a remuneration for his loſſes, that therefore, on condition of having Sicily, he would give up his right to the Spaniſh Low Countries; that he would alſo, upon the ſame condition, make over to the Elector Palatine, for his life, and after him to Prince Charles of Neubourg his brother, the Upper Palatinate, with the dignity and rank of firſt Elector, becauſe the title of King would remove any diſgrace in the loſs the Elector of Bavaria might ſuſtain in his rank in the Electoral College.

This

This, Sir, is the ſubſtance of the plan I have quoted, and I only refer to it in my turn, to ſhow you, that the King has not changed his mind in regard to the articles it contained. The Abbé Gaultier might often have told you, that his Majeſty having well weighed all the conditions of it, would not relax in any one, and that he thought he gave the Queen of Great Britain a particular inſtance of his confidence, by depoſiting with her the ſecret of his ultimate intention.

Were the King, at this day, to demand new advantages, the enemies of peace would certainly cry out, that the ſucceſs of his Majeſty's arms had altered his ſentiments; but you know it is nearly four months ſince I mentioned what I have the honour to repeat to-day; and the King thinks he has now a right to expect, as much as formerly, ſome tokens of the Queen's wiſhes to pleaſe him. And certain it is, that none can be more grateful to his Majeſty, than being enabled to accompliſh his engagements with an ally, whom he can never abandon.

You may anſwer, that the Queen is of the ſame opinion, with reſpect to the Duke of Savoy; it was for this reaſon I obſerved at the beginning of my letter, that the Queen muſt have ſatisfaction upon the article relating to this Prince, and the King has reſolved to conſent to the principal part of her wiſhes, provided ſhe will alſo aſſiſt his Majeſty in procuring ſome ſatisfaction for the Elector of Bavaria. In the ſequel of my letter, I ſhall propoſe ſuch expedients as may be uſed.

The Queen demands in favour of the Duke of Savoy, that the King do immediately declare, he acknowledges the right of that Prince to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, after the Catholic King and his deſcendants; that he do promiſe that the King and the States of Spain ſhall acknowledge him alſo; that the Princes of France, eſpecially the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, ſhall approve, ratify, and confirm every thing that ſhall be done for the recognition of the right of ſucceſſion; that, moreover, his Majeſty do promiſe the Duke of Savoy, as well for himſelf, as for the King his grandſon, the execution of every thing that may be found neceſſary to ſecure to this Prince, and his family, the ſucceſſion to the Crown of Spain and the Indies, in default of the Catholic King and his deſcendants; that he do promiſe particularly, that the King of Spain will, of his own accord and by authority, abſolve his ſubjects from all oaths to the contrary which they may have taken; that he will recal and annul them, as alſo all declarations whatever, made in favour of Princes of his blood.

You ſee, Sir, by my letter of the 28th, that the King expected demands of this kind, for the ſubſtitution of the Duke of Savoy and his deſcendants, to the Crown of Spain. So that his Majeſty has no objection to grant them, and to engage for the King his grandſon, and the Princes of his blood, to execute the acts of recognition and confirmation ſpecified in your's of 17th July.

He conſents alſo, that theſe acts ſhould be executed at the ſame time as the ſecurities, to prevent the re-union of the two monarchies, are finally accompliſhed. But for this purpoſe, it is neceſſary, that the Duke of Savoy ſhould be at peace with the King, and the King of Spain; a ſimple ſuſpenſion will not do, and it were unjuſt to call a Prince to the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh Throne, who was ſtill actually numbered among the enemies of that Crown.

It is, therefore, expedient that, as a general peace cannot yet be effected, a ſeparate one ſhould be made between France, England, Spain, and the Duke of Savoy.

Beſides the ſubſtitution in favour of this Prince, the King of Spain, by the ſame treaty of peace, which is the moſt authentic act that can be made, will cede Sicily to him. He will, as you propoſe, declare, that by virtue of this ceſſion, he holds, until the concluſion of the general peace, the kingdom of Sicily, for, and in the name of, the Duke of Savoy.

That this Prince, in execution of the treaty, may take poſſeſſion of this kingdom whenever he pleaſes, as ſoon as the general peace is ratified. That, at the ſame time, the King of Spain will abſolve the inhabitants of that kingdom from all oaths of fidelity to him, and order them to acknowledge the Duke of Savoy as their lawful King and Sovereign. That the galleys and other veſſels belonging to Sicily, with their crews, ſhall be, at the ſame time, given up to that Prince, together with all titles, papers, and documents, relating to the kingdom of Sicily.

The other clauſes you mention, Sir, for the ſecurity and guaranty of all conditions that may be agreed upon with the Duke of Savoy, ſhall alſo be inſerted in the treaty, as alſo the promiſe to ſupport him in the poſſeſſion of what has been ceded to him, by the treaty concluded at Turin, November 8th, 1703, with the Emperor Leopold.

Theſe, Sir, are the principal and moſt important parts of the Queen's demands in favour of that Prince, and which the King grants upon the following conditions:

Firſt. That it be effected by a treaty of ſeparate peace, between France, Great Britain, Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, and not upon the proſpect of only a ſimple ſuſpenſion of arms for a time.

Second. That the Queen of Great Britain do engage to procure, in concert with the King, the re-eſtabliſhment of the Elector of Bavaria in his ſtates and dignities, except the firſt rank in the Electoral College, which the Elector Palatine, and after him, Prince Charles his brother, are to enjoy, during their lives, as I before mentioned, together with a remuneration for the Elector, according to one of the two expedients I am now about to propoſe. The firſt, that Prince to keep the ſovereignty and property of the two provinces in the Catholic Netherlands of which he is now in poſſeſſion; that is to ſay, the Duchy of Luxemburg and the county of Namur, with the cities and fortreſſes of that name, and, generally, all their dependencies, as well as Charleroy and Nieuport. The King would even conſent to diſpoſe of Nieuport as her Majeſty might judge moſt proper. By accepting this expedient, ſhe would be obliged to enter into a war with her allies, in favour of a Prince whoſe ſituation ſhe laments, for he is actually in poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces and places which the King propoſes he ſhould retain.

As it is even neceſſary, according to the rules of juſtice, that he ſhould conſent to forego his right to a poſſeſſion legally belonging to him, by virtue of a grant from the King of Spain, ſhould this firſt expedient not be agreed to, and the Queen of Great Britain ſtill perſiſt in referring all the Low Countries to the diſpoſal of her allies, the ſecond expedient which the King propoſes, to obtain the Elector of Bavaria's conſent to the ceſſion of the provinces and places of which he is in poſſeſſion, is to procure for him in exchange the kingdom of Sardinia. This equivalent, of ſmall conſideration in itſelf, will only give the Elector the title of royalty which he may regard as a kind of recompence for the rank he will loſe in the Electoral College.

Notwithſtanding the diſtance, and ſmall connection between Sardinia and the Electorate of Bavaria, there is no inconſiſtency in the ſame Prince poſſeſſing both. Suffer me, Sir, to tell you, that neither was there any in giving the Elector the kingdom of Sicily, and far from conſidering this arrangement as likely to occaſion continual jealouſy and quarrels between France and England, it is much to be feared that the Duke of Savoy will make uſe of it to the prejudice of both nations.

It is already reported, that his deſign is to exchange Sicily for the Milaneſe, and I beg you, will remember what you wrote to me, that England is not leſs intereſted than France to prevent that iſland falling into the power of the Houſe of Auſtria.

The laſt condition which the King attaches to his conſent to the demands made by her Majeſty in favour of the Duke of Savoy is, that this Prince do deſiſt from all ulterior pretenſions he may form under the name of a barrier. His Majeſty knows better than any perſon, the frontiers of his kingdom, and what is neceſſary for its ſecurity. He thinks he has done a great deal for the ſake of the peace, by granting Exilles and Feneſtrelles to the Duke of Savoy. He will grant nothing more, and as he has hitherto ſincerely declared his intentions to the Queen of Great Britain, it would be contrary to that good faith always obſerved during the negociation, were the diſcuſſion of an article, which his Majeſty is determined conſtantly to refuſe, referred to the conferences at Utrecht.

I do not think, Sir, that I loſe any time, when I candidly explain to you what is the King's opinion, what he is willing to do in conſideration of the Queen, and, at the ſame time, his Majeſty's engagements with his allies. His wiſhes to accompliſh theſe engagements ought to merit the commendation of a princeſs ſo ſenſible of true glory, and ſo attentive to the intereſts of her own allies.

A good

A good understanding will soon be formed on solid grounds, and her Britannic Majesty has already received such proofs of the King's confidence, that I cannot be induced to suppose she will refuse to acquiesce with those arguments which oblige his Majesty to fulfil his engagements.

So that I hope the promises you made me in your former letters will be immediately executed. It would be distressing to think, that the delay in sending the Queen's orders to Catalonia, and to the coasts of Italy, should be productive of inconveniences much easier prevented than repaired. You are perfectly aware of the consequences, and you are very zealous for the peace; so that I doubt not you will represent to the Queen, in strong terms, the importance of concluding the work begun, and now so near perfection; it is for their common interest that it should be kept no longer in suspense at a time when foreign interests are alone concerned, and when the King yields to the Queen's importunity, every thing that the Duke of Savoy can ask that is most essential for him.

As you desired, me, Sir, to hasten and facilitate the journey of your messenger to Turin, I greatly fear that the one sent off, only eighteen hours after him, will not be able to overtake him. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 611.)

SIR,

Whitehall, July 30th, O.S. 1712.

On Monday last I received the honour of your letter of the 4th of August, N.S. and the Queen has commanded me to make known to you, that she has ordered me immediately to repair to your Court.

I shall set off from hence next Saturday; I may arrive at Calais on Sunday, and I hope, before the end of the week, under the auspices of the Abbé Gaultier, to have the satisfaction of saluting you at Fontainbleau.

You will have no objection, Sir, to my deferring till then what I have to say to you, upon the contents of your dispatch. Let me assure you, I accept the commission with which I am entrusted, with so much the greater pleasure, as I depend upon the goodness you have manifested towards me ever since I have had the advantage of corresponding with you.

Mr. Prior accompanies me, and flatters himself he shall be so fortunate as to remain with you.

I am, &c. B.

END OF VOL. VI.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM